

Vol. 4, July, 2020

# Albertine Journal of Philosophy

ISSN: 2651-6209 (Print)  
2735-9556 (online)

A Journal of the Department of Philosophy,  
St. Albert Institute, Fayit-fadan, Kagoma,  
Kaduna State, Nigeria, an Affiliate of  
the University of Jos, Jos, Nigeria.

[www.albertinejournal.org](http://www.albertinejournal.org)

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Printed by

Virtual Insignia Ltd.

Hamza Zayyad House, 4 Mohammed Buhari Way, Kaduna, Nigeria

Mobile: +2348039564442, +2348028842372

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## The Role of Philosophy in Socio-Cultural Development

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**Abstract:** Socio-cultural development is the overarching centrepiece. Socio-cultural development necessarily involves human development from the intellectual, moral, social and environmental perspectives. The paper considers development as: 1) a process by which an inner principle that is at first hidden comes to light; 2) It may be a slow, step by step transformation; 3) It may be a transformation that is guided in a definite direction. 4) It can be a transformation that leads from the unformed and less determined to the formed and fully determined; 5) it can be a transformation from one form or species to another, and this is either slowly or by leaps. From a philosophical standpoint, the paper establishes that Philosophy recognises at least three modes of development—evolutionary, revolutionary, and dialectical. The paper is basic expository and it is focused on exposing the relationship between philosophy and socio-cultural development.

**Key words:** Philosophy, development, socio-cultural development, human development

### INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to give an account of the defining features of philosophy. The reason for the difficulty in answering the question of what philosophy is paradoxically provides an answer of sorts. An essential part of philosophy is the extent to which it reassesses its own nature. Philosophy tends to ask extremely broad and fundamental questions, and it raises problems that people do not normally consider as problems at all in most other areas of human inquiry. A feature that helps us to understand the nature of philosophy, and is one of the chief attractions of the subject, is its freedom of thought: in philosophy no question is, on the face of it, unaskable.

Philosophy does not have to be especially defensive about its nature or existence. It is sometimes that the subject matter of philosophy is far removed from anything that could have practical importance in life. Even if this were true, it would not follow that philosophy is not worth bothering with, for it might well be intrinsically interesting. In any case, philosophy does examine ideas in ethics and politics that have immediate practical consequences. Moreover, one of the reasons why philosophy is important is that more than any other subject it freely examines presuppositions and assumptions that people have that might otherwise go unquestioned. Many of these basic beliefs that people may take for granted, lead to, and underpin, other beliefs that have immediate practical consequences in that they determine what people believe and how they act. Whenever and wherever we live we absorb a worldview that can be so familiar that it can, through going unnoticed, go unexamined. So long as people are not dogmatically locked into, or wedded to, a fixed system of ideas and beliefs there will always be philosophy.

Philosophy is not a luxury, indeed it becomes a necessity just as soon as people are able and willing to think freely about their beliefs. The terrible consequences that have followed from dogmatically held beliefs throughout human history bear sufficient testimony to the need to philosophise. Anyone that open-mindedly and critically examines, rather than simply accepts, fundamental ideas, has started doing philosophy. Those that are interested to follow the path of philosophical inquiry embark on perhaps the greatest adventure of ideas of all. Philosophy is an important part of what Bertrand Russell called all the noonday brightness of human genius<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John Shand, *Philosophy and Philosophers*, Montreal & Kingston, London, Buffalo: McGill Queen's University Press, 1993, p. x.

destined though it may be to ultimate annihilation. It is by such activities that, for the time being, human beings dignify themselves in the face of a universe that may seem at best indifferent to human concerns.

### **Development**

Development can mean at least three things 1) a process by which an inner principle that is at first hidden comes to light, e.g., the development of an idea by a speaker or a writer. 2) It may be a slow, step by step transformation (which is not necessarily directed to one definite goal, e.g., many historical developments. 3) It may be a transformation that is guided in a definite direction. 4) It can be a transformation that leads from the unformed and less determined to the formed and fully determined, e.g., the development of the foetus. Finally, it can be a transformation from one form or species to another, and this is either slowly or by leaps. These abstract meanings of the word 'development' are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Several of them can be realised together in the concrete processes that we call 'development'. Everything changeable can, in some sense, be subject to development. In the case under review, socio-cultural development is the overarching centrepiece. Socio-cultural development necessarily involves human development from the intellectual, moral and social perspective; environmental development.

### **Socio-Cultural Development**

The first step in socio-cultural development is bringing order out of chaos. When humans want to set up a structure they first clear the bush, remove the stumps, and level the terrain. Then they take their bearing and start digging the foundation. It is a way of bringing order out of chaos. The environment has to be suitable before any meaningful activity could be carried out on it. The blueprint could be seen in the biblical narrative of creation in Genesis 1:1. It reads:

*When God began creating the heavens and the earth, the earth was a shapeless, chaotic mass, with the Spirit of God brooding over the dark vapours. Then God said, 'Let there be light;' and light appeared. And God was pleased with it, and divided the light from the darkness. He called the light daytime, and the darkness he called nighttime. . Together they formed the first day.*

- Separating the waters and the sky formed the second day.
- Separating land and water and creating vegetation constituted the third day.
- Creating sun and moon, and the seasons was the job of the fourth day.
- Creating birds and sea beasts constituted the task of the fifth day.
- The sixth day was the day of the land animals—cattle, reptiles and wildlife and eventually the human species.

### **Overcoming the State of Nature**

In concrete terms, socio-cultural development must involve a departure from primitivism that, in the philosophy of John Locke, was referred to as the state of nature. If one looks around there is ample evidence of the state of nature being operational. The entire rundown environment, the lack of functional social organisation, the incessant inter communal, inter ethnic, intertribal, and interreligious unrest all bespeak the state of nature. There is the crude jungle justice system that leads to lynching, mugging, and arsons that occurs all over the place. A further sign of the state of nature is the scramble for power and the proliferation of empty posts that lead to the siphoning of money. There is the patent difficulty in conducting free and fair elections. Much more worrying is the low quality of political discourse as a result of the low quality of political actors and aspirants. Ask any Nigerian what politicians do and the prompt reply would be that the show off, flaunt power and wealth, and chorus amen to every whim of the person on top.

Ask them what the leader does and they will tell you that he runs a serfdom, wields the big stick, favours his cronies and deals with free minds who dare to differ from his prescriptions. Ask again the qualities of the good executive at the local, state and federal levels. You will learn that he or she ensures that all his friends and relatives are comfortable in terms of positions, jobs

and amenities and have taken the chunk of the commonweal and saved up for the rainy day. Ask finally, the meaning of accountability and you will be dazzled with a barrage of fictitious statistics of job creations, countless contracts awarded. You will be wasting your time trying to verify in real terms the claims made about development. There can be no meaningful development in the state of nature. While Nigeria remains fixated to the state of nature, there can be no meaningful development. Is anyone surprised that in spite of Nigeria's vast human, mineral and socio-cultural resources, she still ranks among the twenty poorest countries in the world? Nigeria is caught up in the self-fulfilling prophecy that **TO FAIL TO PLAN IS TO PLAN TO FAIL.**

### **Clearing the Rubble**

The next step in socio-cultural development is overcome the state of nature. Among the rubbles to clear in Nigeria are the non-democratic or even anti-democratic systems of party arrangement. The *status quo* is that a few heavy weights hijack the party machinery and thereafter control and manipulate every process and outcome. Their 'anointed' or pre-designated candidates inevitably 'win' regardless of how the people vote. The result is that those intent on getting political positions spend their time and resources trying to get into the good books of the overlord. Once in, they become incurable amen choristers to the overlord's every whim if they wish to continue in office. As to methodology, many Nigerians will point to our neighbouring state of Ghana that seemed to have cleared its own rubble with a clean sweep against the military and those that precipitated the state of nature.

A more rational approach would be better even though it is more difficult. It is not necessary to shoot or hang anyone, but it should be possible for people to be called to account for their activities *vis-à-vis* the country's constitution and laws. There are clear alternatives. Let Nigeria put its house in order by ensuring that elections are free and fair. Then the elected officers will work by the people's mandate rather than at the behest of some paymaster. Then they will strengthen the judiciary that will be guided by the constitution rather than become a poodle to some overlord. With the judiciary strong and independent, it would be possible to interpret the laws such that those found wanting in the observance of the constitution will be made to face the prescriptions of the law.

Until date, it is doubtful how many occupants of elective positions in Nigeria can truthfully claim that they have the people's mandate. It is no wonder that their roles and activities are a far cry from the people's wishes. The executive tends to be a tyrant with no mandate but the fruit of lobby and settlement. An executive with the people's mandate is in a position to insist on due process in elections and in everything. The people's mandate is everything. It is quite possible that one could continue to have the mandate for a long time. So long as one that has it one is free to continue and make politics a life-time career. If people give the mandate, it is a sign that the people approve of one's candidacy. This means that rotation is not necessarily the best form of arrangement because it could compulsorily put an end to the possibilities of one that could have brought about the required development.

### **Develop the Environment**

One clear sign of overcoming the state of nature is a well thought out mode of social living. Traditional institutions did sufficiently serve their purpose in primitive traditional society. In a traditional setting one lived among kith and kin, knew all the neighbours, spoke the local language, used the local market, rivers and streams, observed the traditional mores, practised the religion of the community, and married from the neighbouring village. Now thanks to rapid urbanisation, rural to urban migration is now widespread and society has become more complex. People live not necessarily with kith and kin but where their work or skill takes them. They need not be indigenous or be able to speak the local language. They might have a different religious background. They observe conventional laws and may not be interested in traditional mores.



That is already development in its own right. Unfortunately, the prevailing mind-set is still traditional and primitive. In some places, local people attempt to convert 'tenants' or 'non-indigenes' into proselytes of their traditional ways. They impose levies and restrictions as well as new prescriptions of conduct. Yet there is indiscriminate dumping of refuse. Gutters are often used as refuse dumps. The traditional practice of street sweeping and refuse disposal has all but disappeared as people are now mired in squalor. Those that build new homes and businesses indiscriminately fell all the trees, scrape the grass and cement the yard. The advent of the graders that are meant to clear the roads has backfired as they notoriously cause erosion instead. On the other hand there is total chaos as rival religious groups spring up everywhere and try to outdo each other in noise pollution. Some hijack the daytime while others take the nighttime blaring out ear-splitting blasts from huge public address systems everywhere including gutters.

### **Human Development**

Fifty to sixty years ago, people used nearby bushes and hidden corners to defecate. The result was that certain corners and roadsides were infested with flies that perched on the faeces because some people used them also at night when they would not be detected. Today, all that is gone and people provide toilet facilities in their homes as a necessary aspect of their accommodation arrangement. What has not changed much is that there are no public toilets provided in case one is pressed in the midst of their daily activities. Most people still urinate anywhere without qualm. They litter the environment with plastic water bags, tins and cans as well as polythene shopping carry bags. They still throw trash out of cars, doors and windows into the streets and gutters. There is work to be done in those areas if environment must be developed.

The most obvious aspect of human development is education in all its ramifications. It is true that many have learnt to read and write, but the proportion is still too low for comfort. Furthermore, of those that could read or write, the overwhelming percentage seems not to have fully mastered the art and the level of language skills remains low. The handwriting of most students in the school system at all levels is atrocious. The power of expression is weak at best and miserable at worst. The quality of teaching and learning is poor, and the overall outcome of most educational programmes leave a lot to be desired. The power of self-expression and effective written and oral communication is poor. Even the media houses that are supposed to lead the way commit and even condone some unpardonable grammatical and diction errors. The vernacular itself is in danger of extinction as parents and teachers prohibit its use in the bid to encourage proficiency in English language. Overall, students learn and pass subjects, often through cheating and forgery, but remain half-baked.

Most of the time, even without aptitude, parents and peers urge candidates to study some subject area like medicine, engineering, law, business, etc. In such areas, they are like fish out of water, for they lack requisite ability in science and art. They seem incapable of producing anything original—artistic, agricultural, scientific, or cultural. Their orientation is money and they cut corners to make it. They plagiarise music and make CDs for money. Instead of mastering the art and science of music following the scientific rigour of mastering the use of instrument, they would prefer improvisations in singsongs. They perfect the art of adulteration—of foods and drugs, gadgets and consumables. They forge documents—certificates, signatures, car documents, passports and other official papers. They do not take the time to master computer programming, but rapidly master the art of cyber fraud.

### **National Development**

National development involves the totality of the areas—physical, mental, spiritual, structural, psychological, and socio-political—conducive to the emergence of a nation from the primitive state. These factors are clearly multifarious and cannot be rightly limited to the physical alone. What achieves national development is philosophy and not the work done by masons, artisan,

and construction outfits. Every successive government in Nigeria touts some flamboyant national development plan based on the physical exertions of artisans—roads, rails, bridges, airports, schools and hospitals. In the execution of these plans, the long term goals in terms of legacies are eclipsed in preference to temporary, short-term gratifications based on self-interest. In effect, most of the eventual outcome is shoddy and haphazard and fail to serve any long-term purpose. A house with roofs that leak, and walls and floors that are cracked, fails to provide comfort and shelter has failed. Similarly roads, rails, bridges and airports that fail to serve their original purpose are sources not of development but of frustration. As a result, any claims made about them in connection to development become unsustainable.

The country remains underdeveloped and unserious. National development would begin with the systematic development of infrastructure to facilitate movement for persons and haulage of goods—roads, railway lines, waterways, airports. Then there is the massive and systematic development of housing requiring a different form of infrastructure—power supply, water supply, gas pipelines, fuel stations, shopping centres, banks, post offices, places of worship, educational institutions, hospitals, telephone, television, and now internet connections. All these are to be designed and consciously positioned around population centres to provide optimal services to the people in all spheres to the people. The trend in Nigeria is that money is lavished in projects that in their conception and execution fail the test of meeting the needs of the people. Many housing programmes have failed because people have refused to move into them, as they would instead take them away from other vital services like school for the children and the job places of their spouses and other family members.

### **Philosophy and Development**

In human affairs, including governance and national development, philosophy is concerned not with ways and means, modes and methods, but strictly with causes and consequences. It is concerned with questions of why and wherefore. Philosophy recognises at least three modes of development—evolutionary, revolutionary, and dialectical. Evolutionary change or development covering the areas cosmic, biological, and human is a dominant category of contemporary thinking.

**Evolutionary Development:** Evolutionary development concerns the emergence of the human species from the more primitive and basic forms to the more refined forms. Human activities evolve from the primitive—rural, traditional, preliterate level to the modern—urban, conventional, and literate level. The process of evolutionary development is gentle, gradual and almost imperceptible. For example, in a democracy, the power of governance transits peacefully from the incumbent to a successor that may not necessarily be related to him or even in political agreement with him. As far as society is involved, there are far more educated and urbanised people today in Nigeria than there were fifty years ago. There are more professionals, more firms, more buildings, roads, cars, and other gadgets. But the entire process has been gradual.

The term is sometimes restricted to development at the organic or biological sphere as covered in the claims of Darwin's theory. The other two—cosmic and human—actually preceded Darwinism in history. Christopher Dawson and some other historians hold that the idea of progress (evolution of human societies) came to fruition only in Western culture because Christianity is, among the great religions in the world, most explicitly history conscious. Eastern cultures were either dominated by the idea of the eternal return (as in reincarnation) or by myths combining evolutionist and non-evolutionist view. The cosmology of the Vishnu Purana is an example of the latter. Here the universe is presumed to exactly repeat itself in cycles of 311,040 billion years<sup>2</sup> It is therefore probably not an accident that the idea of human progress grew and developed in the Judaeo-Christian cultural background, although largely in secular rather than in religious contexts.

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<sup>2</sup> Marilyn Stanton, "Evolutionism" *Philosophical Dictionary*, Ed. Walter Brugger and Kenneth Baker, Spokane Washington: Gonzaga University Press, 1972, p.121

The Encyclopaedists generally believed in the total mass of the human race moving always slowly forward. Voltaire thought that man advances from the barbarous rusticity to the politeness of our era. The age of Enlightenment closes with the first full-fledged theory of progressive evolution of humankind, that of Condorcet. On a different philosophical basis the evolutionary ideas of Herder, Kant and Fichte led to Hegel's system, in which history is understood as progressive manifestation of the Spirit. Marx put Production and Economics in the place of the Spirit, and substituted Socialism and Communism for the Kingdom of God. Marx discovered his evolution of society at about the same time as Darwin published his account of biological evolution. Marx recognised in Darwin a fellow evolutionist, but Darwin was reluctant to accept such an affiliation. Soon thereafter, Spencer, Tylor, Morgan and others founded evolutionary social anthropology, expressly built on Darwinian theoretical premises.

**Revolutionary Development:** The revolutionary form of development is more rapid and sometimes even drastic and disruptive. When members of the armed forces take over government, they take over the reins of power and turn things upside down. Then they declare themselves revolutionaries in the Marxist sense. For the purpose of clearer understanding, it is necessary to point out that revolutionary development is not always drastic and disruptive. It is simply quick. For example, only twenty years ago, telecommunications was at level zero. If you needed to send a message to Lagos or Abuja, you must have to physically travel for hours. Sometimes you would arrive unannounced only to find out that the person you went to meet is on a journey. You either have to wait somewhere or return home without accomplishing your task. Today the GSM has revolutionised communication without physically hurting or disrupting anybody's agenda. Similarly instantaneous messaging has overtaking postal letter writing. That is revolution at its best.

Revolutionary development most of the time takes the texture of the violent overthrow of governments and the installation of new ones. The French Revolution was a landmark issue of history. The workers' revolt in Russia was another cardinal issue in social change. There was Fidel Castro's revolution in Cuba in 1959. In the middle 1960s, Africa was awash with the revolutionary instinct that saw the string of overthrows of governments. Nigeria's own happened in January of 1966. In his *Ahiara Declaration* of 1969, Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu of the Biafran fame evocatively defined revolution in messianic terms as 'a change, a quick change, a change for the better.. .' To all intents and purposes, the attempted violent overthrows were altogether a failure. First it was a failure in that the revolutionaries failed to meet their desired goal of arresting and replacing the corrupt politicians across the board. Some escaped arrest and this led to the wrong suspicion that those that escaped might somehow or other might have masterminded the fate of those that fell. What resulted from it was an impasse and a total rupture of the delicate social fabric.

Much of the attraction of the conflict theory of change is the belief (often messianic in the extreme, and as unrealistic as a good many eschatologies) that conflict, par excellence, means revolution—a radical and total change in the social structure. Revolutions actually occur less frequently than they are expected, and they frequently do not result in the changes that would have been predicted in advance by those that either support or fear them most. Plato said that all revolutions lead to reactions. He was possibly expressing a fervent wish. But there is much truth in this idea. Revolutions provoke repression and counter-revolution. And if these last are overcome, they leave an aftermath of disorder and a reduced sense of legitimacy. Post-revolutionary leaders are faced with three problems: to govern, to create order, and to discourage the enthusiasm for illegitimate opposition and even violence.

**Dialectical Development:** Finally, there is the dialectical mode that involves the systematic replacement of one situation by its contrary situation with the result that a third new situation arises creating the opportunity of itself being replaced by its contrary. Dialectic comes from the Greek *dial egēs ai dialegesthai* literally meaning the art of conversation or dialogue. Even though it was in use before Socrates, he gave it its classic form. By means of dialectic Socrates

wanted to bring humans to the true essence of things by a gradual clarification of concepts. Plato's *Dialogues* carry on this effort, for they attempt to dig out the essence of things through a process of statement and contradiction and so prepare for the ascent to the primordial reality, that is, the Ideas. Thus, for Plato dialectic is the method of metaphysics. The scholastic method used in medieval metaphysics was somewhat similar. The disputations were conducted as colloquies or dialogues. The same character determined the structure of the scholastic *Quaestio* or question. In each case the dynamism of the *sic et non* (yes and no) propel thought forward. The aspect of dialectic that is relevant to this piece is the essential meaning as dialogue, or discussion, or debate, as conveyed in both Socrates and Plato. Parliaments are characterised by debates whereby issues are vigorously and sometimes spiritedly debated from various, sometimes opposing angles.

### **Concluding Reflections: The way forward**

Development is when the issues are narrowed to one view by a process of voting. The outcome decides the policy of development. Similarly, in families and other organisations, dialogue is a vital ingredient in decision-making. Where it is absent or neglected, then there is dictatorship or even a total lack of progress. Nigeria's problems, including the lack of development, have been created and compounded by unwillingness on the part of the ruling part to dialogue. The result is a long-standing situation of cultural, religious, and regional tension. The stalemate will continue so long as dialogue has not been given a chance. The extent to which dialogue characterises humans in that which is proper to them is expressed by these words of Hölderlin: "We have existed since the first conversation."

In reality, we are always conversing, if not with others then at least with ourselves. Even the spiritual progress of humankind is an on-going conversation between the different epochs. In this way the complete truth is only gradually revealed in the encounter of statement and contradiction. In this way the complete truth is only gradually revealed in the encounter of statement and contradiction. Thus, human history is caught up in the dialectic of the spirit. From this perspective it is not difficult to elevate dialectic to a basic principle of existence. Heraclitus already saw in war, i.e., in the conflict of opposites, the father of all things or the innermost essence of reality. German idealism, and especially Hegel, developed this idea further: According to Hegel, the real is essentially becoming, which moves on from stage to stage in the triple pace of thesis–antithesis–synthesis. Therefore, our thinking too must proceed in the same way. There is something very true about this insight, but it becomes mixed up with pantheism to the extent that God is also subjected to the dialectic or to becoming.

Moreover, the fact is usually overlooked that the dialectic proceeds not according to a contradictory but according to a contrary opposition. When Nicolas of Cusa, at the beginning of the modern age, characterised God as the *'conincidentia oppositorum* (coincidence of opposites) he did not mean that in a pantheistic sense. – Under the influence of Hegel, dialectical materialism has applied dialectic to the world of matter and to economics. This is philosophy at work. It is a matter of planning every step of the way and reckoning with the possible consequences of every move. It is a way of foreseeing every possible scenario—the ideal situation, the medium case scenario, and the worst-case scenario—and proposing the appropriate response to it. It is, in other words, the multiplication of options such that if one fails, another could quickly be mobilised.



## Augustinian-Cartesianism

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### Abstract

Of recent, the epistemological and metaphysical similarities between Augustine and Descartes were conveniently forgotten or ignored. For the past two hundred years or so, secular humanists have claimed Descartes as their own. These humanists, particularly post-Enlightenment thinkers, have not only asserted that Descartes's famous dictum, "Cogito Ergo Sum," was the intellectual turning point in Western thought, but that Descartes was directly opposing traditional religious structures of belief and morality. Descartes, they claim, was freeing European civilization from relying on the epistemic authority of God and Christianity; he was making "man the measure of all things." This paper examines just why and how Descartes' broke from the dominant scholasticism of the 16th century, and how he came to adopt the **Augustinian method of "faith seeking understanding,"** through the act of pure contemplation. Specific attention is given to Descartes's epistemological method as manifested in the Discourse on Method and his Meditations which reveals his return to a fundamentally Augustinian epistemology and metaphysics, and a refutation of Aristotelian scholasticism. In so doing, the reader will discover that Descartes never attempted to intellectually establish or validate secular humanism (i.e., "making man the measure of all things), but merely attempted to systematize the Augustinian approach to knowledge. Contrary to common belief, Cartesian philosophy does not begin with an autonomous self, but with God and self. Descartes revitalized the Augustinian philosophic tradition, and made knowing God necessary not only for doing science but for knowing anything at all.

**Keywords:** Augustinian, Cartesianism.

### Introduction

Descartes is a unique challenge for any philosopher. He is both a reaction to and a product of scholasticism and the Aristotelian philosophy that dominated the late medieval world. Descartes embodies the spirit of Renaissance Humanism, the Augustinian metaphysics of the Protestant Reformation, and the philosophical rigor of Medieval Scholasticism (This is not to say that Augustinian theology and metaphysics did not have any place within the Catholic Church, but that the Reformation of Calvin and Luther was, in principle, a shift from a Thomistic to an Augustinian understanding of Christianity. Though no Protestant, Descartes responded positively to this shift in that he employed the theological-metaphysics of Augustine in his own system) (See, Menn 340). As such, there is a tension in Descartes' thought; one that forms, and, in a very real sense, is the foundation of his philosophy. This tension is between the ontological, and thus the epistemological, primacy of God – The Augustinian element –and the psychological primacy of the Cogito (i.e., the individual, thinking-Self) – the uniquely Cartesian element.

Before one attends to this paradox, however, one must first understand Descartes' intellectual context. We will begin by briefly outlining the historical relationship between Cartesian and scholastic epistemology, paying particular attention to the scholastic's outright rejection of Cartesianism. Once the context is set, "Augustinian-Cartesianism," and its view of the relationship between epistemology and ontology, will be explained.

### Cartesian and Scholastic Epistemology

While the relationship between Descartes and the *scholastics* was cordial, the relationship between Descartes and *scholasticism* was strained at best. According to Descartes,

The majority of those who in these latter ages aspired to be philosophers, blindly followed Aristotle, so that they frequently corrupted the sense of his writings, and attributed to him various opinions which he would not recognize as his own...and those who did not follow him, did not escape being imbued with his opinions in their youth...and thus their minds were so preoccupied that they could not rise to the knowledge of true principles...they all laid down as a principle what they did not perfectly know (Descartes, *Principles of Philosophy*, 287-288).

Descartes' critique of scholasticism was multi-faceted. In the first place, he disdained their psychological and epistemological attachment to Aristotelian authority (cf, Descartes, *Meditation on First Philosophy*, 287-288). While Descartes embraced certain aspects of Aristotelianism, such as a belief in the univocity of being and systematic rigor, he was frustrated with the scholastics continued attempts to force Aristotle into their systems. As seen through the philosophies of Scaliger, Leonocino, Schegk, and others, both humanists and scholastics – the dividing line between the two groups is often so muddled – reinterpreted Aristotle so as to fit him into their philosophies and/or make him out to be a pre-Christian sage who accessed Divine Truth. In either case, Descartes was convinced that these interpretations of Aristotle were faulty, but also quite problematic as it led the scholastics to propose principally-absurd and impractical ideas.

What is *more* apparent in the aforementioned quote is the epistemic divide between Descartes and scholasticism. From his philosophical method and stated beliefs, it is clear that Descartes considered epistemology the most fundamental discipline. Indeed, Descartes' attention to epistemology not only squarely separated him from late Medieval scholasticism and Renaissance Humanism, but has also furnished much of the modern world with the perception that the history of philosophy is the history of rationalism versus empiricism.

Though he was not opposed to the use of sensation in science, he was opposed to sensation as an axiomatic basis for knowledge. According to Descartes, the primary effect of sensation is to “Incite and dispose their soul to will the things for which they prepare their body, so that the sensation of fear incites it to will to flee, that of boldness to will to do battle” (Descartes, *The Passion of the Soul*, 40-41). The sensations were not created to provide us with epistemic certainty. Their purpose is pragmatic and practical; for enjoying the creation and surviving its hardship. Hence, scholasticism's adoption of sensation as its epistemic starting point was intrinsically flawed.

Rather than beginning with clear and distinct ideas, scholastics began with the muddled inferences of sensation. From particulars they inferred generalities. Descartes, however, as we will see, began with what he believes are *intuitively understood*, and thus *certain* axioms, and deduced the consequences. In his own words, “No conclusion deduced from a principle which is not clear can be evident” (Descartes, *The Principles of Philosophy*, 288). Sensation is thus an unfit axiom because not only is sensation subjective, but it is often unclear, contradictory, and/or plainly false. It is at the *most* fundamental level, then, that Descartes breaks from Aristotle.

Nevertheless, though Descartes certainly aided the revival of Rationalism, he cannot be said to fit into the Platonic mold. For Plato, ideas exist eternally in the Realm of Ideas; a realm of pure, simple omniscience. Ideas as *the* primary Reality do not depend for their existence upon any Divine Will. For Descartes, however, the “eternal truths,” as he calls them, are not merely dependent upon the Divine Intellect, but are *equally* dependent upon the Divine Will (Menn 341). In God's eternal counsel (Psalms: 33: 11; Ephesians 1: 11; and Proverbs 8: 14), he willed “once and for all” that two and two equal four. There is no logical priority between God's will and

intellect; they are, as it were, simultaneous in God's eternal nature. Thus, two and two will *always* equal four because God is immutable, and neither can nor will change His essential nature.

Returning to Cartesian epistemology, note Descartes' insistence that science must begin with a presupposed axiom (see, Descartes, *Meditations*, 207-208). Unless the foundation is sure, the structure will collapse. If only the scholastics had chosen a different axiom, they could have avoided so many of the glaring difficulties that pervade their ruminations and diatribes. According to Descartes, knowledge (i.e., justified true belief) begins with two presupposed indubitable axioms. Refusing to acknowledge these self-evident, innate beliefs was the fundamental error of every sort of Aristotelianism. On the contrary, from within the Augustinian metaphysical framework, Descartes posits that awareness of our immortal self (the Cogito) and the existence of the Christian God are *the* two most basic presuppositions, the most foundational axioms, that we depend upon to understand ourselves and the world.

### **Scholastic Rejection of Cartesianism**

In his youth, Descartes studied at La Fleche, a prominent Jesuit institution in Paris (See, Ariew 1-10). Here, he was heavily imbued with scholastic philosophy, particularly Aristotle, Aquinas, and Scotus. The influence of these thinkers was never lost on Descartes. He rejected the nominalism and empiricism of Aquinas and Aristotle while accepting Aristotle and Scotus' understanding of the univocity of being (see, Ariew 2-9). Descartes' relationship with scholasticism was one of a gradual distancing which ultimately resulted in complete separation.

In the mid-1620s, Pierre Berull introduced Descartes to the *Congregation of the Oratory*. Here, he learned Augustinian philosophy, wherein one contemplates God and the self's relation to God without appealing to sensation (more on this later) (Menn 51). Though Descartes had extensive interactions with the scholastics in his youth, as his philosophy changed, the schoolmen (i.e., scholastics) distanced themselves from him. While Descartes probably correctly asserted that many did not understand, misinterpreted, or refused to give him the benefit of the doubt, it is also likely that his presentation of Augustinianism struck many of the schoolmen as true and/or a genuine challenge to traditional Aristotelian thinking.

Roger Ariew, however, notes that schoolmen such as Libertius Fromondus, Plempius, Pierre Bourdin, Jean Baptiste Morin, among others, labelled Cartesianism, particularly the aspect of methodological doubt, as impractical and antithetical to virtuous living (see, Ariew 188-201). That "impracticality" was a primary criticism of Cartesianism gives credence to the notion that his work deeply disturbed his peers. Their silence and inability to grapple with Descartes' epistemological thesis indicates that they were struck by something profoundly true or horribly false in Descartes' writings, but were unable to figure out what it was. There was something in Descartes that the schoolmen, because of their ancient ties with Augustinian thought, knew to be true. It was a truth that shook their worldview to the core, and for that reason, rather than facing it head on, Cartesianism was banned, first by the theology faculty at the Sorbonne, and later by the Jesuits as part of their Counter-Reformation (Ariew 156).

### **Augustinian-Cartesianism**

What was this potential truth that so perturbed the Aristotelians? In Descartes's words, "Finally, if there be still persons who are not sufficiently persuaded of the existence of God and of the soul...I am desirous that they should know that all other propositions, of the truth of which they deem themselves perhaps more assured, as that we have a body, and that there exist stars and an earth, and such, are less certain" (Descartes, *The Discourse on Method*, 175). Following Augustine, Descartes maintained that belief in God and in the immortal soul are more certain than the world of sensation. These two metaphysical truths are more epistemically sure than the entire corpus of Aristotelian science.

From Augustine, Descartes acquired four crucial philosophical tools. First, the method of sensation-independent contemplation. As previously mentioned, Descartes was introduced to this method at the *Congregation of the Oratory* (cf, Menn 139-141). Given that Descartes was already seeking for the foundation of a universal system of mathematics, – an empirically-independent discipline – he was naturally disposed to the method of pure contemplation, and thus his shift from Aristotelian to Augustinian metaphysics was inevitable. In the Augustinian understanding of contemplation, God and the soul are thought of as entities that are unaffected by and exist independently of sensation (cf, Menn 139-141). Neither God nor the human soul require bodies to exist. Human beings are *essentially* mind, and thus Augustine believed that one knows oneself intuitively: if one quietly contemplates oneself, one will know *clearly* that one exists independent from other things (Bubacz 50).

This idea was picked up by Renaissance Humanists and Descartes. Indeed, not only were the *Meditations* written in an Augustinian philosophical manner, but they propound the Augustinian notion that mankind's understanding of God and the soul are innate (Augustine, *Confessions*, 222, 228 and 236). Therefore, our intuitive awareness of God and our individual selves is the only logical epistemic starting point (Descartes, *The Meditations*, 108-109). Following Augustine, Descartes proposed that the axioms of God and the soul have both formal and objective content. That is to say, both concepts *contain* the necessary predicates for deducing justified true beliefs *and* those predicates that are necessary for providing the epistemic conditions which make sensation credible (see, Taylor 130-133).

This introduces Descartes' second appropriation of Augustine: the principle (epistemological aspect) and method (ontological aspect) of faith seeking understanding (cf, Augustine, *On Christian Belief*, 136-140). Christian theology is (most of) the content of Augustinian philosophy. After having spent most of his life seeking knowledge only to become deeply skeptical, Augustine realized that all knowledge was based upon basic presuppositional beliefs (i.e., axioms) (see, Menn 187-189). Knowledge and rationality begin with faith. “[Augustine] began to think that he could pass from ignorance to knowledge only by passing through an intermediate stage of belief” (Menn 188). For him, the only axioms that could satisfy the knowledge-criteria were the belief in the Christian God and the immortality of the soul (Augustine, *Confessions* 3; *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans* 460). Descartes pronounced the same metaphysical commitment in the *Dedication* to the *Meditations*. His stated purpose in writing the *Meditations* is to prove that all knowledge can be deduced from the definition of God and the immortal soul. Again, in Cartesian and Augustinian metaphysics, God and the Soul are not undefined, de-contextualized concepts. The definitions are contained in the concepts and are innately known (or, at the very least, are continuously revealed by God: *The Illuminator*) (Another way of stating this is to say that humans are born with the knowledge of the Christian God and their individual selves. Intellectually assenting to these two fundamental presuppositions is *necessary* if people are to be consistent in their thinking and if they are to make sense of the world around them). Hence, the third and fourth principles that Descartes adopted from Augustine are the two transcendental concepts of God and the immortal soul. Descartes employs an Augustinian ontology and an Augustinian epistemology, thus making it a fundamentally Augustinian metaphysic.

The practical difference between the two philosophers lie in Descartes' use of complete methodological doubt – is unnecessary in Augustine's context – and in his attempt to systematize knowledge into a universal science. Nevertheless, Descartes was undeniably the first of the Early Moderns to be an Augustinian metaphysician. Descartes' epistemological position is best summed up in the *Discourse*, and it is worth quoting at length:

For how do we know that the thoughts which occur in dreaming are false rather than those other which we experience when awake, since the former are often



not less vivid and distinct than the latter?” And though men of the highest genius study this question as long as they please, I do not believe that they will be able to give any reason which can be sufficient to remove this doubt, unless *they presuppose the existence of God [italics added]*. For, in the first place, even the principle which I have already taken as a rule, viz., that all the things which we clearly and distinctly conceive are true, is certain only because God is or exists, and because he is a Perfect Being, and because all that we possess is derived from him: whence it follows that our ideas or notions, which to the extent of their clearness and distinctness are real, and proceed from God, must to that extent be true...But if we did not know that all which we possess of real and true proceeds from a Perfect and Infinite Being, however clear and distinct our ideas might be, we should have no grounds on that account for the assurance that they possessed the perfection of being true (Descartes, *The Discourse*, 175-176).

Though it comes from the *Discourse*, this statement provides a precise summary of what happens in the *Meditations*. There, Descartes employs methodological doubt in order to separate the concepts of God and the Self from sensation, and “everything that depends on the philosophy of Aristotle” (Menn 55). In *Meditation One*, Descartes exposes the extremely dubious nature of an empirical epistemology (Cf, Descartes, *The Meditations*, 219-224). Whether it is because one is just a brain in a vat or because of the subjectivity of sensation, empirical data can always be doubted. Logically, then, in *Meditation two* Descartes builds on this point by revealing that mind is more certain than materiality. Not only can thinking not be doubted, - to doubt is to think - but apart from thinking, sensation could provide no knowledge whatsoever. Sensation works with particulars, and unless something within us unifies these particulars it is impossible to know that a man is the same man today and tomorrow. The mind is what unifies experience and gives understanding. Mind is more certain than body (Cf, Descartes, *The Meditations*, 225-233).

In *Meditation three*, Descartes, having disposed of the meditator's false presuppositions, begins to formulate his metaphysical principles. First, the meditator is introduced to the cogito, and then to the concept of God. The cogito is introduced first because self-consciousness is our inevitable *psychological*, starting point though it is not sufficient (see, Ariew 60-64, 196). As the earlier quote from the *Discourse* revealed, the cogito depends upon something else for its existence. God is the most clear and distinct idea. Descartes therefore asserts that the existence of the Christian (omnipotent, omni-benevolent, omniscient, all-perceiving, Truth Himself) God is the most basic belief and the cause for the *cogito's* existence and self-awareness. God is the essentially personal-Mind who generates the ontological relation between minds and the world. By itself, the cogito does not nor could it provide any deductions or inferences. On its own, it's a blank slate. Only when it is ontologically harmonized with and epistemically substantiated by the Divine Mind and concept of the Christian God does the cogito become an intelligible axiom and a truly self-aware individual (cf, Descartes, *The Meditations*, 233-249).

In *Meditation Three*, one must read carefully lest one mistake Descartes' theistic apologetic as a mere reformulation of the ontological argument. It is far more nuanced. Aspects of the ontological argument are utilized only to reveal that human minds are imperfect and *require* something perfect in order to know what they know. Ideas are always thought in relation to a standard of comparison. Ideas of good and bad, beautiful and ugly, warm and cold, only have meaning in relation to an ultimate standard of comparison, which, of necessity, is perfect. Descartes argues that this standard must be transcendental. Thus, the standard is God. When Descartes proceeds to ask whether a mind which innately possesses the idea of God can live supposing there were no God, he responds with a resounding “no”! According to Descartes, we

are ontologically and thus epistemologically dependent upon God: “Because I am conscious of no power to hold myself in existence, I cannot be my creator or sustainer” (cf, Descartes, *The Meditations*, 246).

Descartes here distinguishes himself from scholasticism in two substantial ways. First, he does away with their insistence that the world is composed of many metaphysical entities; varieties of *forms* and thus varieties of ontic relations. Instead, Descartes posits that the world is composed of mind and body. God is in *direct* and *continuous* interaction with minds and bodies. Second, like the scholastics, and any orthodox Christian, he believes that the knowledge of God is innate. Descartes accuses scholasticism of inconsistency because it claims that the idea of God is innate, yet epistemologically beings with sense particulars. Descartes believes this methodology is faulty. If the knowledge of God's existence and God's nature is an innate concept, then it *must* be the first epistemic principle; the most basic presupposition (Descartes, *Objections by Some Learned Men to the Preceding Meditations*, 165).

The attentive reader will notice that in Cartesianism, as in Augustinianism, there is an unbreakable tie between epistemology and ontology. The epistemic method of faith seeking understanding assumes that the *ontological* and the *epistemological* are foundational aspects of Reality itself and are inter-dependent. To study ontology is to investigate “being” itself. To study epistemology is to study “knowledge” itself. This assumes that both knowledge and being are *real things*. To study ontology and epistemology, one must study deontology and epistemology. To study being, one and one's thoughts must be! To study knowledge, one must know one's thoughts and know one exists! In Augustinianism and Cartesianism, “ontology” and “epistemology” are not merely the names of the branches of philosophy, but are part of the metaphysical structure of Reality. Hence, the mind can never completely separate the two conceptions. Consequently, then, in the final three Meditations, Descartes begins to construct the particulars of a universal science based upon the axioms of God and the cogito. Of significance is Descartes' insistence that knowledge of the physical world is the knowledge of ideas. Ideas represent physical extension, and are how the world is relayed to the mind. Ideas are the objects of knowledge. To illustrate how Descartes derives knowledge from the definition of God, let us conclude by looking at his understanding of physical motion (Ariew 137).

Beginning with God, Descartes asserts that in the definition of God is the concept of immutability. Since God is immutable, the world is immutable, and thus static. In order for motion to occur, more than one body must collide. For this to begin, God must initiate it. Thus, God causes one body to collide with another, and physical motion begins. Nevertheless, God, as the world's sustainer, continuously recreates the world, and thus, metaphysically speaking, continuously recreates motion. This does not negate the fact that physical motion is caused by bodies continuously colliding, but Descartes contends that behind the scenes God is continuously generating motion. If God withdrew His sustaining power, the world and motion would cease to exist. Both body and mind both depend upon God for its continued existence.

Descartes is Augustinian insofar as he perceives of God and the immortal soul as the ontologically and epistemologically necessary first principles. Separating himself from the scholastics and Aristotelians, Descartes revived the Augustinian tradition, and gave it its first systematic expression. His reformulation of Augustinianism was indeed novel, and for that reason it was quite disconcerting to many schoolmen. It is quite probable that it was their unfamiliarity with Augustine that caused the schoolmen, and proceeding philosophers such as Spinoza, to misinterpret Descartes. While there are undoubtedly problems with Cartesianism, these problems must be addressed within Descartes' Augustinian framework. As Descartes addressed the epistemological flaws of scholasticism, so the Meditator must address Descartes. One must assess the axioms and metaphysical framework before attending to the empirical particulars.

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## Politics, Feminism and Violence in Levinas' Political Philosophy

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### Abstract

One basic problem associated with Levinas' philosophy is that his political theory seems to be too implicit rather than being explicit. Levinas is not just a theorist of ethics and metaphysics, but he is also a political theorist. Levinas has dealt with many political issues such as freedom, justice, feminism, law and order, violence, terrorism, war and terror, history and genocide. Levinas' political theory as far as the state is concerned is a very robust one that could be given scholarly attention. Levinas' conceptualizations of politics, feminism, and violence are clearly articulated by his philosophy of love, peace and justice. Levinas' philosophy is actually aimed at suppressing violence in our contemporary global world. This paper unravels Levinas' political theory as it affects our contemporary world today. The paper concludes that Levinas' political theory reflects on contemporary ideological issues such as conflict or violence, history, freedom, law, justice and order, global ethics of peace, the freedom of the state, inter-subjective freedom, feminism and genocide or war and terror. Levinas insisted that politics and violence have disrupted feminist movement. Women are becoming more vulnerable in a world dominated by men. Levinas' political theory is very robust and that difference is not really negative *par se* but it is part and parcel of our humanity. Women reflect the existential dimension of the concept of the other. The other is naked and defenseless. The other needs hospitality and love. Violence does nothing good to society.

**Keywords:** Violence, Feminism, Freedom, Political theory, the State, Ethics.

### Introduction

Ethics and politics signify epistemological and ontological relation. Levinas insists that violence does nothing good to human society. Violence brings about untold sufferings and hardship. Levinas insisted that a purely ethical response is superior to the complexities and compromises of politics. The theoretical discourse entitled "*Politics, Feminism and Violence in Levinas's Political Theory*" presupposes the misguided use of the term "politics". Politics is all about resolving conflicts of interest. John Hoffman and Paul Graham (2009) define politics as a public process that involves resolving conflicts of interest. Politics is undermined by force and is inherent at every level in all societies (Hoffman and Graham 500). According to Levinas politics left to itself bears a tyranny within itself (Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 110). This is exactly what captured or qualified Levinas to be a political theorist. Levinas as a theorist of otherness and difference could be referred to as a political theorist of difference. Scholars are quick to define the term "difference" as a negative connotation. Difference, is however, part and parcel of our humanity.

Levinas' work is riddled with so much abstract and evocative thinking. Levinas' evocative writing could be described as "the language of prophecy." Levinas as an ethical, metaphysical and a political thinker is described as a post-modernist, deconstructionist and pro-feminist. Levinas is a critic of totality and is said to eliminate otherness for the sake of the self (same). Levinas' moral and political theory elucidates an existential encounter with the face of the other in an ethical immediacy. The other's face, says Levinas, is naked and vulnerable (Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 21). The result of our existential, social, ethical and political encounter is an experience of unmediated otherness. The other does not just have an encounter with the self but disrupts the order of the self's world. Levinas' political theory upholds that every war employs arms that turns against those who wield them (Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 111). Violence leads to the usurpation of our enchanted world. Levinas' political theory demands the need for mutual dependence irrespective of tribe, sex, gender, race, colour, religion or language.



In his *Otherwise than Being*, Levinas believes that there is a totality that encompasses self and other. Levinas is quite perchant about violence or if you like terrorism or war and terror. Violence as a state of subjectivity places our humanity in a state of “natural” narcissism. Levinas agrees with Hobbes in his state of nature with the narcissistic –nature of man with the rest of the world. Levinas would agree with Hobbes and Rousseau in their conception of the state of nature to fulfill his dreams and aspirations. No man is an Island. We need others to survive. One is always indebted to the other. The state of nature as furthered by Hobbes and Rousseau reflect a reality that is ethical, political, conventional and a-historical. Levinas' ethical experience is that of exteriority. Exteriority exposes our being to the dimension of the unknowable, infinity or an untheorisable height (Levinas. *Totality and Infinity*, 111). Levinas' conception of exteriority always represents an opening to infinity. Levinas intellectual project is “crystallized through discourse on violence and suffering (Fleurdelitz 52). Levinas' ethical and political theory calls for the need of an “infinite responsibility.” Levinas sees war and violence as a disruption of our contemporary world. Levinas maintains that our humanity is at crossroads. He opines that “this is the century that in thirty years has known two world wars, the totalitarianisms of right and left, Hitlerism and Stalinism, Hiroshima, the Gulag, and the genocides of Auschwitz and Cambodia” (Levinas, *Useless Suffering*, 97). Finally, Levinas' political theory is aimed at addressing the daunting challenges facing our humanity today. These daunting challenges include war, terrorism and terror, Islamic fundamentalism, genocide, violence, rape, domestic violence, and women vulnerability.

### **Levinas on Politics**

Levinas' conception of political theory has been so controversial and idiosyncratic. The term “politics” for instance, has a far wider meaning than just the idea of the state. Hoffman and Graham believe that by political theory we do not mean simply the study of the state, for politics is far wider than the state. Accordingly, Hoffman and Graham posit that politics is not all about the activities of the state but it is about conflict, and conflict occurs at every level of society. Politics is about conflict and its resolution, and resolving conflicts of interest occur in all societies, at all levels (xxviii). Levinas' political theory talks about plethora of contemporary issues such as the politics of being – the self and the other, state, politics, ethics history, violence, terrorism, war and terror, genocide, feminism, freedom, society, law, religion, metaphysics and epistemology. Levinas's political theory is simply empirical and normative. For Hoffman and Graham, theory is either empirical or it is normative (xxviii). Levinas' political theory talks about the idea of difference. The idea of difference makes the idea of politics more explicit. Difference is part and parcel of our humanity. The idea of difference has been given a pejorative and a negative assumption. Accordingly, Hoffman and Graham iterate further to say that politics arises from the fact that we all have different interests and ideas –and the more explicit the difference between us is, the more explicit the politics. It therefore, follows that a political concept is always controversial and it cannot command general agreement (xxviii).

Levinas' political theory is predicated on the state. The question of what the state is, is linked to the question of when the state emerges historically. Levinas opines that the state is governed by laws and the state serves as an instrument of curtailing human freedom. In one of Levinas' quotes “freedom is not just the absence of constraint but obedience to laws” of society. The ethical system of freedom based on rightness or wrongness is the normative basis of the state. Levinas believes in the powers of laws in the political state. Laws confirmed customs and social values. They were not made by a particular body that represented citizens and expressed a united “will (Hoffman and Graham 13). Levinas' political theory posits that the state is linked to force (Hoffman and Graham 13). The state is a rational agent. It is an instrument of law and order in a well ordered society. Levinas political theory reflects what Iain Mackenzie calls a “politics of common purpose”, and that to think about politics is to become part of a conversation that has been ongoing for over 2000 years (Mackenzie 1). Mackenzie asserts that while philosophizing about politics, means thinking beyond the everyday to and fro of political opinion, it is also true to say that political philosophy must always keep its feet firmly planted on the ground of

contemporary issues, movements and debates. In some sense, it is this connection with unfolding events and the desire to understand the constantly shifting sands of our collective life that puts the politics into political philosophy (Mackenzie 2).

Furthermore, Levinas' political theory, however, talks about a range of contemporary issues such as feminism and violence. Feminism is simply a social movement that talks about gender equality and sexual difference. The issue of sexual difference has become a major contemporary political issue. Iain Mackenzie observes that Judith Butler's ground breaking work on the social construction of sexual difference, contemporary political philosophy is alive and well and grappling with new ways of thinking about classic problems, with a range of newly identified problems and with innovative theoretical paradigm as well. Political philosophy, in short, is a negotiation between the (often competing) demands to philosophize about political life and to politicize those philosophical claims themselves (Mackenzie 3). Levinas' political theory reflects on the human dimension of politics (Mackenzie 4). Levinas' political theory is in tandem with the Mackenziean position that political activity, it would appear, is a particular way of reaching agreement where disagreement exists and impact on other people. It implies that those involved even our two desert islanders are not just looking to satisfy their immediate interests, but also engaged in a process that aims to establish a set of norms and standards that will help to resolve future disputes (see, Mackenzie 4-6). Levinas' political theory is not all about conflict of interests or the politics of difference; it is all about the game of mutually cooperative affairs characterized by inter-subjective freedom of the self and the other. Put more differently, politics is not all about conflict and its resolution because this has always given the idea of politics a negative assumption or connotation. Iain Mackenzie, however, opines that perhaps, politics is really a much more cooperative affair (Mackenzie 8).

Iain Mackenzie observes that we must be careful of assuming too quickly that politics has the resolution of conflict as its *raison d'être*. Perhaps, politics is really a much more cooperative affair, so that political activity is first and foremost a way of binding together groups of people with common interests? Rather than pre-suppose disagreements and conflict, it may be that politics is being thought of as the pursuit of the common good (Mackenzie 9). Levinas' ethical and political theories aim at the idea of the common good in normative human society. Levinas' political theory aims at politics as a form of human activity or social interaction or ethical relation that is governed by norms and values. Accordingly, Mackenzie believes that:

Politics is a form of human activity that results in, and/or expresses, norm-governed human interaction. Political philosophy is the attempt to understand the nature and value of such norm-governed interaction. In social and political theory, a norm is a standard of behaviour or appropriate conduct. It is a principle that exerts a certain authority over those to whom it applies so that it serves to regulate their activity. Norms, of course, are everywhere in our personal, social, economic and political lives. Although, we are not always conscious of them, we soon become aware of their power to regulate behaviour if we break one (Mackenzie 12-13).

Nonetheless, political theory is often defined as an explicitly normative discipline, its task being to explicate and evaluate the norms governing our interaction (Mackenzie 13). Levinas's political theory is normative political thinking or theory:

What we call, in short, normative political philosophy is the evaluation of the standards embedded within our norm-governed behaviour, an evaluation that assesses whether or not these are the right standards for personal and collective life. It is this view of political philosophy that informs debate about the nature of equality, liberty, justice, sovereignty, and many other core normative concepts. For example, we may hope to base our collective lives on standards that embody our freedom and equality (Mackenzie 13-14).

Normative political philosophy presupposes the broader domain of moral and ethical philosophy. Political philosophy is an applied ethical philosophy. Mackenzie, for instance, observes that while normative political philosophy has a very close relationship to legal theory, we can also see that (typically) normative political philosophers understand their work as a particular form of endeavour within the broader domain of moral and ethical philosophy.

### **Levinas on Feminism**

Political philosophy is tasked with providing morally justified norms that should be embedded within our political institutions and constitutions. Iain Mackenzie (2009:14) adumbrates that:

Yet the emphasis on the norms that govern our social interactions does not lead only to the question of whether such norms are morally justified. For many political philosophers, norms must be understood not from a moral point of view but as features of our social life that condition us into acting „normally“. In other words, a norm is simply a way of imposing on everyone the dominant view of what only some regard as normal behaviour. Put like this, the norms expressed through the social, political and legal frameworks of a country may be techniques of control, first and foremost. Rather than being means to ensure a legitimate political order, they may be primarily a way of ensuring order so that the legitimacy they (allegedly) receive from moral philosophy may simply be a cover for the social order that they maintain (Mackenzie 15).

Accordingly, Iain Mackenzie pinpoints from the Marxian tradition of political thought that norms are part of a broader ideological framework that distort reality in the service of underlying economic interests. According to the Mackenzian tradition, norms is simply the ongoing compromise reached by political participants of different ideological persuasions. Ideologies are the lenses through which we view the political world, be it liberal, conservative, democratic, republican, Marxist, feminist, or whatever (Mackenzie 17). Levinas' political theory has a much more global perspective of politics. Politics involves sometimes momentous redefinitions of what actually counts as a political issue. Levinas' political theory has a feminist stance. Mackenzie believes that:

Women, for example, have had to redefine what is meant by politics in order to gain access to this domain for themselves, and also so that issues pertinent to their lives can be treated as worthy of being included within the realm of norm-governed behaviour. What we think of as „the political world“, in short, has undergone, and will no doubt continue to undergo, transformative moments where previously non-political issues become politicized as individuals and groups expose the effects of power upon their lives (Mackenzie 17-18).

Feminist interventions in the political world have brought to light the fact that we are often very unaware of the norms that govern our behaviour. To draw an analogy with language, we might say that the political world is littered with dead norms in the way that our everyday language use is littered with dead metaphors (Mackenzie 18). The above negative assumption of language characterized by dead metaphors was also observed by Levinas' moral phenomenology. Levinas' moral phenomenology goes beyond subjectivity or ethical subjectivity but it also reflect on political philosophy. Political philosophy is broader and deeper than we may imagine (Mackenzie 18-19). Levinas' political theory is predicated on inter-subjectivity and the politics of recognition. Feminism as a social movement is quite pronounced in Levinas' political theory. As observed by Martin Cohen:

Mary Wollstonecraft's book: *A vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) offered a radical personal narrative by pushing forward “women political importance”. Feminists, for example, demonstrated how gender bias has infiltrated the realm

of philosophy as a socio-political movement. The idea of sex as biological and gender issue is construed and constructed socially, culturally and politically. Gender issue has become a contingent issue which has permeated sexual relationship within cultural traditions. Feminist movement as a social movement has become a unique part of philosophy that guarantees the contemporary theoretical and political intervention as a unique global project for the liberalism of women and society as such (Cohen 132).

From the Levinasian tradition of the political and moral point of view women should be seen as the opposite other. Our philosophical view in this contemporary ideological political standpoint, is that women ought not to be judged from their biological or physiological differences, but in terms of equality of opportunity. The centrality of feminism as a social movement as far as gender bias is concerned is a political and economic struggle against the oppression of women (Cohen 132). Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986) furthers the feminist theoretical project that men and women are made not born. She draws a critical distinction between sex and gender as furthered by Freud. The feminist movement as a social movement brings about feminist criticisms of ideological constructs of phallocentrism and patriarchy. Phallocentrism refers to male dominance in the history of production, reproduction and social formations. The concepts of man and woman are essentialized ideas that do not reflect the exclusive domain of truth. Feminism, itself has also become a mode of oppression. Feminism has formidable diversity which limits unity. The contemporary debate of feminism as a socio-political movement has been so controversial and has had some kind of unity out of this formidable diversity (Hoffman and Graham 314-315). Hoffman and Graham further observe that:

Feminism as an ideology has always been highly controversial. It asks such questions as: do women have too much or too little power? It is not only controversial as far as traditional defenders of the status quo are concerned. Some women feel that they are in favour of equality with men, but do not like the idea of feminism. It has been said that we live in a post-feminist age and some contend that the main goals of feminism have been realized, so that it is quite unnecessary for feminists to continue their argument against male domination. Feminism, however, is also controversial in the sense that different feminists mean different things by the term. There are different varieties that seem to have little in common. Different feminists try to suggest a way of extracting some kind of unity out of this formidable diversity (315).

Hoffman and Graham claim that feminism is not an extension of another ideology. It is concerned with the interest of women, and a new set of words needs to be developed to reflect the – separateness of women. Feminism represents as total a break as possible with male – constructed society. Politics is not simply about the law and state as liberals think, it is about human activity in general and the celebrated slogan – the personal is political (Hoffman and Graham 324). Moreover, the interpersonal relation of human activity is a political and an ethical one. Hoffman and Graham assert that feminists dynamism and entrepreneurial flair of women should be both rewarded and acknowledged but to regard feminism as a class question is unhelpful and harrowing (Hoffman and Graham 325). As observed by Hoffman and Graham, feminism as the emancipation of women is doubly problematic. First, because emancipation sounds as though at some privileged point in time women will finally be free and autonomous, and second, because the very term „woman“ implies that what unites women is more important than what divides them (see, Hoffman and Graham 334). Postmodern feminism leads to a kind of academic conservatism that makes emancipating politics impossible (cf, Hoffman and Graham 335). Hoffman and Graham ask one very pertinent fundamental question:

Is feminism still relevant in today's world? They conclude that it could be argued that the emphasis upon different strands of feminism is itself counter-



productive. If feminism is defined broadly as the emancipation of women, then it becomes possible to see each of the different feminism making a positive contribution to the development of feminism overall while betraying a certain one – sidedness which needs to be discarded. Feminism can only be constructed as a visible and dynamic theory through multiple feminisms (326).

In all, feminism offers a tried and true road map to equality and freedom (see, Sommer 52). Levinas' political theory reflects the foundation of ethics as the highest good in the sense of the ethical ideal – the ideally best kind of person (cf, Wood 9-10). Feminism arises from a “supposed promotion of a collective identity for women based on shared victim status (see, Alison 10).

### **Levinas on Violence**

Levinas regards the other as that mysterious unexplained. Something that lies outside and defines the limits of the known, that which is exterior and foreign. Our worldly preoccupations offer a partial alleviation of our existential gravity, but it is only ethics or the relations to the other, absolutely other, that can fully lift this burden (Hofmeyr 11-12). Levinas' ethical metaphysics stresses the primacy and privilege of the other and our unlimited responsibility towards that other. Levinas' ethical and political theory reflects social situatedness (Hofmeyr 12) or the internal regulatory principle of social interaction. Taking responsibility for the other remains the cornerstone of ethics. Levinas believes that:

Ethics and politics are inter-connected or interdependent. Politics, then, only becomes possible if ethics succeeds. As politics concerns the social, it cannot be about singular solitary subjects. Levinas makes no bones about his distrust of politics. He inverts the hierarchy and maintains that it is not politics that should qualify ethics, but ethic should always keep politics in check. Ethics is the condition of possibility for politics (Hofmeyr 17-18).

According to Levinas (*Totality and Infinity*) cited by Hofmeyr; politics is opposed to morality, as philosophy to naiveté. He maintains that violence is inherent to all forms of politics that ignore the other and destroys the identity of the same by making them carry out actions that destroy every possibility for action (see, Hofmeyr 17-18). Levinas defends a pre-or trans-political ethics rooted in the primordial relationship between human beings. It is not that all forms of politics are necessarily bad, for politics, often serve to ensure each individual's rights, but politics is fallible. Politics protects against the ultimate form of violence, that is, against war, through temporary peace agreement, through negotiation and precarious measures that can be overturned at any time (see, Hofmeyr 17-18). Hofmeyr concludes that for the peace aimed at by politics is based on a compromise of interested forces within an encompassing totality under the auspices of universal reason.

Politics means that subjectivity is understood solely as other-invoked (see, Hofmeyr 19). Moreover, the self figures as part of the socio-political world shared with others. Ethics is the stylization of one's conduct (see, Hofmeyr 20). According to Fleurdelitz despite his final call for peace and the wisdom of love, Levinas inevitably spoke of violence and perhaps even more of it. His call for infinite responsibility is actually crystallized through discourse on violence and suffering (Fleurdelitz 52-53). Violence, at least as a concept, poses itself as a concept and as a significant presence to Levinas' plantilla while it reaches un-employed dimensions that await phenomenology and vital thought. As a part of his ethical proposal, understanding violence becomes important so that the self may go beyond it while reaching the other (see, Fleurdelitz 52-53). Violence and terrorism at the local, national and trans-national (international) levels has assumed an alarming or a horrifying proportion. For Fleudelitz, this has now been a theoretical concern for political philosophers and political theorists such as Levinas. According to the Levinasian tradition, violence was part of the human condition when Levinas was brewing his intellectual project. The mind grew from 1920s to 1960s which historically resulted in countless

conflicts among societies and/ or states coming from different political inclinations and offending persons and even race (cf, Fleurdelitz 52-53).

According to Fleurdelitz, succinct and vivid, he describes war as a form of annihilation that destroys not just the other, but also sameness (i.e., the relation the self builds with the other), and even the subjectivity of the self who wages it (Cf, Fleurdelitz 52-53). Fleurdelitz candidly admits that political and ethical redemption in as much as they are in human forms cannot bring back to his primordial and original relation with being. Accordingly, Fleurdelitz holds that war is a violent and permanent disruption of man making his own project (see, Fleurdelitz 52-53). Fleurdelitz posits further that Levinas' sensitivity to violence both in theory and human affairs is brought by the overall temperament of his (historical) dwelling, the experience of war and so the subjective taste of such disruption (Fleurdelitz 53). Fleurdelitz asserts that:

The radical nature of Levinas' critique of Western philosophy was brought to the foreground in his heavy ontological bearing of thinking. Emerging from the phenomenological training of Husserl and Heidegger, Levinas is definitely aware of the heavy ontological bearing of thinking. Levinas recognizes that in order to see an ethical relation that goes beyond ontology, violence must be settled as a plausible reason for responsibility. The radicality of the Levinasian proposal rests on the radical nature of his critique of Western philosophy (53-54).<sup>56</sup>

Fleurdelitz claims that violence is at the centre of the Levinasian critique. Violence can still be present even in the act of generosity and responsibility; responsibility can still be a plausible dwelling of violence (see, Fleurdelitz 53-54). Fleurdelitz goes further to observe that:

Levinas is like telling us that war has its way of altering how man builds himself. Levinas' common approach to violence is more descriptive than definitive. Levinas speaks of violence as a reduction or actual tyranny, an epistemic dissection or a real bloody genocide. Violence is viewed as a condition for totality and a negation of infinity. It absolutizes being through a cruel negation of its possibilities. Violence is a dictatorial and stagnating situation that prevents the disruption of totality. As a consequence, violence brings forth suffering which is taken not only as a form of passivity, but as a negation—a form of unmeaning (54-55).

Violence brings about the impasse of life and meaning-bearing an absurd pain as its affective outburst. Levinas believes that violence brings about suffering and suffering is brought by another who is, more often than not, intentional or intending. Levinas speculates that suffering is obviously unwanted (Fleurdelitz 56). Levinas admits an ethical dilemma in the treatment of an executioner. According to Levinas, in his work: *Useless Suffering in Entre Nous Thinking of the Other*, as cited by Fleurdelitz:

To think suffering in an inter-human perspective does not amount to seeing it in the co-existence of a multiplicity of consciousness, or in a social determinism, accompanied by a simple knowledge that people in society can have of their proximity or of their common destiny. The inter-human perspective can subsist, but can also be lost in the political order of the city where law establishes mutual obligations between citizens. The inter-human is also in the recourse that people have to one another for help, before the astonishing alterity of the other has been banalized or dimmed down to a simple exchange of courtesies that has become established as an interpersonal commerce of customs (57-58).

The experience of violence in traditional epistemology can be taken on two ends; the part of the knower (self) and the part of the known (other) (Fleurdelitz 58). We do not think for thoughts, for

we think for being and the other is somebody exterior to being that must be understood while remaining exterior (cf, Fleurbaey 58). Levinas' notion of inter-human relationship presupposes inter-subjective existential encounter or discourse ethics. For Fleurbaey, discourse comes through speech, but speech is meant not just as an exchange of thoughtful words but as an authentic human experience (59). Violence comes through an existential void caused either by ontological deprivation or suspension. Levinas claims that the paradoxical character and the unceasing monotony of violence brings not only anguish; but horror (59-60). Levinas' ethical-existential encounter brings to the foreground face to face relationship. According to Fleurbaey:

The face is capable of expressing primordial sings due to its very uprightness, defenseless and naked. Where there is nakedness in the face, there is also destitution. This now shows how vulnerable the face of the other is. And though, this vulnerability, the self may be induced to take advantage, inviting the self to an act of violence. Levinasian treatment of violence actually talks about murder. Levinas affectively heightens this by talking about murder (62-62).

As the most banal incident of human history and the total negation of a being, murder does not care about the force that the other may possess as part of the world and murder on the larger scale, where else would Levinas direct his readers but to his emotionally driven description of the Nazi-genocide? The highest criterion of ethics is responsibility.<sup>66</sup> And consequently the ability to respond is the meaning of the term responsibility (i.e., response-ability) to use the words of Gabriel Marcel. Levinas seemingly alludes to a notion of Gabriel Marcel who said that responsibility is the human persons' ability to respond. Responsibility is incumbent on the self exclusively, that which can never be refused. Accordingly, Fleurbaey posits that:

We are all responsible for all men before all. Responsibility therefore is not only for a single other, but for every other that exists through the other. Levinas now brings into surface his notion of justice. Beyond the face to face is a world of citizens, a greater number of others. Consequently, this implies the necessity to having institutions and states, who will be the arbiters in every self's ethical endeavours that are directed to a larger scale. However, one must be cautious because violence may be (and, for sometimes, is inevitably) used in the exercise of justice. Levinas himself admits the existence of violence in the fulfillment of justice in his ethical thought (64).

For Zygmunt Bauman, as cited by Fleurbaey, ethical problems emerge because of Levinas; shortsightedness to look into the expanded human capacities that in turn possess greater consciousness. Consequently, violence necessarily proceeds from the ethical encounter and response, on the other hand, is a by-product of being held hostage (Bauman 53-54 in Fleurbaey 66-67). According to Levinas cited by Fleurbaey, justice establishes the state (Cf, Fleurbaey 66-67). However, the Levinasian paradigm can truly respond to its altruistic servitude (see, Bunnin, Yang and Gu, 1-3). Levinas sees goodness as transcendence and the political authority must hold on to goodness.

### **Evaluation**

Levinas' phenomenology of politics is actually hinged on ethical metaphysics. Levinas' phenomenological ethics presupposes his political theory. The major themes in Levinas' political thought namely history, violence, freedom, ethics, law, justice, politics and religion are quite apt and fundamental to human existential situation. Violence can only disrupt our humanity. Violence breeds violence. Violence has dangerous and disastrous consequences. Violence can only proceed from the ethical encounter and responses of human existential relation. Violence only brings about suffering and human suffering is brought by another human person. Levinas agrees that justice is the only form and substance which establishes the state.

Human history has been characterized by a total negation of our Beingness. Throughout human history we have virtually lost every sense of our humanity. Human intellect has failed us. Technology has created more havoc than good to our humanity. According to the Levinasian perspective politics and ethics are inter-related or interconnected. Levinas' work is difficult to understand and it takes a bird's eye view to unravel his theoretical discourse. Levinas' view on politics is idiosyncratic and apologetic. Levinas' moral and political philosophy is actually anchored on ethical relationship or intersubjectivity or the intersubjective recognition of persons. Difference has been given a negative assumption but it is part and parcel of our humanity. One fundamental element of Levinas' phenomenological ethics and political theory is the critical understanding of dialogue. Levinas' conceptualizations of ethics and politics reveal the sense of ethical sensitivity and rational dialogue. The concept of dialogue requires the need for contact and critical understanding. Levinas' conceptualization of politics and ethics require the need for normative peace and communicative dialogue. Peace means the absence of conflict or war. What disrupts normative peace in human contemporary society is the prevalence of injustice. Injustice occurs as a result of inequalities among human beings in society.

Levinas' phenomenological ethics and political theory envisages his reflective response to the iconic horrors of modern life exemplified by the holocaust; his rejection of totalizing political and cultural conceptions of ourselves that he considered to be a source of these catastrophes. Levinas' phenomenological ethics and his political theory reflect the radical analysis of otherness and face of human beings (see, Bunnin, Yang and Gu, 1-3). The ethical questions of human value lie at the heart of our conception of reality or humanity. Neither politics nor moral phenomenology reflects on an intelligible goal rather than a beckoning mirage that leads us only to confusion. Politics, for instance, does not only aim at resolving the conflicts of interest but it requires dialogue. According to the Aristotelian political and moral compass in relation to Levinas' political consciousness, as explained by Silvano Petrosino,

Dialogue is the best way to conserve the important contribution that conflicting views can make to complex and many-sided philosophical truth. Aristotle aimed at the truth and sought to use philosophical argument (dialogue) to reconcile different views in order to achieve an objective account of reality rather than as a compromise removing tensions among disputants without regard to truth. Levinas's fundamental theme of the priority of the other over the self in ethics, metaphysics and the rest of his philosophy such as law, politics, feminism and religion represents a global perspective of the sources of normative justification of society. Levinas offers an appreciation of liberal values that is grounded in religion, ethics, politics and feminism vis-à-vis his theoretical orientation of violence as the synonym of force (see, Silvano 34).

Levinas' moral metaphysics is a phenomenological analysis and his emphasis on the supremacy of ethics over ontology is existential, humanistic and religious. As observed by Silvano Petrosino, Levinas and his philosophy of "*Otherwise than Being*" reflects a critique of totality, a detachment from metaphysical violence, the exaltation of the difference of the other and, therefore, the evasion from being. Ethics has an independent and preliminary range. In Levinas' writings, ethics does not only have to do with man and human, as ethical concerns, but more essentially, with the deepest nature of reality and therefore of reality as such (35). Levinas' phenomenological style of moral metaphysics and political theory prioritizes the other over the self. For Jack Reynolds, the other is that which by definition must elude any attempt to grasp it. Levinas' ethic presumes a rationalistic discourse of intention, good conscience and goodwill (Raymond 49). Reynolds posits that Levinas' political significance reflects a more relational and phenomenological analysis or – implications of communal society characterized by personhood and identity. Levinasian account of the radical singularity involves in the face to face confrontation. Levinas' political theory reflects a political significance that aimed at the denial of fundamentals of all sorts (Raymond 38).



The condition of relating to the other recognizes the community to be seen as an organized whole. Accordingly, Critchley and Bernasconi conclude that Levinas' abiding concern was the primacy of the ethical relation to the other person and his central thesis was that ethics is first philosophy. His work has also had a profound impact on a numbers of fields out philosophy such as theology, Jewish Studies, Literature and Cultural theory, psychotherapy, sociology, political theory, international relations theory and critical legal theory (xv). Levinas' political theory reflects on contemporary ideological issues such as conflict or violence, history, freedom, law, justice and order, global ethics of peace, the freedom of the state, inter-subjective freedom, feminism and genocide or war and terror. Levinas' political theory is implicit rather than being explicit. Levinas' political theory is very robust and that difference does not really entail a negative assumption parse but it is part and parcel of our human existential, socio-political and economic relations. Violence brings about suffering. For Levinas, the whole acuity of suffering lies in the impossibility of fleeing it, of being protected in oneself from oneself; it lies in being cut off from every living spring (Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 238). Levinas' philosophy reflects in the understanding of being. According to Levinas, the understanding of being implies not just a theoretical attitude but the whole of human behavior (*Is Ontology Fundamental?* 2). Levinas insisted that a purely ethical response, is superior to the complexities and compromises of politics. He posits further the unlimited responsibility in which I find myself comes from the hither side of my freedom, from a prior to every memory and ulterior to every accomplishment (Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 238). Politics is defined by the cumbersomeness of existence (see, Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, 229-251). Finally, for Levinas, man is at home in the world (see, *Totality and Infinity*, 114-140).

### Conclusion

Levinas' political philosophy is aimed at addressing the negative implication of politics, history and violence. His political theory seems to be too implicit rather than being explicit. Levinas is not just a theorist of ethics and metaphysics, but he is also a political theorist. Levinas has dealt with many political issues such as freedom, justice, feminism, law and order, violence, terrorism, war and terror, history and genocide. Levinas' political theory as far as the state is concerned is a very robust one. His political theory is actually aimed at addressing the daunting issues facing man in his immediate world. Levinas' conceptualizations of politics, feminism and violence are clearly articulated by his philosophy of love, peace and justice. Levinas' philosophy is actually aimed at suppressing violence in our contemporary global world. This paper unravels Levinas' political theory as it affects our contemporary world today. Levinas' political theory reflects on contemporary ideological issues such as conflict or violence, history, freedom, law, justice and order, global ethics of peace, the freedom of the state, inter-subjective freedom, feminism and genocide or war and terror. Levinas insisted that politics and violence have disrupted feminist movement. Women are becoming more vulnerable in a world dominated by men. Levinas' political theory is very robust and that difference is not really negative par se but it is part and parcel of our humanity. Women reflect the existential dimension of the concept of the other. The other is naked and defenseless. The other needs hospitality and love.

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## ***The Contextual Declaration: “The Lord is a Man of War” (Exodus 15:3) and Evaluation of Just War theory: Intricacies and Justifications***

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**Abstract:** This article attempted to explicitly examine the self-elucidatory contextual biblical declaration “The Lord is a Man of War” contained in Exodus 15:3 and uses the context of the pre-existed and pre-dated biblical warfare to evaluate the intricacies and justifications of Just War Theory embedded in theological postulation, philosophical rationalisation and multilateral legal codifications. The bible anthropomorphically portrays God as a “Man of War” who engaged in warfare against the enemies of His Chosen people, Israel. God reveals Himself as mighty in battle (Psalms 24:8) and equally describes Himself using warfare armaments in retribution against the enemies of His people (Cf. Deuteronomy 34: 41-42). Meta-ethically, if warfare is seemingly and axiomatically evil and God is depicted as the Lord of peace in Romans 15:33, how then could God shows His nature and ways by warfare and reference to war? Analogically, the fact that God extensively associates Himself with warfare is an evidential indication that war can be just. Consequent upon this backdrop, this article analyses the historical antecedents of Just War Theory and thematizes the salient legal principles of International Humanitarian Law underscoring the Just War Theory. From the perspective of International Law and Jurisprudence, Just War Theory postulates global ethical and rational conceptual legal framework to address the conduct of belligerency or armed conflict. Driven by the detailed historical context of war and the thematic concern of this article, the contextual declaration of the “Lord is a Man of War and the Just War Theory are scholarly systematize within the dynamism of their varieties, realities, intricacies, complexities and justifications.

### **Introduction**

The boldness, straightforwardness, and the strong contextual biblical panegyric anthropomorphism of the statement– “The Lord is a man of war” in Exodus 15:3, implies that Yahweh is a God that is Almighty, and All Powerful; endowed with all the needed and unimaginable capabilities to prevail in all battles on behalf of His chosen people. The statement underscores the fact that God has the unlimited strength to necessarily conquer all those that strive with Him. Contextually, the depiction of God as a man of war is a declaration in a text of an ancient holy song of praise to God, exaltation of His holy Name, magnification of His deeds, and the celebration of His people Israel. In the views of biblical scholars, Moses attributably composed this song, after the great deliverance of Israel from captivity in Egypt.

Indisputably, the God of Israel is very dreadful to his enemies. He is the King of Glory, the Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle (Psalm24:8). God did wondrous things out of the common course of nature for the Israelites and He still wrought wonders for His chosen people, though unworthy they maybe, and have no justification to expect such wonderful works. Across biblical history and events, God's might has been proven. He alone has annihilated the most potent and well organized army in the world in favour of His chosen people, Israel. To accentuate this fact, God shocked the obstinate Egyptian armies by plunging them into the sea in Exodus 14:28 and 15:10. Pharaoh together with all his chariots and horsemen were drowned in the Red Sea.

However, the concept of 'Just War Theory' in juxtaposition and contradistinction to the biblical anthropomorphism, 'God is a Man of War' is religiously, pragmatically, and multi-disciplinary dimensional. That is, it contains broader religious, philosophical, legal, political, and secular elements. Just War Theory is a Western concept notionally distinguished from the Islamic concept of Jihad (Arabic: holy war or striving). The theory deals and focuses on the ethical and legal justifications on why and how war should be fought. Codification of international agreements in International Law such as the Geneva and Hague Conventions are rules aimed at

limiting certain kinds of warfare, which are classified as prosecuting transgression in International Law.

The rationale to embark on just war is predicated on Christian ethics contained in the writings of Roman Catholic theologians such as St. Augustine of Hippo, the original and principal advocator of Just War Theory and St. Thomas Aquinas whose *Summa Theologiae* outlined and examined justifiably the fundamental and permissible reasons to go to war. Notable secular theorists and ethicists of Just War Theory include the Roman jurist and philosopher, Marcus Tullius Cicero who persuasively argued that just wars must be legitimately and openly declared and characterised by a just cause and just conduct. Similarly, the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius opined that war is substantively just if a nation faces imminent danger and as such the use of force should be necessarily proportionate to the threat.

In view of the aforementioned overview and in sequential procedure approach, this article will synthetically examine the following discourses as main tenets of why it is ever right to go to war or vice versa:

- The seemingly paradoxical and dichotomous description of God as a Man of war (Exodus 15:3) and the Lord as a God of peace (Romans 15:33).
- The origin and historical background of Just War Theory.
- The views of St. Augustine of Hippo and St. Thomas Aquinas as advocators of Just War Theory.
- *Jus ad Bellum* (Justification for War) as moral framework and legal determinacy.
- The principles of *Jus in Bello* (How war should be fought) as ethical legitimacy
- Evaluation of all of the above in their entirety with allusion to the notion and advocacy of *Jus Post Bello* (the moral necessity of post war settlement, rehabilitation, and reconstruction) and
- Conclusion of the article, which would highlight the theoretical and meta-ethical considerations as practicalities and paradigmatic imperatives crucial for conventional coherence of the idea of a Just War.

Obviously, the tradition of just war spans through the ages and the consideration of thoughts of various theologians, philosophers, ethicists and lawyers of different epochs amounted as the bedrock to the theory, bearing in mind the biblical background of urgent, cogent, and coherent existential reality of war approbated by God.

**Contextual Analysis of the Lord as a Man of War:** (Exodus 15:3) and the Lord as a God of Peace (Romans 15:33)

The biblical characterization of God both as a man of war and God of peace, is contextually and distinctively true depending on the circumstances and usage of each expression in the bible. Analytically-critically, wars are rationally fought for the attainment of peace and in some cases for the ascertainment of a just cause. God is understood as a God of peace in the context of His original created perfectly and peaceful world. However, the peaceful world created by God has been reduced and subjected to wars because of mankind's rebellion and man's inhumanity to man. Exemplification of this fact is Pharaoh's cruelty and oppression of the people of Israel.

The promises of peace and the depiction of the Lord as God of Peace in Romans 15:33 and elsewhere in the bible are meant for only God's people. Peculiarly, intercalated benedictions and doxologies are frequently used by St. Paul in his writings of his pastoral epistles (Cf. Romans 9:5, 11:36; Ephesians 3:20-21, et al). The Lord is a man of war in Exodus 15:3 reveals the enormous power and control God has over and above all situations in general and in waging



war against the oppressing Egyptian army aggression against the Israelites in particular. God has never promised peace to the wicked. “There is not peace says the Lord for the wicked” (Isaiah 48:28, 57:21). Fathomably, within the perspective of a wider spectrum, God is both a man of war and a God of peace for the Israelites. On the one hand, He fought against the Egyptians on their behalf, and on the other hand, He gave the Israelites peace of victory and deliverance. In the same way, God made it very clear through the prophet Joel when he says:

Proclaim this among the nations – prepare a war, rouse the mighty men! Let all the soldiers draw near, let them come up! Beat your ploughshares into sword. And your pruning hooks into spears; let the weak say, I am a strong.

This passage is an implication of the Israelites salvation from their hitherto plagues and droughts and an indication of recognition of Yahweh in the midst of Israel's profound present and future. From the foregoing, there is neither contradiction nor ambiguity of God as a 'Man of War' who saves His chosen people from oppression, and the Lord as a God of peace, who loves peace and epitomised in peace.

The concept of warfare and God being the primordial author of victory of war predated man and the biblical creation stories. Heaven itself was once the scene of revolt and open rebellion, that is, there was war in Heaven (Cf. Revelation 12:7-9). If war found its way in heaven, it necessarily implies that God determined the timeline of pre-history and victory of war. With the victory of the war in heaven, we read in the book of Apocalypse “Now have come the salvation and the power and the kingdom of our God and the authority of His Messiah” (Revelation 12:10). Inferentially, it is a direct sound and valid logical deduction that does not require *modus tollendo ponens* or a propositional calculus in complex predicate logic to decipher that God has been ontologically victorious in war before becoming anthropomorphically a man of war”.

The first recorded biblical event of war is in Genesis 14:1-17, where Lot, Abraham's nephew was held hostage in a war involving alliance of ally kings. Next is in Exodus, the famous exodus and deliverance of the Israelites from Pharaoh's enslavement and oppression in Egypt. Pharaoh fearfully envisaged that war may break out and the descendants of Joseph may possibly enter into alliance with his perceived enemies (Cf. Exodus 1:8). So, the fear of Pharaoh became the justification of his oppression of Israel. After the exodus experience, Israel's first battle is in Exodus 17:8-13, where God empowered them to defeat the Amalakites in as much Moses' arms were raised. In Exodus 23:22, God assured and promised the Israelites, that He will be an enemy to their enemies and an adversary to their adversaries.

Furthermore, the book of Numbers begins with a census, enlistment, and preparation for warfare. The rationale behind the census for which the book derived its name is to determine the number of able-bodied Israelites who are capable of “going to war”. Going to war, is a phrase that occurred twelve times in the first chapter of the book of Numbers. Ironically, Israel's next war against the Amalakites and the Canaanites resulted in defeat because they went to the war presumptuously, without Moses and the Ark of the Covenant and God was not fighting for them (Numbers 14: 40-45). Extensively, the rest of the book of Numbers is punctuated with accounts of Israel's army victories in war because God fought for them. The successes of the battles of Israel are recorded in the “Book of Wars of the Lord (Numbers 21:14). The phrase “Wars of the Lord” rather than War of Israel is a clear presupposition and interpretation that God is a man of war. This truism served as the springboard for the emergence and development of Just War Theory.

### **The origin and precise historical background of Just War theory**

The Just War Theory is in fact as old as warfare itself. Its origin is rooted and traceable to both biblical Hebraic and Roman cultures embedded in religious and socio-political statecraft administrative tendencies. Initially, just war was coalesced as a coherent thought and practice

during the epoch of the Middle Ages and later snowballed into canon law (law of the Roman Catholic Church) and theology. In the same vein, the concepts of *jus natural* (Latin: natural law) and *jus genuim* (Latin: law of nations) are derivatives of Roman law that formed the basis of statecraft practices and the Chivalric Code that developed between 1170 and 1220. Thus, theologians and canon lawyers pieced together Christian belief system on the justification of war and immunity of non-combatant in warfare.

The historical antecedent of just war implies a tradition of mutually acceptable rules of combat involving two culturally belligerent states. Classical history of communal and mutual warfare suggest that some ethical considerations and rules of engagement were adopted and applied by ancient warriors to minimally limit the outcome of potential devastation and ostensible calamitous effects of wars. The long history of just war includes the biblical and ethical conduct in war arising from a just cause. The justification for war predicated on Christian ethics are found in the theological writings of St. Augustine of Hippo and St. Thomas Aquinas, that developed into the restraints on the means and modes of warfare and modern rules of engagement in armed conflicts or civil upheavals.

**The views of St. Augustine of Hippo and St. Thomas Aquinas as advocators of Just War theory**  
 St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) was the pioneer Christian theologian and scholar who advocated and provided moral justification for war in contradistinction to the unbridled inclination for violence associated with religion extremism of Islamic jihad. St. Augustine tenaciously believed that the only just cause to go to war was the ultimate desire for peace. He succinctly expressed the reason for a just war as follows:

We do not seek peace in order to go to war but we go to war that we may have peace. Be peaceful, therefore in warring, so that you may vanquish those whom you war against, and bring them to the prosperity of peace.

It was for this reason St. Augustine is known in history as the advocator of just war theory in the Western tradition. Essentially, St. Augustine identified and classified *Jus ad Bellum* (right to go to war) and *Jus in Bello* (right sort of conduct in war) as two major aspects of moral requirements and justifications for war. These classifications of *Jus ad Bellum* and *Jus in Bello* would be examined extensively in the next two succeeding sub-headings.

In conformity with St. Augustine's identification and classification of *Jus ad Bellum* and *Jus in Bello* as requirements for a just war for the attainment of peace, St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) made clear three criteria that must be met before a war can be just. They are: war must be declared and waged by a legitimate authority; it must be fought for a legitimate and ultimate reason; and peace must be the driving force and central focus for a just war.

The direct view of St. Thomas Aquinas on a just war as contained in the second part of his *Summa Theologiae* and read thus:

The first thing is the authority of the prince by whose command the war is to be waged. It does not belong to a private person to start a war, for he can prosecute his claim in court of his superior. In like manner the mustering of people that has to be done in wars does not belong to a private person. But since the care of the commonwealth of the city, kingdom or province subject to them. And as they lawfully defend it with the material sword against inward disturbances by punishing male-factors, so it belong to them also to protect the commonwealth from enemies without by the sword of war.

***Jus ad Bellum* (Justification for War) as Legal and Moral Frameworks**

*Jus Ad Bellum* is the legal term containing the legitimate and moral justification a State has to engage in warfare. The principles of *Jus ad Bellum* were developed by St. Augustine of Hippo

and supported by St. Thomas Aquinas. These principles determine what make a war just. International agreement in International Law regarding a justifiable cause for a country to engage in any war is predicated on the principles of *Jus ad Bellum*. Article 51 of the United Nations Charter says: “Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations”. The five principles of *Jus ad Bellum* that characterise a war as just are:

1. **Legitimate Authority and Public Declaration:** This principle implies that a war is just if and only if it is declared and waged by proper and legitimate authority such as the command of a sovereign state. This is in line with St. Thomas's three criteria of a just war in his *Summa Theologiae*.
2. **Just Cause and Right Intention:** In view of this principle of just cause and right intention, the aim of war is to pursue a just peace. This pursuit of peace should supersede the situation that would have happened if the war was not fought.
3. **Probability of Success:** For a war to be just there must be sufficient reasons and very high possibility of achieving the aim of success. To this end, armed conflicts and wars should not be undertaken if they are unlikely not to result in the attainment of peace.
4. **Reasonable Proportionality of Success:** In any just war, the principle of proportionality must apply. This principle implies that violence, force and armoury used in armed conflict, must be proportionate to the military objective. Therefore, certain weapons such Weapons of Mass Destructions (WMD) are prohibitive in just war.
5. **Last Resort:** This principle presupposes that for a war to be considered just, all diplomatic efforts, peaceful negotiations and non-military options must have been exhausted before the deployment of armaments and the engagement of armed forces. This principle primarily purports and supports the use and engagement of minimum force to determine whether there would be peace, before an escalation that involve maximum force and complete military deployment and engagement.

### **The principles of *Jus in Bello* (How war should be fought) as Ethical Legitimacy**

The term *Jus in Bello* is a body of legal and ethical norms in International Humanitarian Law (IHL) that refers to the rightful conduct in war. The underlying factor of *Jus in Bello* is the distinction between combatants and non-combatants in warfare. Contraventions of *Jus in Bello* in terms of the conduct of individuals and troops toward combatants, non-combatants, property, and the environment are punishable under international legal instruments of Customary International Law, including War Crime and International Criminal law.

*Jus in Bello* has two broad principles: namely, discrimination and proportionality. The principle of discrimination focuses on the legitimate targets in war, while the principle of proportionality deals on commensurate force ethically appropriate in war. In waging a just war, it is essential to ensure the avoidance of unjust and unfair indiscriminate attacks on non-combatants and innocent civilians as well as the environment. The principles of discrimination and proportionality are aimed to ensure responsibility which now serves as a third principle indicating an implication of justice in warfare.

### **General Analysis and Evaluation**

In practical procedure terms, just war tradition indicatively encompasses legality, morality, religiosity and philosophy. The need for secular society to justify going to war is a reflection of the practical influences of religious obligation, moral necessity, legal norms, military ethics and philosophical rationalisation. Just War Theory was developed in the 4th century by St. Augustine of Hippo and promoted in the 13th century by St. Thomas Aquinas.

However, contrary to biblical times as well as ancient and medieval epochal periods, modern day wars are now characterised by sophisticated technology, superior military capabilities,

intellectual advancement, political hegemony, superiority of weapons of mass destruction, together with nuclear weapons tension and rearmament. These characterisations of wars have raised fundamental questions on the justification and permissibility of war as just in the 21st century vis-a-vis the principles of *Jus ad Bellum* and *Jus in Bello* which are seemingly unrealistic in contemporary terrorism context and inapplicable in modern warfare.

Remarkably, during armed conflicts, belligerency, or civil upheavals, women and girls are concomitantly and collaterally routine sexual targets and they are faced with a situation of 'between the devil and the deep blue sea' characterised by limited economic alternative perspectives and opportunities required for the needs of their families and self-support. As a result, more often than not, they are coerced into sexual and illicit alliances with military forces, including regional and international peacekeepers and humanitarian officials, as means to negotiate their protection, solicit for their safety and exchange for their survival. This obnoxious sexual recrudescence, which has not been prevented in wars, is a lamentable fundamental contradiction and credibility deficit beyond the formulation and control of Just War Theory. In the same vein, effectuated conscription and selective massacre of men in wars is an absurdity that encapsulates the complex humanitarian catastrophes and emergencies associated with wars.

Generally, Just War Theory idealistically assumes high moral standard, religious ethics, military restraint, diplomatic mutuality, and legal obligation of refraining from war, which obviously are not always the case. Consequently, the Just War Theory as it is, requires continuous development and refinement in conformity with political, military, and technological advancement of contemporary context, bearing in mind the recognition of international inter-agency strategic contributory plans for avoiding wars and civil hostilities.

Imperatively, driven by the aforementioned reality in view of cessation of war, three possibilities inevitably occur: a state and its army have been defeated, a state and its army have been victorious or both warring states have agreed to a ceasefire on condition of no victor no vanquish. Based on these possibilities, the principles of application of justice may now arise to each of these situations. Hence, the proposition of *Jus post Bellum* as an essential component of Just War Theory is emerging as a principle. Just like the principle of discrimination, *Jus post Bellum* as a concept should be adopted to address termination phases of war; encompassing mobilisation, rehabilitation and reintegration of innocents and non-combatant victims of war as well as disarmament of arms and demobilisation of combatants of war.

As a corollary to the thematic concern of Just War Theory and with 'apocalyptic emphasis' on the anthropomorphic description of God as a "Man of War", if we can access the Book of Wars of the Lord (Numbers 21:14), and consider the successes of military engagements of the Israelites contain therein and juxtapose them with the great deliverance of Israel from the Egyptians, in the event of crossing the Red Sea and the annihilations of Pharaoh and his armies; the statement: the Lord is a man of war in Exodus 15:3 will be exegetically and superlatively refreshing in our understanding of God as a man who fights for His chosen people. For the sake of His people, God has never avoided armed conflict, belligerent hostilities, confrontation, and conquest. The depiction of God as a Man of war, also echoes and is corroborated in Isaiah 43:13;

The Lord shall go forth like a mighty man, He shall stir up His zeal like a man of war. He shall cry out, yes, shout aloud; He shall prevail against His enemies.

Abraham engaged in warfare with God's approval and God gave him victory. Throughout the Deuteronomistic history, God commanded Israel under Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Samuel, Saul, and David to go to war and He went forth to give them victory. Therefore, the panegyric anthropomorphism, "the Lord is a man of war" in Exodus 15:3 is not just consequential within the context of Israel victory over Egypt in Yahwistic poetry, but resonates in all the victories of Israel's wars.



In the same vein, it is obvious that Just War Theory was formulated and premised on the presumption against any armed conflict or war. The phrase just war is a denotation to deny the horrific nature of war, hence, the theory would have been tantamount to paradox of both legal and logical principle of 'excluded middle. Significantly, Christian just war tradition is the promotion of the culture of peace rather than the intervention of military engagement. Ostensibly, Just War Theory is the only visible and viable ethical framework against the unbridled inclination for war in the slightest provocation. Therefore, Just War Theory stands not as a mere formulated theory to justify a war but it is a theory intended to prevent wars.

### **Conclusion**

In recognition of the Just War Theory, the 1648 Peace of Westphalia (Treaty of Westphalia) brought about European settlements that include the eighty years War between Spain and the Dutch (the Netherlands) and the thirty years German phase of the war. Since then, there has been a concerted and collaborative efforts in International Law that developed into applicable and enforceable laws of war and military codes of conduct known as International Humanitarian Law (IHL) or Law of Armed Conflict. The Geneva Conventions (1864-1949) and their affiliated Protocols (1977), together with various international agreements and treaties are aimed at limiting the means allowable in belligerency.

Consequently, contemporary legal and philosophical debate has centred on human rights abuses in the engagement of war classified as just, apparently as a result of increased global attention given to human rights abuses during wars and the tremendous growth in International Human Rights Law. Imperatively, human rights seek to protect and promote human dignity upon these four legal advantages of the right holders: liberties, claims, power, and immunities. Correspondingly, since the 1990, different Just War exponents have persuasively argued for the need to utterly end such abuses, which on itself constitute a just cause for the use of international military interventions in putting an end to perceived human rights abuses. Ultimately, the rationale for the Just War Theory is the necessity of re-establishing peace and responding to injustices. Justice establishes the baseline for rightful treatment as the impartial and consistent application of principles of law that are substantively just. It is on this basis of understanding of the concept of justice within the context of war that our horizon and comprehension of the contextual biblical panegyric anthropomorphism of 'God as a Man of war would be broadened.

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## Sartre and the Epistemology of the other as Subsisting Subject

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**Abstract:** One of the serious challenges to epistemology in general is how to account for the Other as a subsisting subject. The problem of the Other (or the problem of Other Minds), is a problem in philosophy that asks: how do I know that there are any other conscious human beings, who think and feel in the same way I do, in the world besides myself? How do I establish that the Other exists as subjects and not just as an object of my perception or knowledge? This topic is worth considering due to its importance in human relation. This essay presents this problem with specific attention to Sartre's approach. For him, the fundamental question is: how do we come into contact with other people and no longer: how do we know other people exist? By this question Sartre establishes that It is not an epistemological question, rather it is an ontological one. His position has a social implication and goes to confirm that the human being is social by nature.

**Keywords:** Epistemology, Other, Subsisting Subject.

### Introduction

When one studies the entire phenomenological and existential tradition general as well as the traditional conception of knowledge, one will encounter the problem of the Other (or the problem of Other Minds). This is a problem in philosophy that asks: how do I know that there are any other conscious human beings, who think and feel in the same way I do, in the world besides myself; that is, they exist as subjects and not just as objects of my perception or knowledge? This topic is worth considering due to its importance in human relation. A good knowledge of how the other thinks and feels will help in building better human relationships. An awareness that other people have minds like us, that they are not mere objects like any other object of our perception, but subjects with feelings like ours and how important they are to a holistic understanding of ourselves, will help us in cultivating an attitude of respect for their persons. This understanding will create mutual respect among human beings, since it will reveal that the other is a complete person like any other human person demanding equal respect and dignity that is the due of all human beings.

Some philosophers seem to think that there is a special difficulty about other minds, since we cannot perceive other minds like we do of other objects of our perception and knowledge. Many philosophers tried to proffer solutions to this problem, but Sartre's presentation of the problem and his solution is particularly interesting. He wrote a lot in the field of philosophy and literature. Sartre's most important works in the area of philosophy include: *The Imagination*, *Transcendence of the Ego*; *Nausea*, *The Wall*; *A theory of Emotions*; *The Roads to Freedom*; and *Being and Nothingness*.

His central argument, in *Being and Nothingness*, is that the relation between the self and the other are related in an internal relation, a relation of negation. And this is explained in the phenomenon of shame and jealousy, because in them I see myself as the other sees me, and all this depends on the being-there of the other-as-subject. This presence of the other rivets and engulfs my freedom and transcendence, because in his freedom he interprets my jealousy and turns my freedom back to me as shame. There arises, then a strange nothingness that is not made to be by my consciousness. (Sartre, 261-3)

**Historical Contextualization of the Problem**

The problem of other minds is concerned with the fundamental issue of what entitles us to our belief that other human beings do have inner lives; whether they are just mere objects of our perception or just bodies like robots without minds at all. If they have minds how can we come to know the contents of their minds? Francis O. C. Njoku, in his book *Studies in the Philosophy of Mind*, gave a very precise description of the problem when he states:

The problem of other minds examines how one could determine whether something other than oneself is really a thinking, feeling, and conscious being. It is called the problem of self-consciousness. How is it that any conscious being has an immediate and privileged knowledge of its own sensations, emotions, beliefs, desires, and so on? How is this possible? How trustworthy is that knowledge? One, therefore, asks: how am I justified in ascribing mental states to others from the evidence of my own experience or through the observation of their behaviours(Njoku, 101).

The problem is that of solipsism that threatens most of the theories of epistemology and phenomenology, which seem to see the individual's experiences, thoughts and emotions as the only ones that exist. Most theories of knowledge in epistemology and theories of consciousness in phenomenology, when pushed to their logical conclusion, tend to suggest solipsism.

This problem is traditionally in two forms: the epistemological problem, concerned with how our beliefs about other's mental states might be justified, and a conceptual problem, that asks: how it is possible for us to form a concept of mental states other than our own. Thus philosophers have tried to give accounts of how we can come to establish that other human beings have minds like us.

Rene Descartes (1596–1650) could be said to have set the stage for the problem of other minds with his theory of the cogito, existence of the outside world, and the mind-body dualism. Thus when he separated the mind from the body and claimed that only human beings had minds, the seed of the problem was sown at that time, but was just waiting to be noted (Avramides, 2001).

Thomas Reid (1710–1796) is also credited to have been the first person to have spotted the problem of other minds and saw it to be a serious philosophical problem. In fact, it seems that the first frequent use of the words 'other minds' is to be credited to him. But, for him, those minds are not observable. Nor is our belief that they exist to be reached or supported by reasoning. According to him, it is self-evident, an innate belief, that there are minds other than one's own. (Somerville, 152)

John Locke (1632–1704) in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* set out to 'enquire into the origin, certainty, and extent of human Knowledge. There we find him emphasizing our ignorance with respect to what another creature may be experiencing, while insisting that we should not conclude from this ignorance that these other creatures do not have experiences. Locke believes that other minds or spirits exist and that this is something we cannot deny. And Locke holds this despite also holding that it is not possible for us to know what things are like for these other minds. Locke admits that we cannot know that other minds or spirits exist, but he believes that we are of the opinion that they do, and that this opinion is based on reasons that make it probable that our opinion is true (Locke, 43).

The question of our knowledge of another mind or spirit is central to George Berkeley's (1685–1783) concern. The reason for this is that, as Berkeley denies the existence of material substance, the cause of my ideas is held to be spirit; and, as my ideas are not entirely within my control, their cause is taken by Berkeley to be some *other* mind or spirit. In the case of my ideas of the movements of another body, the cause is held to be another finite spirit like myself.



However, not all philosophers have been convinced that Berkeley has given adequate reason to believe in the existence of other finite spirits (Berkeley, 65).

John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), in his work *An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, gave a classical formulation of the problem against the backdrop of an analogical inference. He began by posing a question asking by what evidence do I know that, or by what considerations am I led to believe, that there exist other sentient creatures; that the walking and speaking figures which I see and hear, have sensations and thought, or in other words, possess minds? He responded to the question by saying that he arrives at the conclusion that others have feelings like him because they have bodies like him, and the body, for him, is the antecedent condition of feelings. Secondly, they exhibit acts, and other outward signs, which in his own case he knows to be caused by feelings (Njoku, 103).

Edmund Husserl (1858–1938) can be credited with establishing the problem of other minds as serious and challenging. In the fifth meditation of the *Cartesian Meditation* he presented this challenge as follows:

when I... reduce myself to my absolute transcendental ego by phenomenological epoche do I not become solus ipse ...Should not phenomenology that proposed to solve the problem of objective being, and to present itself as actually philosophy, be branded therefore as transcendental solipsism (Edmund Husserl, 89).

The task before him was to find the possibility of an actually transcendent knowledge that which goes outside one's ego and reach other egos. He admitted that even as we experience the other as being there before us, neither is the other ego himself, nor his subjective processes or his appearances themselves, nor anything else belonging to his own essence, become given in our experience originally. Husserl claims that for us to bridge this gap between the two egos we need a certain mediacy provided by the concepts of appresentation and analogical apperception. And with these we constitute the other as an alter ego. It is a process whereby “a body within my primordial sphere, being similar to my own animate body, becomes apprehended as likewise an animate organism” (Husserl, 112). This, he insists, does not mean that would be an inference from analogy, because apperception is not inference. We can say, therefore, that he found the way out by insisting that our experience of the objective world was at the same time an experience of others.

Martin Heidegger (1889–1976), for his part, does not seek to establish that other human beings exist. Others are necessarily present in the kind of existence each of us has. They are there at the centre of our way of being. Thus, he described the being of Dasein as being-in-the-world and a being-with. In this being-in-the-world of Dasein, which he also called 'dealings', is a being-with entities within-the-world. The kind of dealings here is not a bare perceptual cognition, but rather that kind of concern which manipulates things and puts them to use. He claims that if we consider the environment closest to us, the work world, the outcome will be that along with the equipments to be found when we work, those for whom the 'work' is destined are encountered too. For example, a tailor sewing a piece of cloth, in this idea is contained already an essential reference to possible wearers. He continues thus: For example, “we walk along the edge of a field but 'outside it' the field shows itself as belonging to such-and-such a person, and decently kept up by him; the book we have used was bought at so-and-so's shop and given by such- and-such a person and forth.” (Heidegger, 153).

He added that even if the thing under consideration is strange or new to us, it still is indicative of others. The idea of the other, for him, is not an attachment to the idea of the thing ready-to-hand. He writes thus: “the others who are thus 'encountered' in a ready-to-hand, environmental context of equipment, are not somehow added on in thought to some 'thing' which is proximally just present-at-hand; such 'things' are encountered from out of the world in which they are ready-to-hand for others” (Heidegger, 154).

In clarifying the idea of the other, Heidegger stated that: "By others we do not mean everyone else but me— those over against whom the 'I' stands out. They are rather those from whom, for the most part, one does not distinguish oneself— those among who one is too."(Heidegger, 154)

So the world of Dasein is a *with-world*. Being-in is Being-with others; and this being with is an existential characteristic of Dasein even when in fact no other is present-at-hand or perceived.

### **Sartre and the Problem of the Other**

In *Being and Nothingness*, Sartre presented his ontology and divided the world into two realities: the human reality, which he identified with consciousness or Being-for-itself; and material entities, which he called Being-in-itself. The relationship that exists between the two realities is that of negation. The For-itself is the negation of the In-itself. At this level, Sartre maintains that the unreflective consciousness cannot be inhabited by a self; the self is only given in the form of an object and only for the reflective consciousness. So the human person has no fixed nature or a self at the level of the For-itself considered in isolation. There is, however, a third category of being that arises from the For-itself (human reality) as it encounters the other, and it is known as Being-for-others (Levy, 37). This Being-for-others forms the special topic of part three the book. He started that part by stating the problem and showing how this third dimension of being can only be revealed with the advent of the other. He then went further to present and to criticize the positions of realism and idealism, and the solutions of Husserl, Hegel, and Heidegger. He finally gave a detailed presentation of his own position about the other.

### **The problem**

Sartre set out to find a solution to the problem of the existence the other by going back into the modes of consciousness of human reality. He maintained that the for-itself does not exhaust human reality, but that within our attitude of reflective description we can discover another ontological structure which can only be revealed by the other. He writes:

Without going outside our attitude of reflective description, we can encounter modes of consciousness which seem, even while themselves remaining strictly in for-itself, to point to a radically different type of ontological structure. This ontological structure is mine; it is in relation to myself as subject that I am concerned about myself, and yet this concern (for-myself) reveals to me a being which is my being without being-for-me (Sartre, 221).

He cited 'shame' as one of these modes of consciousness and showed that in analyzing it we find the existence of the other established, since shame can never be shame before oneself but before the Other. He adds:

In, fact no matter what results one can obtain in -solitude by the religious practice of shame, it is in its primary structure shame before *somebody*. I have just made an awkward or vulgar gesture. This gesture clings to me; I neither judge it nor blame it. I simply live it. I realize it in the mode of for-itself. But now suddenly I raise my head. Somebody was there and has seen me. Suddenly I realize the vulgarity of my gesture, and I am ashamed (Sartre, 221).

The appearance of the other on the scene makes me pass judgment on myself as an object, for it is as an object, though not an empty object in the mind, that I appear before the other. And the image I form of myself in shame is not comparable to the one I have of myself in the mode of For-itself. So a deeper reflection on the phenomenon of shame will reveal that we have an understanding of the Other as a subject with a mind capable of passing judgment on us, and not as an object of our perception. Sartre continues: "Thus shame is shame of oneself before the

Other; these two structures are inseparable. But at the same time I need the Other in order to realize fully all the structures of my being. The For-itself refers to the For-others” (Sartre, 223).

Therefore, in order to have better grasp of the relation of man's to Being-in-itself, an understanding of the existence of Other is one of the ingredients we need.

### **The Reef of Solipsism**

Sartre sees the attempts of both the realists and idealists to establish the existence of the Other as leading to Solipsism. Strange enough, in the face of the problem of the Other's existence realism becomes idealism and vice versa. Since realism postulates the existence of the external world and that it acts on consciousness, the only thing it can establish with certainty is the existence of the Other's body, as for his consciousness it is only by analogy. Sartre explains:

Yet for all that realism attempts to account for knowledge by an action of the world upon the thinking substance, it has not been concerned with establishing an immediate reciprocal action of thinking substances upon each other. It is through the mediacy of the world that they communicate. My body as a thing in the world and the Other's body are the necessary intermediaries between the Other's consciousness and mine. The Other's soul is therefore separated from mine by all the distance which separates first my soul from my body, then my body from the Other's body, and finally the Other's body from his soul (Sartre, 224).

Such an analogy can only give a probable knowledge of the Other's existence, since the body before me can equally, be a robot. Sartre continues:

The hypothesis which gives the best account of its behavior is that of a consciousness which is analogous to my own consciousness and whose various emotions the body reflects. It remains to explain how we arrive at this hypothesis. We will be told at one time that it is by analogy with what I know of myself and again that it is experience which teaches us, for example, to interpret the sudden reddening of a face as the forewarning of blows and angry cries. It will be freely admitted that this procedure can only give us a probable knowledge. It remains always possible that the Other is only a body. If animals are machines, why shouldn't the man whom I see pass in the street be one? (Sartre, 225)

The realist is now forced to abandon his position and assert with the idealist that other minds exist but they are known only as measured by our knowledge. Sartre concludes that in a philosophy based on intuition, there is provided no intuition of the soul of the Other. And that if we are not to make a mere play on words, this means that realism provides no place for the intuition of the Other.

Critical idealism, with Kant as a leading figure, fares not better. Since;

they, preoccupied with establishing the universal laws of subjectivity which are the same for all, never dealt with the question of *persons*. The subject is only the common essence of these persons; it would no more allow us to determine the multiplicity of persons than the essence of man, in Spinoza's system, permits one to determine that of concrete men. At first then it seems that Kant placed the problem of others among those matters which were not within the province of his critique (Sartre, 229).

The Other is treated within the Kantian frame work as a regulative principle, which does not have to be but helps me to organize my experiences. But that cannot account for the very

phenomenon of the other, because I experience him as having a unity of experiences that are not mine. The other is an immanence that is transcendent to me; and this cannot be accounted for by the principles of Critical idealism. It can either become solipsism by showing that the other is unimportant or realism by postulating an immediate communication between two consciousnesses. Sartre puts it this way:

Thus the Other within the perspective of idealism can be considered neither as a constitutive concept nor as a regulative concept of my knowledge. He is conceived as real, and yet I cannot conceive of his real relation to me. I construct him as object, and yet he is never released by intuition. I posit him as subject, and yet it is as the object of my thoughts that I consider him. There remain then only two solutions for the idealist: either to get rid of the concept of the Other completely and prove that he is useless to the constitution of my experience, or to affirm the real existence of the Other—that is, to posit a real, extra-empirical communication between consciousnesses (Sartre, 143).

This problem, according to Sartre, arises for the realist and idealist because they both consider the relation of the self to others as an external relation; and they both consider the other as an object of knowledge. The problem is whether our representation of the other truly corresponds to the other. But only a third mind – God – could guarantee this and the concept of God, for Sartre, is contradictory. The only way out of the problem is to realize that the self and the other are related in an internal relation, a relation of negation (Sartre, 235).

### **Sartre's Theory of Other Minds (The Look)**

Sartre's solution to the problem of other minds (or the Other in general) comes into view when Sartre's analytical re-descriptions of the phenomenology of inter-subjective consciousness is followed through to a point where our understanding of the phenomenology intersects with the abstract, metaphysical appreciation of the problem of the Other which we have gained from the critique of previous attempts at a solution (Gardner, 134).

In order to furnish us with a better grip of the phenomenology, Sartre began by describing two contrasting scenarios in which we have awareness of the Other. The first is the scene in which the Other appears to me ordinarily. I become aware of a figure across the way from me in the park. If I view him as a puppet, this will add nothing to my perceptual world. But when I view him as a man, it effects a limited transformation of the world: the lawn assumes a new orientation towards a remote point with which I am not identical, and there is a 'fixed sliding' away from me as the world 'drains' out of my grasp. But this scenario does not answer the question; it is still at the level of Knowledge. This concerns only the man and the things in the lawn and it is probable that the man I see is only a robot. Even at that it points to me what the Other is to my world of experience. As Sartre puts it: "The Other is first the permanent flight of things toward a goal which I apprehend as an object at a certain distance from me but which escapes me inasmuch as it unfolds about itself its own distances" (Sartre, 255).

At this point the Other is still an object in the world, an object which can be defined by the world. But to what does this refer? Sartre answers that if the Other-as-object is defined in connection with the world, as the object which *sees* what I see, then my fundamental connection with the Other-as-subject must be able to be referred back to my permanent possibility of *being* seen by the Other. In a word, my apprehension of the Other in the world as probably being a man refers to my permanent possibility of *being-seen-by-him*; that is, to the permanent possibility that a subject who sees me may be substituted for the object seen by me. So this scenario leads us to the next scenario, that of shame. He uses this illustration of my being moved by jealousy or curiosity, I peer through a keyhole and press my ear to the door - the world is organized around my end of discovering what is being said within. Footsteps in the hall tell me that I have been seen, and I am suddenly 'affected in my being: my own structure



undergoes 'essential modifications', for I now have pre-reflective consciousness of myself as an object of the look of the Other. This second scenario, though it comes after the first one, has priority over it. According to Sartre, it is because, and only because, I have the awareness of the Other exemplified in the scenario of shame, that I can have the form of awareness exemplified in the park scenario. In the park, I am aware of the 'Other-as object', in the phenomenon of shame, of the 'Other-as-subject', and it is only because consciousness of the Other-as-subject is possible, that consciousness of the Other-as-object is possible.<sup>18</sup> Awareness of the Other-as-object is, therefore, a metaphysically and epistemologically secondary form of awareness of the Other. It as Sartre puts it, 'the result of the conversion and the degradation of that original relation' to the Other-as-subject. But how does this whole scenario of shame solve the problem of the existence of the Other? Gardner gives the Answer thus:

certain particular consciousnesses – for example, "shame-consciousness" – bear indubitable witness to the cogito both of themselves and of the existence of the Other'; I am capable of 'something like a cogito concerning' the Other; 'the cogito a little expanded . . . reveals to me as a fact the existence of the Other'; 'the cogito of the Other's existence is merged with my own cogito'; awareness of the Other thus 'shares in the apodicticity of the cogito itself, that is, its indubitability (Gardner, 136).

Gardner, however, explains that Sartre does not imply that there occurs a migration of an individual into the Other or a telepathic transfer of the Other's consciousness and 'I' into my own consciousness. Gardner went on to give some point that will help in understanding Sartre's solution is supposed to work in solving the problem of the Other.

- Intersubjective awareness consists primordially in an immediate subject-subject relation: If the Other is to be capable of being given to us, it is by means of a direct apprehension.
- The subject-subject relation is extra-mundane: it is not in the world that the Other is first to be sought but at the side of consciousness; when the Other 'looks at me, he is separated from me by no distance, by no object of the world – whether real or ideal – but by the sole fact of his nature as Other.
- Consciousness of the Other is achieved through the ontological transformation of my own consciousness. The specific transformation effected by the Other consists in the formation, out of my consciousness, of something with characteristics of being-in-itself. At this point the Other has given me a nature.
- The relation obtaining primordially between individual 'for-itself' is, as noted, a negative and internal ontological relation, as opposed to a relation of knowledge. The bond of self and the Other, which from one angle has the bare simplicity of the cogito, has therefore, in the full view, a dialectical complexity.
- it is, therefore, not the body which provides the key to knowledge of Others. The body, like the objectual world at large, plays no epistemic role in Sartre's account. It is neither what hides one mind from another, nor what reveals one mind to another. (Gardner, 137)

The look, for Sartre, does not refer to the organs of sight but our consciousness of being seen or being thrown back at ourselves as having a body that is visible to the other. It is our consciousness of ourselves as objects for the Other. Even if the other happens not to be there, we still experience the reality of our being-for-others as a factual modification of our consciousness that cannot be deduced from the nature of the for-itself.

### **Evaluation**

When one takes a critical look at Sartre's solution to the problem of other minds one will find out that Sartre argues this way: realism and idealism each try to account for the Other in terms

of a unidirectional arrow going solution. In the case of realism, from the Other to me, and in that of idealism, from me to the Other. Both fail, so the solution must lie in conceiving the relation of self to Other in some set of terms that has them co-established at the outset. The attempts of Husserl and Hegel to do just this are unsuccessful also, because their co-establishment of self and Other is cast in terms of knowledge. The relation of self to Other must be, therefore, a relation of being, meaning that consciousness of others cannot be accounted for by giving reasons for believing in the existence of Others. Instead, and accordingly, we turn to the factual necessity of the Other which his analysis showed to be present in our phenomenology, conjoined with his metaphysical account of how such consciousness is possible (Gardner, 140).

Sartre, therefore, recasts the problem of other minds. For him, the fundamental question is: how do we come into contact with other people and no longer: how do we know other people exist? It's not an epistemological question at all; it's an ontological one. For Sartre, the fundamental way we come into contact with other minds is not by knowing they are out there, but by means of feelings of shame, pride, etc. so the certainty of other minds (or of the existence of Others) is a certainty we cannot prove by means of epistemological arguments just as we cannot do same for the certainty of our own existence. For Sartre, other minds do exist, and we can be quite sure they exist.

We are misled easily into thinking that the significance of the Other's gaze is epistemic, but Sartre does not conceive vision as an epistemic power, and the shame I feel is not due to my knowing or believing that the Other knows or believes me to be peeping. The meaning of the Other's look is instead that of an action. Sartre thus reverses the commonsense order of explanation: on his account, it is not because we gain knowledge of Others that we are affected by them; it is because we are affected by Others ontologically that we have knowledge of them. That I do have knowledge of the Other is therefore not denied by Sartre, but is counted into the total configuration - knowledge is the correlate of the other's ontological effect on me, not the cause of that effect. The impression we have of a non-traversable epistemic gulf between self and Other, issuing in scepticism about other minds, results from mistaking what is in fact a negative ontological relation for the absence of an epistemological relation; and this is a consequence of the more general mistake of identifying consciousness with knowledge, and of supposing that the relation of self to Other is mundane.

In Sartre's view then, to raise that question, to doubt the existence of the Other, is to deny the being of one's own pre-reflective consciousness: I experience the inapprehensible subjectivity of the Other directly and with my being and thereby discover the transcendental relation to the Other as constituting my own being (Sartre, 301).

I agree with Sartre that the problem of the existence of the Other cannot be solved on the epistemological level, because we can only experience the Other. So to look at the problem of the Other in light of epistemology involves some assumptions: that it makes sense to think about one's own mind in advance of others, and that the concept one comes to have in this way is entirely general. Anita Avramides observes that while it may be possible somehow to come, by reflection, to have a concept of my mind. She doubts whether the concept one comes to have in this way can be thought to have the generality required to permit one to raise questions about the mind of another. Thus she suggested that in order to avoid this problem we should adopt what she tagged 'the lived position', that is, we begin with a concept that is already general. The lived position just is a position in which our concept is general and where we understand this generality by appeal to our actions and our common human nature. There is, on this position, no gap between myself and others that need to be bridged (no gap arising from a Cartesian metaphysical divide). For me, this is almost the same with what Sartre did in solving the problem of the Other (Avramides, 523).

### Conclusion

What impresses me about Sartre's solution is its social implication. First he view that Other adds a new, real dimension to consciousness. Thus the Other has not only reveal tome what I was; he has established me in a new type of being, which can support new qualifications. So if others do not exist, then the social self would not exist. The experience of shame and pride are proof that others have a deep effect on our sense of self. Shame implies being ashamed in front of another person. When I experience shame I experience another person looking at me and judging me. The social self is not fictitious, imaginary, or epiphenomenal, but real. This view is in agreement with the general view that man is a social being. And it helps us to appreciate and value our fellow human beings with whom we share our world, knowing that if they do not exist, or if we act as if they do not exist, our social self will become extinct. The result of this will be that we will create a less human world. The social nature of the human being presupposes the existence of others with whom the human being interacts. The importance of the other is, therefore expressed in this view of Sartre, since, for him, being seen by others has a deep effect on our personality.

The world of human beings is a social and interactive one as seen by the fact of language and communication. Wittgenstein in *Philosophical Investigations* argues that solipsism presupposes a logically private language for its formulation. A logically private language is impossible because any language presupposes a public language. A public language presupposes other language users, therefore solipsism may be formulated just on condition it is false (Heter, 25).

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## A Critique of Pantaleon Iroegbu's Thought on Globalized Ethics

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**Abstract:** This paper discusses Pantaleon Iroegbu's thought on globalized ethics in which he argued that the world has now become a global village where everybody knows or at least can know what is happening to others, and can influence or be influenced by others. From the communication point of view, it is said to be a globe that hides no one again, where you are and what you are doing, can be found out. Hence, no persons can do things all alone as they wish, without others somehow interfering with them. It is on this basis that man as the case may be, is regarded as a social being that needs to interact with his fellow human in the society. This work is an attempt to critically analyze Pantaleon Iroegbu's thought on globalized ethics which he captured as enwisdomised ethics that means to be filled with, and characterized by wisdom. For him, ethics is for wisdom at its highest importance and how human actions can become correct, complete and perfect in goal. He sees global ethics as ethics for all, which constitutes the complete round of our existence in the one globe. The paper is analytical in approach. It analyses the thought and discourse of Iroegbu on the globalized ethics. It is discussed as follows: introduction, Iroegbu on Globalized Ethics, Issues in Iroegbu's discourse on Globalized Ethics, Summary and Conclusion.

### Introduction

Global ethic is not a new ideology but the necessary minimum of common values, standard and basic attitudes. In other words, a minimal basic consensus relating to binding values, irrevocable standards and moral attitudes which can be affirmed by all human beings irrespective of their religious and ideological differences. It is therefore a project which needs more than a decade to fulfill; it calls for a change of consciousness which has already made great progress in the last decade. Anyone who is interested in seeing human rights fully respected and more effectively defended throughout the world must surely also be interested in achieving a change of consciousness concerning human obligations and responsibilities. These need to be seen in the context of global challenges and efforts to establish a global ethics, an ethics for humankind. Efforts to establish a global ethics have received wide spread international backing in recent years.

The problem of globalized ethics is as old as man himself. There has been a problem of how to determine what a man ought to do and not to do. What should be the moral principle that should guide man's action? What should be the goal of a truly moral man? What kinds of action are right and wrong in particular circumstances? Why should we do good and avoid evil? The question of ultimacy of human life and a host of others. These ethical questions have led many philosophers into theorizing. Among them is Pantaleon Iroegbu who propounded globalised ethics which holds the principle/theory of enwisdomization. The question remains, can this serve as a standard of wisdom in contemporary society? What should be the duty of individual, should it be individualistic or universalistic?

### Pantaleon Iroegbu's thought on Globalized Ethics

Global ethics (universal ethics) is that set of ethics whose principles and maxims were established through the activity of thinkers and philosophers, on a rational and objective basis; as such, every individual is obliged to adhere to them if he wishes to conduct himself conscientiously, or if he seeks happiness in his life. Two examples illustrating this are the "ethics of duty" established by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant, and "the utilitarian ethics" whose principles were laid down by the-English philosopher and jurist, Jeremy

Bentham, expanded thereafter by his successors, the English philosopher John Stuart Mill (Taha 1).

For Schapowal, the 21st century makes it clear that the world has grown smaller and the world's people have become almost one community interdependent in large multinational groups, in global economy, industry, trade with worldwide communications eliminating nearly every ancient barrier of distance, language, and race. At the same time, there are common problems such as overpopulation dwindling natural resources, environmental pollution threatening our air, water, food, eliminating of life forms minute by minute. By this, it creates a common ethical basis, i.e. a global ethics. All persons, religious and political or social cleavage notwithstanding, agree on one item; respect for nature and humanity (Iroegbu 24).

According to Schapowal (Iroegbu 24) whether we believe in the sayings of Confucius, the Discourses of Buddha, the Jewish Torah, the Christian Sermon on the mount, or the tenets of any other Religion or Psuedo Religion or not, the fact remains that; No one wants suffering. All humans desire happiness. All have equal rights. On this, the ethics of do good and avoid evil for oneself and also for the other, is founded. Human rights have been legislated by the world community in the 1947 General Declaration of Human Rights. Schapowal concludes that in identifying the meaning of human action, the intention is decisive.

On this platform, ethics for Pantaleon Iroegbu is otherwise called moral philosophy, is able to distinguish between good, right, wrong, helpful, harmful, wholesome, unwholesome. Iroegbu (25) holds that whether we accept a descriptive or prescriptive or legislative understanding of moral action, the intention we want to realize is fundamental in determining our projected endeavour. Accordingly, no intention to cause harm to an innocent person can be regarded as good. Nor can one who decided to eliminate his or her life because of some economic difficulties, be regarded as having performed a heroic deed. In ethics, good and bad, right or wrong are at stake. In ethics, we show that the knowledge acquired can be beneficial. In ethics, we acquire knowledge to behave properly. Iroegbu (25) concludes that that globalized ethics is enwisdomised ethics. Which he considers as being imbued with, filled with, and to be characterized by wisdom. Iroegbu sees enwisdomized ethics as the compendium of the totality of goodness. Hence ethics is for wisdom at its highest importance, so that our action can become correct, complete, and perfect in goal, content and consequence. The enwisdomisation of ethics makes our ethical actions achieve perfection.

According to Pantaleon Iroegbu (26) the history of human conduct has not arrived at this level of ethical praxis, that is, at enwisdomised ethics. But that must be our constant and ongoing endeavour. From wisdom to enwisdomisation is the overall goal of the truly moral man and woman, the ones who can assist others in the noble and compulsory task of achieving fullest being through fullest commitment to a completely fulfilled life. It is based on the foregoing that Iroegbu (27) thought that the 21st century can be known as the century of globalized ethics. Which implies that our thought, actions and general behaviour have close links, effects and inspiration on one another. None is alone again; in life, behaviour and specific activities: This has not wiped away individual action. It has however given it a global status. Ethics has on this score become global ethics. It is our ethics, in our (one) world-globe.

Iroegbu (27) goes further to argue that globalised ethics has therefore ushered in a globalised ethical imperative. This is the theory and practice that uphold the universality of moral acts. Ethics is no longer a mere individual affair. It is no longer based on national frontiers. In contemporary ethical praxis, all are concerned because all are involved, directly as actors and indirectly as affected. My action affects and to a good extent influences your action, etc. ethical human actions now have positive relational effects on one another. A chain of ethical action is at stake. This can and does reduce unethical life. Positively it encourages noble ethical behaviour.

Globalised ethics may not solve all human problems, but it must be open to the basic needs, aspirations and problems that confront the human person, all human persons in the world of our times. What does it have and what does it portend in future for the destiny of the universe and for human destiny implication as such? On this, a noble, respectful and reputed scholar, John Paul II has written:

Globalisation will be what people make it. No system is an end in itself. It must be reaffirmed that globalisation like any other system, must be at the service of the human person: it must serve solidarity and the common good. This means to say that while globalisation can do a lot of good, it must also be wary of counterbalancing the situation such that things, instead of getting better for the generality, get worse. The powers that steer the engine of this world affairs must think of the good of all especially of the least privileged of this world. Evils must be eradicated and goodness must be prompted. All must fight international evils keep all agape with resolve. Justice is an ongoing challenge and must be ensured for all and at all levels. (Iroegbu 28)

Iroegbu (28) sees the International terrorism as a case in point which all must fight, for all are victims. No one knows whom the next bomb will bring down, or whom the next-coming bullet will pierce through. All are however sure that terrorism is an evil to be avoided. All are convinced that peace is an imperative. Traditional ethics taught all of us with epistemological flavour: man know thyself. Contemporary globalised ethics teaches today: man behave yourself. It is not out of place to discuss the colossal effect of corona virus pandemic in the contemporary world.

### **Issues in Pantaleon Iroegbu's Thought on Globalized Ethics**

Pantaleon's discourse on globalised ethics appears plausible and attractive but in a seemingly overridden with moral clumsiness and inconsistency. That is, despite the attraction of Iroegbu's thought, it is still faced with difficulties. Hence, the thrust of this segment is to present a critique of his thought on globalized ethics.

Iroegbu's thought on the universal nature of globalized ethics that is, one ethics for all that exist on the global appear highly plausible and likely valid. Christoph Stuckelberg (25) discusses the basic things that unite humanity as the golden rule of reciprocity which points to the fact of universal values which is the fact of global ethics. Meanwhile, Francois Gonzalez (9) presents the fact of shared values and ethics which has been the foundation of the proper functioning of the political, economic and social network of the society. He goes further to state that shared values and ethics brings about the well being and development of the potential of every world citizen. In view of the above, it could be affirmed that globalized ethics is universal in nature, it brings about shared values, ethics, well being and development of the universe.

One of the problems with Iroegbu's thought is the issue of human behaviour towards a global ethics which is to provide an ethical standard by which all other ethical standards might be measured. What is clear is that the belief in universal ethics is derived from the inclination that culturally defined systems are in some manner inadequate; the source of this inadequacy being essentially the lack of differentiation between thinking something is right or wrong and something actually being right or wrong. Ethical relativist, such as W.T. Stace in "Ethical Relativism" rightly points out two opposite beliefs in two opposite cultures means two versions of what is right. Rightness and wrongness, from this viewpoint, are assessments that come into being only after the facts of any given ethical dilemma have been filtered through a mind formed largely by culture. There can be no doubt that different cultures do indeed demonstrate different ethical systems and that this variety does in itself seem to suggest that norms are contingent upon cultural determinants. Stace counters this conclusion by calling

notice to the many different views societies and times have espoused regarding a multitude of issues in particular, the subject matter of the physical sciences and concluding: If the various different opinions which men have held about the shape of the earth do not prove that it has no real shape, neither do the various opinions which they have held about morality prove that there is no one true morality (Stace 209). In the same vein, Stuckelberger (25) holds that contextual, differentiated values are a reality as old as humanity. The context of different geographical conditions, ethnic identities, religious convictions, gender diversity, generational transformations, technological innovations, and forms of organization of communities lead to contextual values which can be in conflict with each other. Paul F. Buller et.al. (767) opines that there exist diversity in thought and action due to strong cultural differences but there is the need for multinational firms to increase their level of interdependence and mutual cooperation to enable them achieve greater goal. It seems obvious that both Iroegbu, Stace, Stuckerberger and Buller are of the view that the fact of globalized ethics does not negate the fact of diversity in ethical systems and behaviour.

In the final analysis, despite the clarity and pointedness of Stace's essay, it is essentially an exercise in avoiding that which it claims to seek. The proof is in the title itself rather than tackling the difficult problem of at least justifying if not actually proving the existence of a universal ethical system, Stace chooses rather to undermine ethical relativism. This smacks of the ineffective general mocking his enemy before examining his own troops. Indeed, when Stace does briefly examine universal ethics, there seems virtually a declaration of defeat. According to Stace (211) "It is idle to talk about a universal morality unless we can point to the source of its authority." This is followed shortly by the admission that there is no evidence for such a source, but that: "It is always possible that some theory, not yet examined, may provide a basis for a universal moral obligation (Waddington 4)." Stuckerberger (26) argues that global ethics is an inclusive approach to common binding values, guiding principles, personal attitudes and common action across cultures, religions, political and economic systems and ideologies. Accordingly, global ethics is grounded in the ethical recognition of inalienable human dignity, freedom of decision, personal and societal responsibility and justice. It acknowledges the interdependence of all human and non-human beings and extends the basic moral attitudes of care and compassion to the world. It identifies transboundary problems and contributes to their solution. In essence, global ethics could be universal in outlook and particular in its discourse and decisions.

The problem with a belief in a universal ethical system is that it represents one of the most treacherous of philosophical terrains., Once we have decided that such a standard exists, how do we know what belongs to it and what belongs only to a culturally relative measure? In other words, when a moral judgement is made, how can we be sure it is based upon an absolute right? The suggestion that ethical relativism leads to the dangerous undermining of all moral values is frighteningly far from the truth. On the contrary, ethical relativism, since it is by nature descriptive, is an essentially benign philosophy which does nevertheless maintain that right and wrong do exist. It is the neophyte of prescriptive universalism who represents the real threat demonstrating by the very existence of his belief a claim to particular knowledge of that standard and, by grace of his lofty position, feeling both willing and able to judge others (Waddington 11).

The word duty means an obligation to act in a specific way in a particular moment in a given action. It gives no room for an alternative action. Thus, a duty is an obligation of individual to satisfy a claim made upon him by some other individuals or the community in the name of the common good. When we perform our duty we do not only do our work, but also fulfil our moral obligation. There are two different ways in which a right may involve a duty. If one individual has a right, another must have a duty of satisfying a claim that is recognized by that right. Secondly, if an individual has a right, it is his duty to use that right for the common good of the community. How do we determine duty? For centuries, it has been a common practice for



people to make a statement of universal duties. William Lillie (63) refers to them as “common-sense statement of universal duties”. MacKenzie examines universal duties under the following headings: respect for life, respect for freedom, respect for character, respect for property, respect for social order, respect for truth and respect for progress. The problems of vagueness and conflict are likely to arise in some cases. There are problems in the case of universal prohibitions. For example does murder include killing under extreme provocation, killing in self-defence, the inflicting of capital punishment, killing in a war and killing of the lower animals? Does theft include the exploitation of labour, the evading of taxes by devices permitted by the law and gaining an unearned increment? Such are the problem in the stating of universal duties. There is also the problem of giving guidance in particular difficult cases.

One hundred and fifty years ago, Karl Marx gave a one-sentence summary of his theory of history. Marx argued that in the long run we never reject advances in the means by which we satisfy our material needs. Hence history is driven by the growth of productive forces. He would have been contemptuous of the suggestion that globalization is something foisted on the world by a conspiracy of corporate executives meeting in Switzerland, and he might have agreed with Thomas Friedman's (16) remark that the most basic truth about globalization is no one is in charge. For Marx this is a statement that epitomizes humanity in a state of alienation, living in a world in which, instead of ruling ourselves, we are ruled by our own creation, the global economy. Friedman on the other hand, all that needs to be said about Marx's alternative state control of the economy is that it does not work. According to Peter Singer, Marx also believed that a society's ethic is a reflection of the economic structure to which its technology has given rise. Thus a feudal economy in which serfs are tied to their lord's land gives you the ethic of feudal chivalry based on the loyalty of knights and vassals to their lord, and the obligations of the lord to protect them in time of war. A capitalist economy requires a mobile labour force able to meet the needs of the market, so it breaks the tie between lord and vassal, substituting an ethic in which the right to buy and sell labour is paramount. Our newly interdependent global society, with its remarkable possibilities for linking people around the planet, gives us the material basis for a new ethic (18). Marx would have thought that such an ethic would serve the interests of the ruling class, that is, the rich nations and the transnational corporations they have spawned. But perhaps our ethics is related to our technology in a looser, less deterministic way than Marx thought.

Ethics appears to have developed from the behaviour and feelings of social mammals. It became distinct from anything we can observe in our closest non-human relatives when we started using our reasoning abilities to justify our behaviour to other members of our group. If the group to which we must justify ourselves is the tribe, or the nation, then our morality is likely to be tribal, or nationalistic. If, however, the revolution in communications has created a global audience, then we might feel a need to justify our behaviour to the whole world. This change creates the material basis for a new ethic that will serve the interests of all those who live on this planet in a way that, despite much rhetoric, no previous ethic has ever done (Singer 18). If this appeal to our need for ethical justification appears to be based on too generous a view of human nature, there is another consideration of a very different kind that leads in the same direction. The great empires of the past, whether Persian, Roman, Chinese, or British, were, as long as their power lasted, able to keep their major cities safe from threatening barbarians on the frontiers of their far-flung realms. In the twenty-first century the greatest superpower in history was unable to keep the self-appointed warriors of a different world-view from attacking both its greatest city and its capital. The issue therefore is' that how well we come through the era of globalization (perhaps whether we come through it at all) will depend on how we respond ethically to the idea that we live in one world. For the rich nations not to take a global ethical viewpoint has long been seriously morally wrong. There can be no clearer illustration of the need for human beings to act globally than the issues raised by the impact of human activity on our atmosphere ... (Singer 98)

There is also an ethical issue about discounting the future. True, our investments may increase in value over time, and we will become richer, but the price we are prepared to pay to save human lives or endangered species, may go up just as much. These values are not consumer goods, like TVs or dishwashers, which drop in value in proportion to our earnings. They are things like health, something that the richer we get, the more we are willing to spend to preserve. An ethical, not an economic, justification would be needed for discounting, suffering and death, or the extinction of species, simply because these losses will not occur for years. No such justification has been offered. We put the interests of our fellow citizens far above those of citizens of other nations, whether the reason for doing so is to avoid damaging the economic interests of our nation at the cost of bringing negative challenges the people of other nations. While we do all these things, most of us unquestioningly support declarations proclaiming that all humans have certain rights, and that all human life is of equal worth. We condemn those who say the life of a person of a different race or nationality is of less account than the life of a person of our own race or nation. Can we reconcile these attitudes? If those “at home” to whom we might give charity are already able to provide for their basic needs, and seem poor only relative to our own high standard of living, is the fact that they are our compatriots sufficient to give them priority over others with greater needs? Asking these questions leads us to consider to what extent we really can, or should, make “one world” a moral standard that transcends the nation-state (Singer 152).

The popular view that we may, or even should, favour those 'of our own kind' conceals a deep disagreement about who 'our own kind' are. A century ago Henry Sidgwick described the moral outlook of his Victorian England as follows:

We should all agree that each of us is bound to show kindness to his parents and spouse and children, and to other kinsmen in a less degree: and to those who have rendered services to him, and any others whom he may have admitted to his intimacy and called friends: and to neighbours and to fellow-countrymen more than others: and perhaps we may say to those of our own race more than to black or yellow men, and generally to human beings in proportion to their affinity to ourselves” (Sidgwick 246).

There are many who think it self-evident that we have special obligations to those nearer to us, including our children, our spouses, lovers and friends, and our compatriots. Reflecting on what Sidgwick said about preference for one's own kind should subvert the belief that this kind of self-evidence is a sufficient ground for accepting a view as right. What is self-evident to some is not at all self-evident to others. Instead, we need another test of whether we have special obligations to those closer to us, such as our compatriots.

How can we decide whether we have special obligations to “our own kind,” and if so, who is “our own kind” in the relevant sense? According to Singer (51), there is some fundamental sense in which neither race nor nation determines the value of a human being's life and experiences. He argues that “this ideal rests on the element of impartiality that underlies the nature of the moral enterprise”, as its most significant thinkers have come to understand it. Immanuel Kant argued that for “judgments to count as moral judgments they must be universalizable, that is, the speaker must be prepared to prescribe that they be carried out in all real and hypothetical situations, not only those in which she benefits from them but also those in which she is among those who lose.”

Feminist philosophers, in particular, tend to stress the importance of personal relationships, which they accuse male moral philosophers of neglecting. Nel Noddings in his book titled '*Caring*' limits our obligation to care to those with whom we can be in some kind of relationship. Hence, she states, we are “not obliged to care for starving children in Africa (Noddings 85).” Those who favour an impartial ethic have responded to these objections by denying that they

are required to hold that we should be impartial in every aspect of our lives. A sound morality requires that nothing human should be regarded by us as indifferent; but it is impossible we should not feel the strongest interest for those persons whom we know most intimately, and whose welfare and sympathies are united to our own. True wisdom will recommend to us individual attachments; for with them our minds are more thoroughly maintained in activity and life than they can be under the privation of them, and it is better that man should be a living being, than a stock or a stone. True virtue will sanction this recommendation; since it is the object of virtue to produce happiness; and since the man who live in the midst of domestic relations will have many opportunities of conferring pleasure, minute in the detail, yet not trivial in the amount, without interfering with the purposes of general benevolence (Singer 161).

It is quite clear from the foregoing that the drive for happiness is inherent in human nature and this quest continues insatiably as long as one is alive. Moral philosophers have reached the conclusion that the only way one can remain in the state of happiness is by living the “examined life”. This is precisely the task of ethics through which one gains mastery over one's emotion and uncontrolled desires. Man risks bringing about his or her own self-annihilation if he or she continues to allow ruthless and selfish passions to guide and control his or her behaviour. Another possible origin expressed in a pithy idiom is: “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.” Besides, it is fine rhetorical value, “Do unto others ... only works if the individual is moral to begin with; and how can the individual be moral to begin with if morality stems from the statement, “Do unto others...” Clearly a sense of right and wrong must already be at work when we ask the question, and so the question itself serves only as a guide and not a source of morality. The final possible source of universal ethics that would be examined is the law. Few people would disagree that the law is an ass. Unfortunately, it is the laws which demonstrates our ethical system and from which ethical judgments practiced from day to day, are derived. It is, nevertheless, a fallacy to suggest that it is the origin of universal ethics. We might more accurately say that it is the book of ethics and so the source of ethics in that respect, but not the author of those ethics.

### **Conclusion**

From the discourse above, it can be inferred that Iroegbu's globalized ethics does appear feasible. It seems obvious that there is no universal standard of morality or ethics that the whole world must follow. On the issues of a universal set of human rights; the Declaration of human Rights, drafted by the United Nations, is merely a product of a majority vote of the United Nation. It is noted that the dissenters and those who violate these Rights, not a mere rarity, but a significant number of nations around the world, clearly prove that not all cultures value these rights. Only the countries that are members of the United Nations agree that these are universal, which does not actually empirically prove them universal.

The concepts of evolution negate a morality that is biologically universal. Murder is a prime example. Though the negation claims to establish that there are undeniable human rights that all humans are aware of, how can it be proven empirically when humans still kill each other, no matter their ideology? Killing is even built into laws of nations of all varieties. It is only absolute in some societies. Mantises or mantes (large insects) are not moral beings. They do not use reason because they do not have the evolutionary brain function to put the pen to paper, much less think about the concepts of morality and rationalize them. Because human have this capacity, we have the infinite potential to individually determine moral standards. This is what makes moral standards different among communities. The sub-Saharan African example serves as a stark reminder that cultures develop different moralities and ethics, and to superimpose one another causes integral damage to a society. Though it might be said that these societies did have a strong tribal sense, that moral standards was shattered in the wake of colonialism, and once peaceful tribes began to war furiously. We should seek in the most natural, harmonious and compatible way the possible ideal of authentic self.

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## Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) as Iran's Silhouette in Nigeria: An Examination of the Security and Diplomatic Contours and their Implications.

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**Abstract:** This paper argues that the Shi'a inspired Islamic religious group known as Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) has suffered wrong diagnosis. For instance, researches on IMN have always investigated IMN in the context of Iranian Shi'a ideology and theology only. This alone is not sufficient, therefore very misleading. The reason is that the same Iranian Shi'a inspired groups in Nigeria such as the Ahlul Bait Institute (ABI), located in Kano, has always disagreed with IMN over its incurable political commitment and total disregard for the Nigerian state. Furthermore, Isa and Sani (2017) have argued that another Iranian inspired Shi'a group, Ransulul A'zam Foundation (RAAF) does not support the popular processions (mu āharāt) which have become the hallmark of the IMN and which often turn into political demonstrations. Unlike the IMN, the RAAF recognizes the supremacy of the Nigerian government and abides by the laws of the state. This paper, therefore, posits that Iran is only using IMN in the context of religious soft power. The term 'soft power' refers to the ability of a state to shape the preferences of another state's aggressive ways, policy conduct, including the use of proxies for hidden agenda. In this case, Iran is using IMN to fight Western interests particularly that of Israel and USA that is mounting pressure for it to be continually sanctioned for a number of reasons that pose a threat to global peace. This paper concludes with the view that Iran is only perfecting her strategy of using proxies for its interest.

**Keywords:** Islamic Movement of Nigeria, Shi'a, radicalisation, religious soft power, Islam

### Introduction

From time immemorial, religion has continued to influence the socio-political activities of man. Evidences abound from different researches indicating that religion will continue to dominate worldly affairs. It is against this background that religion becomes a space for expressing conventional geopolitical rivalries among religious groups such as IMN, Boko Haram etc in Nigeria. As it is, such groups take on the state authorities as IMN is doing. An example is Hezbollah in Lebanon that has become nuisance to that state. Furthermore, Iran is known to be sponsoring Houthi, which rebelled against the Yemeni state. Another worry is that if Islamist groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood can gain political influence through the ballot box, then more non-state actors and transnational networks will be encouraged to advocate for more Islamic form of politics or seek to undermine existing state structures as IMN is doing in Nigeria. This has forced analyst to consider Islam as statecraft. According to Mandaville and Shandi (2018) Islam as statecraft refers to efforts by the state to harness the power of religious symbols and authority in the service of geopolitical objectives. Once Islam is inserted into public debates, how citizens interpret their religion becomes, in effect, a matter of national security. Therefore, if government does not directly involve in the debates around the nature and purpose of Islam and religion in general, it would be leaving an ideological vacuum that domestic challengers such as Boko Haram and IMN are taking advantage of.

It is important to make some basic clarification from the onset. First, this paper refutes the position of earlier researches that give the impression that IMN is the entire gamut of Shi'a in Nigeria. However, the paper concedes that some members of Shi'a are also members of IMN. Second, literature is replete with different spelling of Shi'a. The most common remain Shi'a and Shiites. Nevertheless, in this work, we shall be sticking to Shi'a. However, other quoted works that use Shiites or other spelling forms will be allowed to remain.

This research adopts a longitudinal case study method approach in studying the phenomenon of IMN. Anjide and Chukwuma (2017) say this would help in proffering an in-depth understanding of IMN. It also allows for both theoretical and empirical studies to be applied. Although the background of the authors as Nigerians may be seen as prejudiced; it nonetheless strengthens the study with empirical knowledge of the religious history and dynamics in Nigeria which researchers outside Nigeria may not boast of. This knowledge also helps to interpret and analyse available sources on the phenomenon. In addition, framing theory is adopted as parameter fence for this study.

### **Theoretical Framework:**

This paper earlier observed that IMN has not been properly understood. This is either as a consequence of how the group has framed itself or is been framed. In addition, the tact deployed by IMN to the extent of commanding a large followership in manner in which the group appears today is a pointer to framing. It is based on the foregoing that this paper makes use of framing theory to substantiate and argue its claims. In addition, Smith B. L. *et al* (2016) have identified framing theory as both a precursor activity and radicalisation process. Meanwhile, IMN is accused of these two critical elements of radicalisation: provocative preaching and hate speech (The Nation, 2019). This therefore makes framing theory to be apt for this paper.

According to Orowolo (2017), the concept of framing was first posited by Gregory Bateson in 1972. He defined framing as a spatial and temporary bounding of set of interactive messages (Bateson, 1972) that operates as a form of meta-communication (Hallahan, 2008). For Chong and Druckman (2007), framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue. Generally, framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called "the frame") influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Far from being exclusively located in the sender of the message, the frame is located both in the sender and the receiver, the (informative) text and culture.

Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. In this connection, Chong and Druckman (2016) argue that the term "frame" from which framing is derived is used in two ways and both applies to this discourse. First, a frame in communication or a media frame refers to the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker (e.g., a politician, a media outlet) uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience. Second, a frame in thought or an individual frame refers to an individual's cognitive understanding of a given situation. As organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent, frames are part of the symbolic universe and allow us to meaningfully structure the social world (Reese 2001). Goffman (1974), put forth that people interpret what is going on around their world through their primary framework. This framework is regarded as primary as it is taken for granted by the user. Its usefulness as a framework does not depend on other frameworks.

On the development of framing, Scheufele and Tewksbury (2009) point out that framing is often traced to psychology and sociology (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). The psychological origins of framing lie in experimental work by Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984). The sociological foundations of framing were laid by Goffman (1974) and others who assumed that individuals cannot understand the world fully and constantly struggle to interpret their life experiences and to make sense of the world around them. In order to efficiently process new information, Goffman (1974) argues that individuals apply interpretive schemas or primary frameworks to classify information and interpret it meaningfully.

Framing is both a macro-level and a micro-level construct (Scheufele, 1999). As a macro-construct, the term "framing" refers to modes of presentation that communicators use to

present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). As a micro-construct, framing describes how people use information and presentation features regarding issues as they form impressions. Closely related to the concept of framing are the concepts of agenda setting and priming. Agenda setting refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues (e.g., based on relative placement or amount of coverage) and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). As defined in the political communication literature, Priming refers to changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations' (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). Priming occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments.

Society is typically competitive, fought between parties or ideological factions and issues that are debated are framed in opposing terms. Individuals receive multiple frames with varying frequencies. However, individuals favour the frame that is consistent with their values. Therefore, the clarion call for the revival of *Darul' Islam* (land/territory of Islam), where *sharia* (Islamic law) will be the canon of conduct resonated well with most Muslims in Northern Nigeria. As such, the framing of El-Zakzaky and his trajectory for IMN was well received. Another framing that has helped in attracting followership to IMN is tag on Nigeria as *Daral Harp* (territory of war and chaos) because it is not ruled by Islamic law. This is a fundamental underpinning for religious radicalisation and reason for which Nigerian state authority is been undermined by member of IMN.

### **Understanding IMN Background and its Shi'a Connection**

There is cause and effect relationship between IMN and its founder, Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky who was born in Zaria on May 5, 1953. He attended a provincial Arabic school, where the then Native Authority (NA) used to train Arabic teachers for its primary schools. After which he went to the School for Arabic Studies (SAS) in Kano (1971-1975) and subsequently to Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, from 1976 to 1979. He was a student in the Faculty of Arts and Social Science (FASS). It is instructive to say that while in the university, El-Zakzaky was a charismatic leader of the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSSN). Admiring the activism of the leftist students on campus, he tried to 'wake' the Muslim students up from what he believed was an excessive quietism and to develop a more politically active wing of the organization.

For the purpose of keeping the records right, Paden (1973) says that the MSSN was founded in 1954 in Lagos and from 1956 it was based at the University of Ibadan. The society, which was initially dominated by Yoruba Muslim students from the south-west of Nigeria, opened branches in the north, at Ahmadu Bello University (Zaria) and Abdullahi Bayero College (Kano), in 1963. Although his original models were the Egyptians Hasan al-Banna (d. 1949) and Sayyid Qutb (d. 1966), in 1980 El-Zakzaky visited Iran for the first time and gradually became enmeshed in the religio-political system of the country. Upon his return to Nigeria, he started to advocate for the transformation of Nigeria into a 'purely Islamic' form of government. At a point in time he declared that Nigeria must become wholly Islamic and Allah proclaimed Lord of the entire nation.

Gingered and gyrated by Iranian revolutionist and leader, the late Ayatollah's Khomeinism, he established a new movement, named 'Muslim Brothers' and popularly known in Kano and other parts of northern Nigeria as 'Yan Uwa Musulmi (Muslim brothers) or 'Yan Brothers. Zenn (2013, p 6) defines Khomeinism as a form of Third world Political Populism—a radical but pragmatic middle-class movement that strives to enter, rather than reject, the modern age. [...] a militant, sometimes contradictory, political ideology that focuses not on issues of scripture and theology but on the immediate political, social, and economic grievances of workers and the middle-class [...]. It is often associated with Shi'ism and support for Iran, it has also been accepted without a Shia or Iranian connotation.

It is still a subject of debate whether to say El-Zakzaky was deceitful or tactful. For instance, he concealed his Shi'a identity till 1994. His disclosure of his Shi'a identity caused a crisis within the 'Yan Brothers. Those who were not satisfied with the leaning of El-Zakzaky towards Shiism, immediately broke away and founded a new association known as *Jama'at Tajdid al-Islam* (Movement for the Revival of Islam, JTI) under the leadership of Abubakar Mujahid, with its headquarters at Sabuwar Unguwa, Yakasai quarters, Kano (Gwarzo, 2006).

The crisis almost engulfed El-Zakzaky following his avowal of his Shi'a identity. For instance, Isa and Sani (2017) said in 1994, Malam Bashir andago, who was a member of JTI and one of the most popular and outspoken Hausa religious singers in Kano, composed a song titled "The secret has been unveiled: El-Zakzaky has become a Shiite" (*Asiriya bayyanaai Zakzakyy azama an Shi'a*). The tape of this song achieved wide popularity not only in Kano, but across the Hausa-speaking communities of northern Nigeria. A more humiliating bashing came his way from Malam Mukhtar Yusuf Magashi, another *sha'iri* who composed a mocking song against Shiism. According to Isa and Sani (2017), his most famous song was "I hold unto the four rightly-guided Caliphs of the Prophet! I won't allow anyone to abuse them" (*Yakhulafasahabu Muhammad, kunari a! Ni ban yarda a zagi ayankuba*). In one of the verses of the song he says: *Wanda duk yazagi Abubakari wannanma iyinannabi ne Kun ga iyayyar Annabiko babu tantama in Mai-Duka ne* (meaning: Whoever abuses AbūBakr is a foe to the Prophet and enmity to the Prophet without doubt, is enmity towards God).

The central theme of this song is showing that anyone who abuses the four rightly-guided Caliphs is an enemy of the Prophet. This song was composed because of the belief among the Sunni community that Shiites allegedly abuse the first three caliphs (successors) of the Prophet namely: AbūBakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. Mukhtar Magashi was very virulent in his poetic criticism of Shiism and he composed another song to discredit followers of the sect entitled "O Prophet, here are those who (claim that they) love you but hate AbūBakr, 'Umar and your 'Uthmān" (*Yarasulallah, wasubayinekesonka, waikumaisaisukace Abubakar, Umar har Usmanunka*

*sun i*). Isa and Sani (2017) are of the view that the message of the song is centered on the allegation that Shiites abuse the companions of the Prophet. This song is meant to defend the integrity of the companions and at the same time to admonish those who joined El-Zakzaky without knowing the implication of his theological creed. Shiite '*ulamā*' use *taqiyya* (dissimulation) to lure their followers and that it is the responsibility of the *sha'irai* to enlighten the public through their songs. Songs, in fact, are the easiest way of communicating with the public.

One of the theological points of departure between IMN and by extension Shi'a from other Islamic sects is the polemical issue of Imamate. For Instance, Islam (2009, p. 12) argues that "with the growth of a Shi'i doctrine of the imamate, it became firstly established Shi'idogma that the imam, in whom ultimate religious authority is vested, is by his very nature divinely protected from sin and error (*ma'sum*), endowed with a virtually limitless knowledge and appointed by an explicit, personal designation, conveying God's will. The companions, on the other hand, even when no evil, anti-Alid motives are attributed to them, are fallible mortals, whose deficient knowledge and often faulty judgment deprive them of any claim to authority." However, it can be argued that such a designation of infallibility, knowledge and authority has not been granted to any mortal in the Quran, let alone unnamed individuals succeeding from the progeny of the Prophet's cousin.

Realising that he was losing grip of *Yan brothers*, and in order to face the crisis and rejuvenate his leadership position, El-Zakzaky decided to form a new organization, which he called the Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN), with the aim of spreading and coordinating the Shi'a ideology in Nigeria. Leaders of this movement, who were all faithful to El-Zakzaky, were



appointed in various Muslim states and sent to their places of primary assignment. El-Zakzaky himself went on “recruitment tours” to northern Nigerian universities to showcase the Iranian revolution.

In between periods of imprisonment in the mid-1980s, El-Zakzaky converted to Shi'a Islam and transformed the IMN from student activism to a mass movement that called for a second jihad to implement Shari'a in Nigeria. He also declared Nigeria's secular government unfit to rule and the traditional Sunni leadership of Nigeria, including the sultan of Sokoto and Sufi brotherhoods, guilty of siding with the government to protect their offices and worldly possessions. He was preaching Islam as an alternative model to socialism and capitalism and leading rallies where followers burned Nigeria's constitution to protest secularism and supported Iran's Islamic revolution in 1979 (Isa and Sani, 2017).

Today, the IMN is Africa's largest Shi'a movement. It has reportedly mobilized more than one million people for Shi'a religious events and 50,000 people for political rallies where Khomeini and his successor, Ali Khamenei, and Hizb Allah leader Hassan Nasrallah are revered, while flags of the “Great Satan [the United States]” and Israel are burned. The IMN also has hundreds of paramilitary guards called *hurras*, in Hausa language (Gwarzo, 2006). As in previous years, El-Zakzaky visited Iranian centres of Shi'a scholarship in Qom and Mashhad in 2012 and met dozens of IMN members studying in Iran. He also visited Lebanon, where he received a red flag from Karbala, Iraq's Shi'a shrine of Imam Husayn, as a gift from Nasrallah, and Iraq, where he prayed at Najaf's Shi'a shrine of Imam Ali (Isa and Sani, 2017).

Due to the confrontation approach of his leadership, the Shiekh was at different times at logger heads with the state authority. This explains why at different times he was incarcerated. For instance, during the military rule of Babangida, he was imprisoned from (1985 to 1993) and Abacha kept him under bars from (1993 to 1998). Isa and Sani (2017) reveal that El-Zakzaky's total prison experiences spanned nine years in nine different prisons across the country, the most famous being his stay in Enugu prison (1981-1984); in the Interrogation Centre of the National Security Organization, Lagos (1984-1985); in Kiri-Kiri Maximum Security (1985); in Port Harcourt (1987-1989 and 1996-1997) and in Kaduna (1987 and 1997-1998).

From the background of IMN that has been present thus far, it is obvious that IMN did not have the support of all Shi'a Muslims. However, Anjide and Chukwuma (2017, p. 16) say that the IMN is an umbrella organisation of Shiites in Nigeria. This statement is an assumption, as it is either supported by empirical evidence or any theoretical discourse. If anything all, there are Shi'a members who have challenged not only the authority of leader of IMN, Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, but have distanced themselves from the activities of IMN. For instance, in 1994, those who were not satisfied with the leaning of El-Zakzaky towards Shiism, immediately broke away and founded a new association known as *Jama'at Tajdid al-Islam* (Movement for the Revival of Islam, JTI) under the leadership of Abubakar Mujahid, with its headquarters at Sabuwar Unguwa, Yakasai quarters, Kano (Gwarzo, 2006).

Isa and Sani (2017) observe that this was the first break-away faction that emerged from the Shiism not only in Kano, but in the entire northern Nigeria. Another Shi'a group, RAAF, with a theological centre, *Baqirul Ulum* in Dambare, Kano do not recognise IMN and its leaders. They accused him of not holding any written permission from an Ayatollah and therefore, he is just running a “political Shia,” without having the credentials required to be considered a scholar. The members of RAAF also accuse El-Zakzaky of lacking in-depth knowledge of religious doctrine, due to his failure to study in any of the recognized Shia institutes (Isa and Sani, 2017). Some members of RAAF such Nur Das have *ijāzāt* (written permissions to teach and answer jurisprudential questions) collected from top Shia scholars (Ayatollahs) during his many years of study in Iran. The foregoing demonstrates that the assertion by Anjide and Chukwuma regarding IMN being the umbrella body of Shi'a in Nigeria is at best suspect.

### **IMN as an Iranian Proxy in Nigeria**

Zenn (2013, p. 8) says a former Iranian diplomat described the IMN as an Iranian proxy. Evidence shows the IMN serves as an extension of Iranian foreign policy in Nigeria. This is substantiated by the track record of IMN is akin to Hezbollah. For instance, a former career diplomat (who defected and is now living in Europe), who previously served as Iran's consul-general in Dubai and was an adviser to the Iranian foreign ministry, said the IMN was set up by and modelled on the Lebanese Hezbollah and that Iran provides the IMN with training "in guerrilla warfare: bomb-making, use of arms such as handguns, rifles and RPGs, and the manufacturing of bombs and hand grenades (Assadina, 2015).

Providing a clearer perspective on how Iran has perfected its tact of using proxies, Zenn (2013) argues that Iran's activities in Nigeria are consistent with Iran's actions throughout Africa. For example, in Kenya, two members of the Quds Force were found guilty in May 2013 of storing explosives and carrying out surveillance of Israeli, British, U.S. and Saudi targets in Kenya (Odula, 2013). Levitt (2013) explains further that the Nigeria and Kenya plots fit the pattern of Quds Force and Hizb Allah operations involving Iranians and dual Lebanese-European or Lebanese-Canadian nationals that targeted Israelis in India, Georgia and Thailand in February 2012; Azerbaijan in March 2012; and Cyprus and Bulgaria in July 2012. These incidences suggest that Iran has always used proxies on its target. The failures of all but the Bulgaria cell, as well as the ability of Israeli intelligence to help national governments track these cells, may have prompted Iran to search for new targets in Africa in 2013, such as Kenya and Nigeria, where Israelis often travel and conduct business (Zenn, 2013).

Africa is usually hoodwinked into some of these traps via aid. For instance while Iran has increased economic activities and aid to Africa in recent years, much of Iran's influence is won through ideology promotion, as seen with the IMN in Nigeria. For instance, Kamara (2004) is suspicious of the opening up of Iranian Cultural Centres (similar to Confucius Institutes or Alliance Francaise) in countries such as Sierra Leone and Tanzania. According to him, this is an attempt to convert villages from Khartoum to Kordofan in Sudan to Shi'ism, and invited Ivorian and Sudanese Shi'a imams to the Basij base in Ramshir, south-western Iran.

In a related development, Ridgeon (2012) argues that indigenous African Shi'a (as opposed to Lebanese-West African citizens) in Sierra Leone, Senegal and other countries receive funding to study Shi'ism in Lebanon or Iran and return home sympathizing with "Khomeinism"; the former president of Comoros from 2006 to 2010, for example, was even nicknamed "Ayatollah" because he studied in Qom under Ayatollah Mesbah-Yazidi, the mentor of former Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (BBC, 2006). It is based on the foregoing that Zenn (2013) posits that just as in Nigeria, some African Shi'a have become militants, such as the Ivorian who in July 2013 became the "first African martyr" in Syria defending President Bashar al-Assad's forces and was later eulogized by Hizb Allah. Although the IMN does not promote violence, its imams preach that the West conspires to "dominate minds and resources" of Muslims by converting them to Christianity and secularizing them, Jews are the "lowest creatures on earth" and the "children of monkeys and pigs.

### **IMN and the Nigerian State**

On 12 December 2015, the Chief of Army Staff's (COAS) convoy clashed with the Shiite procession in Gyallesu at Zaria. The clash erupted into violence where the army fired several gunshots at the procession, and subsequently, the house of El-Zakzaky and Husainiyyah were invaded and destroyed by the army (Report Afrique 2015). More than 300 people were reported dead including the wife of El-Zazzaky and top Shiite leaders including the leader of the Kano branch, Sheikh Mahmud Turi (Leadership 2015). Doukham (2016) says that Iranian authorities accused Saudi Arabia's coalition with the U.S. and arrogant powers is a blatant example of friendship of blasphemers; the Saudi king's congratulations to the perpetrators of Nigeria's

crimes is shameful and disgraceful [...] in a country where Boko Haram kills innocent people and takes children and women as slaves and no effective measure is taken against it, they treat 15 million Muslims in a violent manner only for fulfilling their religious duties and staging protests against Israel.

Iranian authorities took severe measures and summoned Nigeria's chargé d'affaires to express its outrage at the Nigerian military's deadly crackdown on Shiite Muslims, including the arrest of Sheik El-Zakzaky the leader, in the north of the country. The chargé d'affaires informed the Nigerian Foreign Ministry that Iran demands that the Nigerian government "immediately sheds light on the incident, treats the injured, and compensate for damages. Additionally, Sweeney (2015) reveals that Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif called for the immediate and serious action to prevent violence against Shiites in a telephone call to his Nigerian counterpart Geoffrey Onyeama.

For Anjide and Chukwuma (2017), the different opinion of Iran and Saudi-Arabia is not surprising because of the Shiites and Sunni divide in the Middle East. This paper finds this submission objectionable and misleading. The reason is that the theological polemics between Shiites and Sunnis alone is not enough to elicit the aforementioned contradictory reactions from Iran and Saudi-Arabia. After all, as Doukham (2016) posits Muslims are split into two main branches, the Sunnis and Shia. However, members of the two sects have co-existed for centuries worldwide, and share many fundamental beliefs and practices. In addition, the theological feud between Shi'a and Sunni is too cold due to long years of existence to warrant the kind of hurt steam that is coming from the duo of Iran and Saudi Arabia.

It is therefore curious to ask, why has such fierce disagreement not emerged between Iran and Saudi-Arabia in other places that similar incidence have happened? This, therefore, underscores the conviction of this paper that the conflicting reaction is due to existing competition between Iran and Saudi-Arabia as to who bears the flagship of global Islamic hegemony. The reactions should be understood in the context of socio-political interest. It is against this background that Doukham (2016) insists that Iran is seeking to create a 'Tropical Shia Zone' as part of the 'Shia Crescent' within its aspiration for regional hegemony and to become, a global super-power that is recognized in any geo-politics negotiations. The Iranian nuclear program; the subversion in foreign countries; and the support given to terrorist organizations should be regarded as tools utilized by Iran, to further its intermediate objectives of becoming a global super-power. Of course, the Nigerian state will logically come under vicious attack of Iran because it is hobnobbing with countries such as USA that Iran considers as foe rather than friend.

The continued undermining of the Nigerian state and her institutions by IMN came to its crescendo with protests in Abuja, the nation's capital, including in the Three-Armed Zone, where the legislature, judiciary and the executive (Presidency) are headquartered. The protests occasioned the death of many citizens including a deputy commissioner of police, Usman Umar and a 21-year old serving member of National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), Precious Owolabi of Channels Television, both of whom were undertaking their lawful duties. The massive protest by the group informed why Justice Nkeonye Maha of the Federal High Court in Abuja issued an order, following an *ex parte* application. The court restrained any person or group of persons from any form of activities involving or concerning the IMN, under any name or platform in Nigeria.

The Federal government published the order proscribing IMN in the official gazette on July 29, 2019 (The Nation, 2019). Hitherto, in a short video that went viral, Governor Nasil El-Rufai of El-Zakzaky's home state of Kaduna accused the group of refusing to participate in any democratic process in Nigeria. According to him, members of IMN do not register for voter's card and thus do not vote. This seems to confirm the insinuation that the group is desperate to create an

Islamic state in Nigeria. In addition, members of IMN do not pay taxes and yet use government facilities such as schools and even the highways that are funded from taxes collected by government, yet used by IMN for demonstration. To further show that IMN is a government within the sovereign nation of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, El-Rufai has revealed that IMN have appointed their governors and Local Government Chairmen across the federation. It is to these appointees that members of IMN owe their allegiance; not to the government of Nigeria and all her arms. In addition, members of IMN don't subscribe to national anthem, have no recognition for the national flag, or public holidays. Rather, they have their flag and public holidays.

### **Security and Diplomatic Concerns**

Zenn (2013) reveals that Iran's Quds Force and Hizb Allah's global operations have involved Nigeria for more than a decade, but their activities were exposed in October 2010. Nigerian customs officials in Lagos seized 13 containers of weapons from a ship operated by the same French-Lebanese businessman's company that in March 2011 saw a ship bound for Sinai, Egypt, via Syria to supply weapons to Hamas in Gaza intercepted by Israeli naval commandos. Revealing the details of the arms, Tattersall (2010) says the containers included 107mm Katyusha artillery rockets used by Hizb Allah against Israel in 2006. They were shipped on behalf of a Tehran-based Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) "front company" and were picked up at Bandar Abbas in Iran, where the IRGC has a naval base (Adebowale, 2010).

Top security sources informed Zenn (2013) that the weapons were destined for a warehouse in Abuja, but shippers altered documents to send them to Gambia (presumably for anti-Senegalese rebels in Casamance). Nigerian security officials arrested four individuals: a senior Quds Force officer; a Nigerian who formerly studied in Iran and worked at Radio Tehran's Hausa language service; and two Nigerian customs officials. A fifth Iranian suspect, Sayyed Akbar Tabatabaei, who was the Quds Force Africa Corps commander, took refuge in the Iranian Embassy, flew back to Tehran with Iran's foreign minister and was reportedly reassigned to Venezuela to run Quds Force operations in Latin America (Vanguard, 2011). Demonstrating the deep involvement of Iran, Reuters (2013) reported that one month after these arrests, \$10 million worth of heroin hidden in auto engine parts suspected of being linked to the weapons shipment in October was seized in Lagos from a ship originating in Iran. However, this was only a late discovery. This is because as hinted by Mohammed (2013) Iran's role in weapons trafficking resurfaced in May 2013 when Nigerian security forces uncovered a weapons "armory" in a Kano home owned by the Lebanese consul to Sierra Leone.

The security forces arrested three individuals, all of whom admitted to receiving training from Hizb Allah, including: a Lebanese citizen, who owned a supermarket and amusement park in Abuja; a second Lebanese citizen, who was arrested at the airport in Kano before boarding a flight to Lebanon; and a dual Lebanese-Nigerian citizen. Although the weapons were rusted, Nigeria's director of the State Security Service said they were "serviceable," and a Nigerian brigadier general said they were intended for attacks on U.S. and Israeli targets in Nigeria (Point Blank News, 2013). According to Sahara Reporters (2012) some of the munitions, such as anti-tank mines, are more compatible with rebel groups than a terrorist group and may have been linked to the weapons and heroin shipments in Lagos in 2010.

Odo (2013) reveals that in February 2013, three months before uncovering the "armory," Nigeria announced it also uncovered an Iranian-funded cell whose leader admitted to plotting attacks on "prominent Nigerians" to "unsettle the West. Such leaders included Nigeria's former military leader, Ibrahim Babangida, and former sultan of Sokoto, Ibrahim Dasuki, as well as Saudi Arabia's ambassador to Nigeria (Vanguard, 2013). Furthermore, Adigwu (2013) says that the cell also conducted surveillance on USAID, the Peace Corps, an Israeli shipping company, a Jewish cultural centre and hotels frequented by Americans and Israelis in Lagos. Some of those involved were identified. For instance, Nwogu (2013) points out that the cell's leader, a Shi'a



imam in Ilorin, attended a course at Imam Khomeini University in Qom in 2006. In 2011, he trained in the use of AK-47 rifles and improvised explosive devices in Iran, and in 2012 he travelled to Dubai to receive funding to form the cell (Daniel, 2013).

The foregoing has grave implication for security in Nigeria. For instance, the proxies been used can become security threats to the country. As is often argued, the worst enemy is the person who presents himself/herself as friend. Therefore, Nigeria needs to appraise her diplomatic ties and change her policy direction with nations that are suing proxies to undermine her internal security. This is fundamental, especially considering that the nation is bedevilled with internal violent conflicts of varying magnitudes.

### **Conclusion:**

The proscription of IMN is greeted with mix feelings from analyst. While some support the action, others are suspect about it. For instance, Adibe (2019) has advanced seven reasons why the group need not to be proscribed. The reasons included the fear of what Iran, through other means will do in its continued hunt of Nigeria because of its bilateral alliance with Iran's foes such as USA and Israel. However, the position of this paper differs from Adibe's view. The reason is that Nigeria as a sovereign state stands to lose more if it allows itself to be a pawn in the chess game of Iran in its quest to actualise its hegemonic quest.

### **Recommendations:**

From the foregoing, there is no denying that Nigeria is facing serious external and internal security threats. Therefore, this paper recommends the following:

- a) Nigeria should as a matter of urgency train specialised police and joint security units to respond to sectarian violence and acts of terrorism, including in counter-terrorism, investigative techniques, community policing, non-lethal crowd control, and conflict prevention methods and capacities.
- b) Nigeria must conduct thorough investigations of and prosecute future incidents of sectarian violence and terrorism and suspected and/or accused perpetrators.
- c) It is becoming clearer more than ever that Nigeria must develop the capability to monitor patterns in the timing and location of sectarian violence and terrorism as it occurs, and to rapidly deploy specialised police and joint security units to prevent and combat such violence.
- d) Recent events are pointers to the need to develop effective conflict-prevention and early-warning mechanisms at the local, state and federal levels using practical and implementable criteria.
- e) The Nigerian government must redefine her foreign policy in a way that she will always demonstrate to friends and foe that it is not protégée nation of anybody, especially those who meddle in its domestic affairs.

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## Levinas's Responsibility Ethics: A Reinforcement to the Ethics of Professional Teaching in Nigerian Schools (Universities)

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**Abstract:** The notion ethics exists in human societies as it is in all professions. Being the mother of all professions, professional ethics for teachers becomes uncompromisingly important. The essay seeks to reinforce the teachers' ethical code with the Levinasian ethics of responsibility that prescribes absolute, unconditional, infinite and asymmetrical care for the Other. The author introduces Levinas's ethics, draws its implications to academics and applies it to Nigerian universities in particular and claims that it complements and reinforces the teachers' ethics. To drive this point home, the author parses the Levinasian subject as the teacher and the Other as the student. The student is an absolute Other that is absolved from any sort of unethical intercourse with the teacher. The destitution, vulnerability and fragility of the student begs the teacher to teach and be a role model to him. The author uses the notion of fecundity which represents engendering of good actions that endures infinitely to strengthen the teachers' ethics. The dual perspectives of fecundity explain abstract paternity and role modelling. The author argues this metaphor can strengthen the Nigerian teaching profession for, the teacher fathers his student as a father fathers his son as well as serving a role model for him. These two roles amount to generating goodness to the pure future. A well-groomed student transcends the teacher. As a son immortalizes the father, the student immortalizes the teacher and perpetuates the teaching profession in its integrity.

**Key words:** Ethics, responsibility, asymmetrical, absolute, fecundity, paternity, role-model

### 1. Introduction

Levinas's ethics recommends responsibility for the Other by the subject [In Levinas's ethics of responsibility, the Other is the beneficiary of care and the subject or the I is the one that offers the responsibility. In this essay, the subject is the teacher while the Other is the student. Levinas uses capital "O" to distinguish the human Others from non-human others. This will be explained more in the next section]. This ethics can reinforce the teaching professional ethics in the Nigerian educational institutions. Education which is a complex of variables is the superstructure of all successful nations of the world. The variables must function harmoniously for the success of the education system. This essay focuses on teaching profession because teachers foremostly drive and mediate between knowledge and the students. The importance of teachers, person, role and the ethics of the profession has brought them under the searchlight of this essay. Consequently, while the essay acknowledges the teaching professional ethics, it also argues that the ethics of responsibility will strengthen the professional ethics because of the structure and the narrative of care it defends. Additionally, the role of the "subject" (teacher) as one who is available to answer everyone for everything absolutely, infinitely, unconditionally and asymmetrically complements and reinforces the teaching professional ethics. Furthermore, Levinas's notion of fecundity in its dual perspectives: abstract paternity and role model that engenders goodness, introduces a novel outlook to teacher – student relationship. Evidently, this model ensures that students will immortalize teachers and the teaching profession.

This essay proceeds as follows: Firstly, it introduces Levinas's ethics to create acquaintance with the notion of responsibility which defends the Other- the student. Secondly, it investigates the implications of the ethics of responsibility for academics. It argues that the ethics arrogates a primordial role on teachers, as fathers and models and therefore, must live up to these. Thirdly, it applies the implications of this ethics to Nigerian university and argues that the change of narrative in the teacher-student relationship will ennoble the profession



and constantly rejuvenates it. Lastly, it concludes that successful students are the transcendence and trans-substantiation which is the goal of paternity and role model is possible if teachers live up to their professional roles.

## **2. Introducing Levinas's Ethics**

Levinas's ethics of responsibility is an ethics of care. It recommends absolute, infinite, unconditional and non-reciprocal responsibility for the Other. This prescription forms a major ethical theme in his major philosophical works (Levinas, *Totality* 215; Levinas, *Otherwise* 55). Levinas further emphasizes the gravity of responsibility as a non-reciprocal relationship (Levinas, *Ethics* 98). This ethics of care mirrors two postulated unequal personae: The subject also called (the 'I') and the Other. The subject takes the initiative, responds and cares for the Other. Levinas presents and represents the 'I' with a hyperbolic imagery and defines him as availability, readiness and sufficiency to answer everyone at all times (Levinas, *Otherwise* 114). The Levinasian 'I' is a moral subject whose answerability is activated at the epiphany of the Other. The Other is presented in opposition to the 'I' because he represents destitution, vulnerability, wretchedness etc. Despite his destitution, he is an absolute Other that resists absorption and where amalgamated, resists plurality (Levinas, *Totality* 39). His absolute Otherness allows him to enter into a relationship and remains unassimilated. To this Other, the 'I' must respond infinitely, absolutely, unconditionally and asymmetrically. The nature of the response is predicated on the fact that unlike human needs that can be satisfied; the radical human desire can never be satiated. By postulating infinite, absolute, unconditional and non-symmetrical response to the Other, Levinas is offering the Other the best resources to improve his condition. Another important variable in the Levinasian ethics is the 'notion of the face as nudity'. The face in Levinas's ethics gratifies metaphorical reading because its literal reading misrepresents and misleads. The face does not mean the looks or shape or the contours etc., but a symbol that represents the brokenness, destitution and the weakness of the Other. The face of the Other represents his living presence and lived condition (Levinas, *Totality* 66). A face that discloses itself begs assistance and he is at the mercies of the 'I'. The face remains unknown until it discloses itself to the subject.

The epiphany of the face of the Other is the beginning of ethics (Levinas, *Totality* 199) This makes physical contact important for, there is no relationship in this ethics without a concrete phenomenological appearance. Therefore, Levinas claims that ethical relationship begins from the face-to-face encounter of the subject and the Other (Levinas, *Totality* 203) where the Other is an absolute and cannot be assimilated into the subject. This absolute construct is a defense of the Other for which he argues that the subject should prioritize the Other because relationship with the Other is primordial and prior to the subject's relationship with himself, "the relationship with the non – ego, precedes any relationship of the ego with itself" (Levinas, *Otherwise* 119). This argument calls to question all negligence, indifference and deafness to the welfare of the Other as well as justifies the conception of the responsibility he prescribes in favor of the Other. For instance, Levinas justifies feeding the Other with the bread from one's mouth and clothing him with the coat from one's arms (Levinas, *Otherwise* 55). Responsibility for the Other is so important to Levinas that he postulates that the subject could assume himself obsessed to the point of substituting himself for the Other's very responsibility and making himself a hostage for the Other (Levinas, *Ethics* 100). This obsession compels the subject to respond to the Other himself as if he is the Other's last option (Levinas, *Ethics* 100). The 'I' must respond to the Other by himself without deterrence despite pains and discomforts. Levinas justifies such inconveniences in favor of the Other as ethical "the exposure to another is disinterestedness, proximity, obsession by the neighbor an obsession despite oneself, that is, a pain" (Levinas, *Otherwise* 55). Though he acknowledges the challenges of this hyperbolic conception, but he endorses them as ethical and the crux of the morality of responsibility.

There is also a prohibitory side of this ethics. It is the construction of the face as "nudity and poverty" (Levinas, *Otherwise* 89), vulnerable and needing help and protection (Levinas, *Totality*

275). By these constructs, Levinas prohibits everything that is opposed to the care and welfare of the Other. It is assumed that these descriptions and hypothetical assumptions are to favor of his ethics of responsibility for every Other cannot always fit into them. Therefore, by so doing, Levinas draws the attention of all subjects to the fragility of the Other as a reason to offer help and to avoid violence. In his ethics, the apex of violence is murder which he specifically denounces, "murder already resists us in his face, in his face is the primordial expression, 'you shall not commit murder'" (Levinas, *Totality* 199). This prohibition, which is universal asserts and upholds its opposite virtue, responsibility and he declares that "the face orders and ordains me [for responsibility]" (Levinas, *Ethics* 97). Still on the prohibition, elsewhere, Levinas vouches that the otherness of the Other is the highest expression of the imperative "thou shalt not kill" (Levinas, *Time* 109; Levinas, *Ethics* 87). Since the face of the Other resists murder, murder, means assuming power on that which resists it (Levinas, *Totality* 198). Therefore, murder is antithetical and a contradiction to responsibility and the zenith of irresponsibility. Levinas's ethics is an attempt to investigate the conditions for ethical determination and to call to question man's inhumanity to the Other. He calls this ethics, first philosophy because it prioritizes human life and wellbeing unlike ontology that focuses on nature (Levinas, *Totality* 46). His ethics reverses the primary focus of philosophy from ontology, Metaphysics, or theology to humanity and so prioritizes the concrete man - the Other.

Levinas's ethics represents a novel and a radical reversal of the preoccupation of philosophy from its concerns about nature to that of the concrete human being; where in an inassimilable relationship between the I and the Other, care for the Other comes first before that of the self. Some commentators for e.g. Llewelyn have alleged that Levinas's ethics could be read as a reaction to the totalizing nature of the Western philosophical tradition. He points out that Levinas's philosophy engages the philosophy of Husserl and Heidegger from a different perspective (250). Levinas himself could be understood as engaging in a deconstruction of Heideggerian ontology that prioritized nature over human welfare (Levinas, *Totality* 33). Furthermore, Levinas's ethics of responsibility unfolds an asymmetry between two postulated persons, the I and the Other in which the Other that approaches the I from the dimension of the height (Levinas, *Totality* 34). The "height" designates the circumstantial/situational differences between the I and the Other. It is this asymmetry that makes Levinasian ethics non-reciprocal. For the Other is incapable of any reciprocal gestures. On this, Levinas argues that the asymmetrical responsibility defines subject - Other relationship: The intersubjective relation is asymmetrical relation and upon it hangs the ethical. This asymmetry has immense implications for the teaching profession for teachers and students, but the notion of fecundity shall be a complement.

### 3. Implications of Levinas's Ethics for Academics

The crux of Levinas's ethics of responsibility can be highlighted as the prescription of care and the prohibition of violence. This ethics features the caregiver (I/ subject) and the beneficiary (Other) and begins with the encounter of the faces of the subject and the Other. The face of the Other is a symbolic representation of the whole person of the Other of weakness, destitution and always needing help. This characterization establishes a divide that shows in the "height" and asymmetry. The height explains all the differences of the Other that approaches the 'I'. The asymmetry also expresses same but informs the 'I' on how the Other should be perceived and treated. It could be surmised that whereas the "height" is objective and explains the circumstantial difference of the Other that approaches the 'I', the asymmetry is subjective but asserts the capacity of subject as well as informs him that caring for Other is his onus. The subject-Other characterizes the teacher - student relationships in the academic institutions. This We analysis follows from the perspective of Levinas's notion of fecundity as a complement.

Fecundity is a metaphor that entails generating goodness that endures infinitely. It also represents living good life, being good and perpetuating goodness, being "good beyond being" (Levinas, *Existence* xxvii). It also implies good deeds that have future relation. He defines

fecundity as “engendering fecundity accomplishes goodness ... the conception of the child” (Levinas, *Totality* 269). This notion is equivocal and connotes metaphorical understanding. Firstly, as a metaphor, it refers to abstract biological procreation or abstract paternity and secondly, it explains non-biological description of the existence that accomplishes acts of goodness. *Totality and Infinity* discusses these two interpretations the first of which is abstract biological terminology that parallels procreation. In this sense, fecundity refers to procreation and transcendence in which the son immortalizes the father. Levinas describes this point of view as accomplishing transcendence to the pure future which is a time that is always to come. This notion, Levinas abstractly identifies with paternity (*Totality* 247).

Secondly, fecundity, also understood in a non-biological sense, connotes the generation and transfer of goodness from the present to the infinite future. He claims that “philosophy itself constitutes a moment [in fecundity] temporal accomplishment, a discourse always addressed to another” (*Totality* 269). For instance, the services of schoolteachers are fecund roles. These supervisors play fecund role because it transfers goodness from the present to the future.

The abstract biological concept of fecundity is significant to academics. The teacher is an abstract parent whose role includes above all parenting the students. In doing so teachers must teach with such a passion and goal that the students learn not only for examination purposes but also for daily life. A good teacher is a role model to the students even though the students embrace different professions, the dedication and enthusiasm of the teacher will inspire them in their respective professions. In our context, the teacher is the subject while the student is the Other. The teacher-student union explains abstract paternity that fulfills the promise of the future i.e., the adopted child. This metaphor of procreation involves a teacher-student encounter which constitutes a project accomplished in the abstract biological sense of fecundity (Levinas, *Totality* 267). The child creates the role of paternity in which the child is the product of the father. The child is not a property of the father like his car or his house but a special unique gift among the other possessions - his transcendence. The child's relationship with the father is that of fecundity, which is neither political nor religious or social: “The child-father relationship is friendly, without force, but it guarantees posterity in infinity (Levinas, *Totality* 268). The significance of the father-child relationship is the father's immortalization.

This peculiar relationship between the father and the child creates a moral role between them for, the father commands and the son obeys. This role explains responsibility which represents the reason for human creation. From its moral role, Levinas's concept of fecundity in abstract biological perspective applies to the teacher-student relationship. For when the teacher joins the totality of history, the student who is his, “trans-substantiation” transcends him. Therefore, through “trans-substantiation,” the teacher creates a future relation for himself via the student. Fecundity constantly rejuvenates the teacher in his student. The student represents infinite time, and therefore, the teacher remains ever youthful in his student (Levinas, *Totality* 268). This accords Levinas's metaphor of fecundity multi-phenomenological and existential relevance not only in philosophy, but in concrete situations of life.

The non-biological sense of fecundity is the goodness that occurs in time through human agency. Levinas writes that “the “*personality*” of a being is its very need for time as for a miraculous fecundity in the instant itself, by which it recommences as other” (Levinas, *Existence* 95). The above is a reference to the time needed for generating and transmitting goodness to posterity. The metaphor of fecundity does not express biological embodiment, though it could also be understood from that perspective in so far as deeds of goodness are accomplished through human agency, such acts are fecund roles. Therefore, roles such as professorship or writers, or better still, a human rights activism or philanthropism are fecund roles, and the agents are parents because they engender goodness that impacts on mankind and which relates to the future and endure through time.

However, there is tension in the two modes of paternity that the notion of fecundity offers. One might ask how a teacher is to treat his biological child, and his student, a non-biological child. Is it possible to treat these two in the same way? I think that it is not possible to cast these two instances in the same light because the two are from different biological origins. However, since the two characterizations emphasize goodness, what is good for the biological child is also good for the academic child. Therefore, Levinas's notion on fecundity is a compelling model that rekindles hope for a better relationship between teachers and students in the academia. Derrida captures these sentiments well when he characterizes Levinas's work as ethics of ethics: "let us not forget that Levinas does not seek to propose laws or moral rules, does not seek to determine a morality, but rather the essence of ethical relation in general. But as this determination does not offer itself as a theory of Ethics, in question then is an Ethics of Ethics" (Derrida, 138). This projects the uniqueness and novelty of Levinas's thought as investigating ethical determination in our human relationships: the conditions that make it possible for people to find meaning in performing good actions that contribute to a good life for others in the society. The above analysis offers us the significance of fecundity which can be evaluated in the end-time judgment.

The future relation introduces us to time to which Levinas refers as that which accomplishes a renewing effect on the subject. Time is inextricable from existence for, "to be infinitely--infinite - means to exist without limit" (Levinas, Totality 281). This definition is important for the two characterizations of fecundity because it underscores the duration between teaching, its results, practice of profession and judgment in history by posterity.

The notion of eschatology and judgment concludes the metaphor of fecundity. Eschatology is not to be understood as historicity or historical, but rather as a judgment that brings people out of the totality of history to their individuality in order to evaluate their actions. Eschatology is a dual moment that creates opposition between morality and immorality, the ethical and the unethical, the good and the bad. Therefore, the passion, dedication and sagacity of good teachers are in opposition to vices and the indolence of the others. It is a moment of judgment and truth.

Furthermore, judgment is the instance when individuals are spoken of and which their deeds are revealed and evaluated by others. Levinas queries: "does not judgment the act of situating by reference to infinity, necessarily have its source outside the being judged; does it not come from the other, from history?" (Levinas, Totality 240). This query has two implications for teaching profession: (a) That teachers will be judged for their professional relationship with their students; and (b) That history will witness to their deeds. Levinas places human responsibility as well as judgments on the individual level. For this reason teachers cannot escape the consequences of their professional life. For, the temporal judgment of history is an Other to the individual, and history is detrimental to the human will because it alienates the will (Levinas, Totality 240-1). Judgment by history is mediated and is imperfect because it is based on human evaluation. Thus, Levinas claims that the alternative and supreme judgment by God is not only fair, but also comprehensive and excellent.

Judgment by God is different from and preferred to judgment by history because God probes all our deeds for, God is omniscient and omnipresent, yet invisible. Levinas extols the omnipotence and the omniscience of God by maintaining that "the idea of a judgment of God represents the limit idea of a judgment that, on the one hand, takes into account the invisible and essential offense to a singularity that results from judgment ...God sees the invisible and sees without being seen" (Levinas, Totality 244). The appeal to judgment reiterates and consolidates Levinasian construction of ethics. This ethics offers plausible reasons for teachers to strive to uphold their profession and live ethically in relation to their academic children.



#### 4 Implications of Levinas's Ethics for the Nigerian University Lecturers

The previous sections attempted a sketchy resume of Levinas's ethics of responsibility and its implications on academics, respectively. In a nutshell, the responsibility ethics applied to the universities is an ethics of care. It focused on the role of lecturers in their professional relationship with the students Other. This section will be applied to investigate its implications for the Nigerian university lecturers. The University is the tertiary institution of learning whereby academic activities are aimed at better learning and professionalism. A complex of corporative actions are needed from the government, the society, the family, the teachers and the student for the realization of this noble objective but this essay focuses on the professionalism of the teachers because they play a central and mediating role between knowledge and the learners. For the unique reason that the teacher does not only teach but also plays a modelling role for his students, his professional personality is at all times a *sine qua non* for the integral formation and development of the learners.

A brief recap of Levinas's ethics of responsibility is helpful: It recommends that the lecturer cares for the student absolutely, infinitely, unconditionally and asymmetrically. Worthy of note, it is that Levinas's recommendation of responsibility is regardless of the merit of subject, but what neither concerns the subject or matter to him (Levinas, Ethics 95). If so, an open-ended question here is what would be Levinas's expectation of the Nigerian university lecturers in relation to his ethical prescription? Furthermore, in his notion of fecundity, Levinas postulates two perspectives of generating and perpetuating goodness beyond being to the pure future: Firstly, abstract biological or concrete biological (Levinas, Totality 267). In this sense, a lecturer can beget a child abstractly as an academic child. Secondly, in the non-biological sense, any good professionalism even philosophy is a moment of accomplishing goodness (Levinas, Totality 269). In this perspective, the teacher can be a model. Our arguments, appraisal and recommendations of fecundity will follow this logic.

In keeping with the Levinasian postulation, the face of the student is a face in need of knowledge. As ethical relationship begins at the epiphany of the face, so does learning process commences at the appearance of the teacher in the learning environments. The implication of this is that the "face" of every student begs the teacher for knowledge of which he is considered a repository. The "destitution" of the student's face represents the student's need of knowledge; hence, his vulnerability and fragility can only be satisfied by the teacher. For this reason, to recognize the deploring condition of the students is to recognize his need of knowledge and to teach him (Levinas, Totality 75). The subject – the teacher should feed the student with the bread from his mouth and clothe him with the coat from his shoulders (Levinas, Otherwise 55). The latter assumption points to the compelling passion and commitment a teacher should have for his role. It could be thought to mean that no circumstance of the teacher justifies the neglect of his duty, - to talk less about a willful neglect of duty. This agrees with the absolute care which Levinasian ethics prescribes. Infinity also defines his ethics as well.

Knowledge is a continuum. Levinas acknowledges this in relation to his notion of infinite responsibility. He uses "metaphysical desire" to explain the insatiable nature of knowledge, and argues that unlike elemental things which can be satisfied, goodness as well as knowledge can be deepened but never can be satisfied "It is like goodness- the Desire does not fulfill it, but deepens it"(Levinas, Totality 34). We can understand this claim from two point of views. Firstly, knowledge is infinite which coheres with our opening assumption that the students can never learn enough or learn all but can deepen what they learn. Secondly, neither can the teacher teach all. Does this claim absolve the teacher from his professional duty? Does this claim equiparate the teacher and the student? "No" answers the two questions. Though infinity answers the extent to learning, the teacher must exercise his professionalism beyond responsibility. If Levinas's responsibility draws the attention of a subject to matters that do not concern him, what possibly is his message to Nigerian teachers on their duty posts? Asymmetry also defines the teacher's responsibility.

Asymmetry and height are two faces of the same coin. Asymmetry is the subjective side that references the teacher and height is the objective side that refers to the student. "Height" designates the difference between the teacher and the student. The Other approaches me from the dimension of the height, spells teacher-student asymmetry (Levinas, *Totality* 75). This difference of role focuses on the teacher because the teacher has the role of teaching. The asymmetry does not invest the teacher with power to hypothetically exploit the student for "over him I have no power" (Levinas, *Totality* 39). The ethical relation involved in the teacher-student asymmetry is the professional role - teaching. The absolute Otherness of the students absolves them from all unprofessional intercourse. The teacher exercises his profession altruistically and readily which fits into the definition of the subject that is appropriate to his professional role: "I am, answering for everything and for everyone" (Levinas, *Otherwise* 114). The conceptual notion of responsibility ethics climaxed in the dimension of "height" and is complemented by the two perspectives of the notion of fecundity.

The abstract biological notion of fecundity creates a possibility for a child as the transcendence. The teacher plays the role of the fathers whereas the student, the child. In this sense the professionalism of the teacher and the discharge of his duties are of utmost importance. For, as a father, he knows that the child will succeed him and perpetuate him when is no more so do teachers. This is the importance of the student to the teacher therefore, he nurtures, provides for him. The student is a product of the teacher, but yet an Other to the teacher. This seeming contradiction underlies the ethical role of the teacher on behalf of the child. The failure of professional teachers in this ethical role results in absence of transcendence and hence, the dearth of professional teachers in the future. In the ethical relation, the student has the duty to obey and to be willing in following the directives of the teacher as we noted earlier. However, the primary attention is for teachers to be ethical in every relationship with the student. The teacher creates a future for teaching profession for the society by training the student. The infinite time of fecundity constantly rejuvenates the teacher through the student because the student represents the infinity. This notion is described by Levinas as trans-substantiation (Levinas, *Totality* 269). The non-biological perspective is a complement.

The non-biological perspective of fecundity represents a human agent generating goodness that lasts infinitely. When the teacher generates good actions, he also creates himself as a model for the students. There are many professions in life that immortalize themselves through modelling. This is to say that these professionals make themselves models to young stars unbeknownst to them. By being models to others, they play fecund roles, but the mother of all professions is the teaching profession. It is for this reason that Levinas claims that philosophy itself is a dynamic and a moment of fecundity because it is a discourse directing to students (*Totality* 247). A perfect expression of this is when a lecturer teaches, supervises academic works, examines and evaluates the students. All these services of the teacher are fecundating, generating goodness and immortalizing the profession. Teachers must understand that their professional role is important mirror that reflects the students on the teachers, this makes the discharge of the role equally important. Therefore, teachers must mold the students into products of theirs because it is good students that can immortalize the teachers and the profession.

## 5. Conclusion

Levinas's ethics of responsibility is an ethics of care. The usefulness of Levinas's ethics is that its application can reinforce and offer a novel vista to teaching profession in the Nigerian university. This claim is presupposed on the intuition, illustrations and the plausibility of the arguments of responsibility ethics - defense of the Other. This is not however to undermine the specific rationale for the ethics of the teaching profession. Specifically, it recognizes the teacher as prime facilitator of knowledge and this role makes a lot of demand on him

(Durosaro). Ethics of care implies that the role of the teacher is within and outside the classroom, curricular and extracurricular activities. To bear out this demand, the ethics of responsibility is crucial, and its proposals are inevitable. The teacher – student dichotomy in its entailments is important and must be upheld. When the teacher is cognizant of the range of his professional relationship with the student and garnishes it with the care ethics, his foremost inclination is to exercise his role. The image of the student he sees is vulnerability, fragility, destitution which implies his need for knowledge and not unprofessional intercourses. Despite this need, the teacher must understand that the student is an absolute Other that must not be assimilated. Assimilation explains taking undue and unethical advantages of any kind of the student. If this is avoided, then the notion of fecundity in its double-speak perspectives is certain to take its course: the teacher fathers the student who would immortalize him and the profession as well as generates goodness by being a model to the student. The student transcends the teacher and the profession. This transcendence is transubstantiation. Viewed in this way, responsibility ethics reinforces teaching professionalism and offers a model for Nigerian universities.

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## Kant's Deontological Ethics and its Relevance to Political Development in the Society

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**Abstract:** In this article, “Kant's deontological ethics: its relevance to the political development of the society,” I argue that Kant's deontological ethics, with its emphasis on duty for duty sake and its recognition of the moral law knowable through human reason, is the key to readdressing the moral problem of the (Nigerian) society. Aware of the place of morality in political and so national development, I posit that, the society would be better ordered if Kant's deontological ethics is applied. It would sharpen politics, re-activate respect for law and re-energize the consciousness of duty and the work that promotes the common good. The article deploys the philosophical method of critical examination to evaluate Kant's ethics that is deontological and the social issues of the society.

**Keywords:** Deontology, Ethics, Political Development.

### Introduction

Deontology implies actions that are performed independent of the results that are expected therefrom; things done for their own sake and not for the sake of something else. Actions that are universal and necessary, unconditional and absolute. “The term deontology, deontological and *deontologism* is from the Greek word *deon* and it stands for what one must do, what ought to be done, or duty” (Kuusela, 2011:22). It denotes an ethical theory that compels compulsory obligation to conformity as a matter of duty. Deontological ethics grounds morality on a moral law which all human beings have an obligation to conform to.

It can be juxtaposed with teleology understood as actions performed with some ends or goals in view. The term *telos* simply means ends or goals. They are particular and contingent actions. It can also be placed side-by-side with consequentialism understood as actions performed because of their consequences. Kant's ethics is deontological or deontic in the sense that it is not dependent on teleological or consequentialistic influence. Uduigwomen (2001:48-49) supports this view, “Kant ethical theory is not dependent upon any empirical factors such as consequences (not teleological). For him the notion of rightness of actions is grounded a priori in reason. Thus Kant holds a deontological view of ethics.” This means that Kant's ethics is not influenced by any external considerations but by intrinsic value of the actions themselves, for their own sake. This is what Kant means by duty for duty sake.

### Kant's Deontological Ethics

In this section, Kant's deontological ethics would be philosophically appraised in the context of political development, and the practice of politics in Nigeria. In a way, it is applying Kant's ethics, to the political problems of Nigeria. It is using Kant's ethics as a paradigm to Nigeria's political quagmire. Kant (2011) admits that there is substantially, intrinsically and objectively, no conflict, division and separation, between politics and morality. He argues that one cannot be without the other; politics cannot take one good step without the guidance that comes from morality. If there is a perceived conflict, he concludes, it is in the selfish interest of those who call themselves politicians. (Kant, 2011:469) asserts:

The politics cannot take a single step without first paying homage to morals, and while politics by itself is a difficult art, its combination with morals is no art



at all; for morals cuts the Gordian knot which politics cannot solve as soon as the two are in conflict.

It is rather surprising that, Nigerian politicians see politics as a dirty game that is devoid of ethics and morality and engage in it with a crooked and perverse disposition. There is no game that is played without rules as guide. Politics cannot be an exception if it must satisfy the demands of its institution.

The fundamentals of Kant's deontological ethical theories that deal with the principles of Goodwill, duty for duty sake, reason, law and the categorical imperatives of universalization, kingdoms of ends, the autonomy of the will, and duty for duty sake can serve as ethical bedrock for the restructuring of Nigeria's political framework. The article contends that Nigeria's politics is ailing because there is no solid moral and ethical base. Ethics (Kant's Deontological Ethics), provides that framework upon which to build the edifice of Nigeria's politics. In this case and in this article, not just any ethics, but Kant's deontological ethics.

One may be tempted to conclude in view of the appalling political crisis in Nigeria that, politics and political development in Nigeria are suffering from moral epilepsy and disequilibrium. In it (Nigeria's politics), there is the obvious collapse of moral values. Otakpor (2000:5-6) argues that, "a sober reflection on the moral life of the nation would reveal that all is not well with it... all this is because there is no morality." Without morality, man loses direction and bearing and begins to float like a pendulum in the tides. In this kind of reckless moral life, he is no better than a brute and a beast. It is morality that gives man the unique identity and dignity that defines and distinguishes him from the lower animals. It is ethics that lays down the rules and principles of man's moral actions. Ethics is a normative and a prescriptive science that tells man how he ought to live; it is the science of right conduct. It is the science that judges right and wrong, good and bad, actions of human life. Ethics is the moral legislator of human actions. Uduigwomen (2001:1) also offers his intellectual insight into this discussion. He says:

Unlike many other branches of philosophy which deal with abstract problems, the problem of ethics or moral philosophy are ones which everybody seem to be familiar with. In short, ethics deals with problems or questions which normally arise in everyday life.

There are some basic questions which ethics seeks to address and these questions touch directly on human life and living. Should a person cheat? (In Nigeria's case, should Nigerians embezzle government funds)? Should a person deceive others? Should a person steal? Should a person use violence to achieve his or her aim? (In Nigeria's case, militancy in the Niger Delta and Boko Haram, in the North, are these in the best interest of the country?) Should one make money at all cost? (In Nigeria's case, should lecturers collect money from students in order to pass them or to give them good grades?) In fact, simply put, what is the moral life for a person? "Is there a standard, an objective moral standard for judging the rightness and the wrongness of human actions? What does badness or goodness of human actions mean? What is duty? What is obligation? How should men conduct themselves?" (Uduigwomen, 2001:1).

These and many more questions may be asked in dealing with ethical standards of morality. These questions belong to the spheres of ethics and they deal with the conduct of human life in the society. In ethics, therefore, the focus is on what ought to be done. What constitutes the ideal moral life for man? The purpose of ethics is to guide man through his freedom, freewill, rationality, to make good choices in the midst of alternatives. Ethics helps man in thinking better about moral issues. Corroborating this point Uduigwomen (2001:3) holds that "the purpose of ethics is to help us to better conform to the norms of morality or to influence our conduct for good." Ethics helps people to conform their lives to moral standard. Omoregbe (1991:9-10) summarizes the purpose of ethics thus, "nevertheless, the study of ethics is intended to help and does to evaluate one's moral standard." In any case not just a person's

behaviour but also the behaviours of others. It therefore stands to reason that ethics is a metaphysical as well as normative or prescriptive science that tells man how to live the morally upright life.

This then is the concern of this article, to use Kant's deontological ethics to philosophically appraise the political quagmire and moral decadence and decay in Nigeria's polity. Politics if it must have a head way must clothe itself in moral garment. It is this moral garment that Kant's deontological ethics provides.

### **Moral Foundation for Politics**

Even though Kant's ethics deals with morality and not politics as such, it is related to politics in many ways. In this Giuseppe, (cited by MacDonald and McWalter, 2005:237) says, "Kant's philosophy constitutes a sure sense of direction for social and personal life." It is this dimension of social life that links it up with politics. In the same vein, Seung (2007:94) makes the point much clearer:

Kant conceives of moral law in a political framework. The function of the moral law is to harmonize the freedom of each individual with the freedom of others. Kant's conception of morality covers both the life of the individual and that of the community.

Since politics affects the lives of the individual and the society or community, morality is necessary in the society to establish order and harmony in the regulation of human conduct.

In the principle of the Kingdoms of Ends, Kant deals extensively with the whole issue of the equality of all men and their fundamental human rights. Here he argues that man should not be treated as a means to an end but as an end himself. "Treat humanity either in thy own self or in that of any other always as an end and never as a means only." In this principle, human rights and the equality of all men is given due and proper attention. Fundamental human rights and equality before the law are cherished political concepts used frequently in democratic governments. Popkin and Stroll (1993:40), complement this view when they assert, "Kant's deontological ethics supports the democratic view that all people are created equal, where this equality is interpreted to mean that no one person should be discriminated against before the law." In this maxim 'act always as to treat humanity either in their own self or in any other always as an end and never as a mean only,' Kant lays a moral/political foundation for the concept of equality of all people. It is this concept that has given democracy its relevance. Human beings are of more value than every other thing in the universe. The created things of nature and all the manufactured things of technology none can be compared value with humanity. Every meaningful development must therefore put man first above all other things.

Amucheazi (1980:9) also notes that, "development should be man-oriented (person oriented) and not institution-oriented? Any development that is not people oriented is a distorted development that cannot yield its required results. The anthropocentric reconstruction of the society is the road map for authentic development in Nigeria. In Nigeria, the human person is still not given this respect, priority and value arising from his intrinsic nature as a rational being created by God. The human person is treated as a tool especially by the politicians who use him only for the advancement of their own selfish political interest. Government policies are not people-oriented. The people's welfare is not paramount in these policies. The recent agitation for minimum (not maximum) wage is still a tug of war. Some states are not implementing it. It can be said that Nigeria is in political slumber with regard to issues of welfare and fundamental rights of the human person.

In this principle, Kant gives people, (Nigerians), a wakeup call for the proper and wholistic re-assessment of human worth and dignity. This principle is also the foundation upon which human rights activists and other humanitarian worker's build their doctrines and draw their inspiration.

In addition, Kant's ethics properly understood and applied will reduce the prevalence of deceit (promise and fail syndrome; lying promise, deceitful promise) being demonstrated by politicians especially during election campaigns as they move around canvassing and soliciting for votes from the electorates.

David Owens (2008:752) argues in a rather controvertible article, 'Promising without Intending,' that some promises are not binding under certain circumstances. He makes the point that for a promise to be valid for both the promisor and the promisee, then it must be accompanied by the desire and the intention to fulfill it. He asserts that, "one can make a promise while communicating neither the intention of keeping it nor the intention that it be kept." He therefore argues that there is something fundamentally wrong with making a promise without at the same time forming the desire of keeping. In this he submits that the obligation created by a valid promise is so significant that a good person should give weight to it in practical deliberations. It is morally indicting to make any promise that one knows *ab initio* he will not keep. The moral ground for ever making that promise is totally lacking *ipso facto*. It is this level of the moral perversity of the Nigerian society that institutes this ugly trend makes it thrive as people are not held accountable for their actions. No political system can thrive where people do not take seriously their obligations to the masses as a matter of necessity and responsibility.

There is urgent need to re-sharpen people's sense of duty. Duty for duty sake as Kant would put it and not duty with some interest in view. Against the background of the selfish-interest and personal aggrandizement that is today the bane of Nigeria's politics. Kant's duty for duty sake will go a long way in sharpening Nigeria's moral sense of judgment. Duty is much more important than personal gain. Duty calls people to consider first their obligation towards others before their own private interest especially those called to serve the public. This sense of duty is what ought to be injected into the polity. This duty (political duty) should first of all be to the electorates before considering the personal interest of the elected representatives. Duty for duty sake is the dispassionate way political ought to carry out their political obligation to the people who form the basis of these political positions.

### **Respect for Law**

MacDonald considers Kant a great moral physician whose moral reformation addresses man in the core of his innermost existence to which man is capable of attaining. He argues that man's moral life ought to shine through his social and political life. Kant 2001:242-243) says:

The grand end that Professor Kant has in view, in all his writings is, a grand system of moral reformation: fundamental principles for the exercise and use of intellectual power, both in theory and practice, which, supported by true science, and therefore accessible to every intelligent mind, should forever secure to mankind at large the art of seeing with their own eyes, and standing on their own feet... Professor Kant thinks that one, and perhaps the greatest, reason why moral truth, till now, seem to have had so little effect on mankind, is, that the teachers never applied those truths in their original [purity. It is the concentrated rays of the purest light only that will take fire in the human breast.... Such, and similar, are the ideas of Kant and his pupils on the interesting subject of moral and social life. The endeavours of Kant on this subject, they consider as particularly useful in our times, when empiricism in politics is the predominant spirit: a spirit not detrimental, but, in some respect, useful in natural philosophy, but totally subversive of good morals and social order, and which, therefore, must be brought to the bar of speculative reason.

Kant in his moral revolution has internalized the moral law, inscribing it in a way in men's heart, not in *abstracto* but *concreto*. Not in abstract theoretical speculations but in concrete practical

situations. He emphasizes the fact that for people's teaching to make any impression it must be backed by concrete actions. This he demonstrates practically in the way he lives himself. Politics, social life and indeed every aspect of life would be greatly transformed if men were to match their words with actions. This is what Kant has done.

The moral law for Kant is a natural law, knowable through rationality. The fact that all human beings are rational implies that all are also equally capable of discovering and adhering to this law. Anyone who obeys this law, freely and willingly, as a matter of duty and moral obligation, cannot but also respect others. Law considers what is objective for the common good. The imperative that all laws are commands that ought to be obeyed as a matter of necessity can become a stimulating principle and a driving force in people's life, both private and social life. The obligation that law imposes is so profound that it should not be taken lightly but ought to be given the force of compelling obedience. The sublime importance of law in human social and interpersonal relations cannot be over-emphasized. If laws generally are seen from this perspective the moral laws ought to be seen in a deeper and wider context of requiring a greater measure of adherence and conformity. Laws are not for fancy. They constitute obligations that must always be heeded to, which man has no option and no choice whatsoever. In matters of laws and its observance there is only a one way traffic, that of conformity. Kant's contention is that for any moral act to be truly moral it must contain and retain the capacity for universalization. This is because laws are not made for particular or specific people. There are no special laws for the rich and extra laws for the poor. The first fundamental principle of the law is that all are equal before it and the second is that of impartiality. These two principles of impartiality and equality before the law are central to the understanding of the essence of the whole theory and concept of the rule of law. Whoever is acting under the law must consider those actions as conforming to that law and so can be universalized implying by this that others can also act in the same way without breaching that law or taking exceptions to it. This is what Kant (2001:268) means by "act only on that maxim whereby thou canst will at the same time that it should become a universal law." Kant's ethics is deeply rooted in legislation without which no law can be known. Legislation is an important element in politics. It is what makes laws knowable and obeyable. Laws are indispensable for the good life. Kant's thesis is that these laws are embedded in the human heart through reason. They should therefore be moralized in conduct, by respecting an objective and universalizing principle. This would also in a way strengthen the institution of the law and its role as a guide to authentic human action. Law exists to check the excesses of the strong and as well as to protect the weak. It is therefore a means of balancing life in the society. It stands to reason that the observance of laws creates a well ordered society. This then is Kant's contention that man is under obligation to obey the law.

The law of all laws is the moral law. It is the moral law that gives credence to all other laws and also forms the basis for the understanding of other laws. Any that contradicts or contravenes the moral is no law at all *ipso facto*.

### **Conscience in Politics**

A careful reading of Kant's moral/ethical theories will reveal something very striking. At the core of Kant's ethical formulation is the issue of conscience. Kant (2001:375) sees the conscience as:

Not a thing to be acquired, and it is not a duty to acquire it; but every man, as a moral being, has it originally within him.... For conscience is practical reason, which in every case of law, holds before a man his duty for acquittal or condemnation.

Conscience is the internal judge of the human person. It convicts and acquits as the case may be and everyone, much as he is human has it. It is perhaps in this light that MacDonald and McWalter (2005:227) assert that:



For a moment the Kantian formulae of the moral law seemed to remind him of something like Reids of this moral sense, in the new meaning of a law of conscience of a law of duty independent of self-interest....

Kant's arguments refer to the individual's interiority as a free, rational and moral agent and who should act as such. His theory of goodwill, reason, duty, and laws are all addressing the individual in the sacred and secret chambers of the quiet of his inner life. His imperatives call on man to externalize, to bring to the fore, these convictions inherent therein. In this Kant seems to be analyzing the "golden rule" found in the scriptures. "Do unto others, what you would like them to do unto you" (Matthew 7:12). It calls people to put others in their shoes. They are called to see others as their extended or multiplied selves. If people's consciences become their guiding principles, they would have done a lot in regulating and regularizing their conducts. The conscience is the first guide to peoples conduct and action. Anyanwu (2004:13) says that:

Conscience is a formidable weapon for moral change. If it is well trained it can hardly be resisted since it will stick to what is good as good and what is evil as evil. Conscience is a very essential part of man as man.... It is reasonable to suggest that most of us in Nigerian (sic) who behave in the despicable way... have no social conscience. If they develop it, they will think less about themselves and what Nigeria can do for them. The social conscience will help us to think more about other people together with whom we live in the society....

Care must be taken to help people develop a healthy conscience for healthy living. For any transformation that is aimed at changing people's ways of life to have any meaningful impact on people, the conscience must play a leading and a prominent role. Character change begins with the conscience, the mindset and the general orientation of the people. The society would certainly work better if people work more with their consciences using them as a secret *vigilante* or private policemen that accompany them around.

### **Conclusion**

Kant's deontological ethics with its emphasis on duty for duty sake has the potentials for reactivating the moral consciousness (consciences) of the negligent Nigerian society. It is important to note that it is not everything one does that should be premised on monetary gains or selfish interest. The real things that truly satisfy human needs are rendered through services that cannot be paid for. Any society that people work mainly for some pecuniary gains cannot hope to make any serious progress. It is sacrifice and service on the part of a great majority that scales the value and development of any society Kant's deontological ethics is the panacea to Nigeria's developmental problems. It has the capacity to make people up to a better consciousness of their duties and obligations as the moral law that is dictated by reason impinges on all so to adjust.

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## A Comparative Analysis of Stoicism and Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT)

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**Abstract:** After the Peloponnesian war, Athens fell, life became more miserable and people lost sense of control. Aristotle had passed on prior to that, consequent upon these, philosophy was no longer the medicine of the soul; atrocities and immoralities were committed. These led to the emergence of post Aristotelian philosophy among which was stoicism. Centuries later, cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) emerged using the propositions of stoicism to back up its major activity of treating mental disorders like depression and anxiety. This academic piece has therefore endeavoured to present an examination of Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) as it pertains to the philosophical background and dictates of stoicism. Therein, it was apparently understood that stoicism was a consequence of the aftermaths of the Peloponnesian war, where people lost sense of morality and how to live a better life in the society. A greater part of the Nigerian society becomes an example to this. Stoicism has three main tenets on which CBT was built and that is Logic, Acceptance and Control. CBT was understood to be a form of therapy amongst others, used in treating certain mental disorders in both adults and non-adults. The textual method of analysis was employed. While expository and evaluative methods were used to analyse the two major variables, harnessing their strengths and weaknesses. It was discovered that despite the influence of the stoics in curtailing human disorder, there is an incompatibility between a philosophy which is for life, and a therapy which is for a particular disorder.

**Key Words:** Stoicism, Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT).

### Background to the Study

After Aristotle completed his great speculative system, philosophy altered its direction into a new emphasis. The schools of thought that evolved helped to shape this new direction, namely: Academics, Peripatetic, Cynicism, Epicureanism, Stoicism, skepticism and Neo-Platonism. They were of course, largely influenced by their predecessors. What made the philosophers of this era different, however, was that their emphasis was practical. Philosophy became more practical by emphasizing the art of living (even though they also dealt with metaphysical and epistemological issues). These new directions in philosophy were brought about to a great extent by the historical conditions of the times; especially the aftermaths of the Peloponnesian war. People lost sense of control over their lives, within the community. Philosophy therefore shifted to this practical emphasis in a direction of increasing concern for the more immediate world of the universe.

As social beings, the path to happiness for humans is found in accepting this moment as it presents itself, by not allowing ourselves to be controlled by our desire for pleasure or our fear of pain, by using our minds to understand the world around us and to do our part in nature's plan, and by working together and treating others in a fair and just manner; this was the major atmosphere that established the stoics' thought. Stoicism includes some of the most distinguished intellectuals of antiquity. Founded by Zeno of Citium (334-262 BCE), who assembled his school on the Stoa (Greek for porch, hence the term stoic), this philosophical movement attracted Cleanthes (303-233 BCE), and Aristo in Athens. Later it found such advocates in Rome as Cicero (106-43 BCE), Epictetus (60-117 CE), Seneca and the emperor Marcus Aurelius. This influence helped to fix the overwhelming Emphasis of stoic philosophy upon ethics, although the stoics addressed themselves to all three divisions of philosophy formulated by Aristotle's Lyceum, namely, logic, physics and ethics (Stumpf and Fieser 108).

The precursor Zeno, was widely acclaimed for his moral earnestness, and Athenians gave him official honors (Law head 94).

The Stoics taught that emotions resulted in errors of judgment which were destructive, due to the active relationship between cosmic determinism and human freedom, and the belief that it is virtuous to maintain a will that is in accord with nature. Because of this, the Stoics presented their philosophy as a way of life, and they thought that the best indication of an individual's philosophy was not what a person said but how a person behaved. To live a good life, one had to understand the rules of the natural order since they taught that everything was rooted in nature (Uduigwomen 44).

Hundreds of years later, after the current of the Stoics philosophy, problems that pertains to human condition is still not yet solved. Thus, certain psychological theories emerged to adopt the Stoics position, and work out blue prints towards which human disorder can be solved. Example of such antidotes was the CBT discussed explicitly by Aaron T. Beck in his *cognitive theory of depression* (Beck 28). His theory states that depressed people think the way they do because their thinking is biased towards negative interpretations. According to this theory, depressed people acquire a negative schema of the world in childhood and adolescence as an effect of stressful life events, and the negative schema is activated later in life when the person encounters similar situations. Cognitive behavioral therapy has been shown as an effective treatment for clinical depression (Driessen et al. 538). The American Psychiatric Association Practice Guidelines (April 2000) indicated that, among psychotherapeutic approaches, cognitive behavioral therapy and interpersonal psychotherapy had the best-documented efficacy for treatment of major depressive disorder (Hirschfeld, Robert PDF). In the United Kingdom, the National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE) recommends CBT in the treatment plans for a number of mental health difficulties, including posttraumatic stress disorder, obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD), bulimia nervosa, and clinical depression. Cognitive behavioral therapy has been shown as an effective treatment for clinical depression. This theory was however heralded by Albert Elli in his Rational Emotive Behavior Therapy. Consequently, the notion of cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) has been stated in most literatures to be rooted in stoicism. Hence the philosophical origins of cognitive therapy can be traced back to the Stoic philosophers (Still and Dryden 37).

Against these, it becomes necessary to reawaken necessary ingredients from our ancient moral theorists in order to advance other alternatives towards making or creating less immoral and depressed society, especially in a country like Nigeria which is characterised by individuals who see practically little or no reason to keep living, as a result of the pains and miseries surmounting them. The aftermaths of the current pandemic is of course an issue to take into consideration, In Nigeria, Uduigwomen observes that the traditional ideals of good citizenship which manifests in patriotism, honesty, hard work, uprightness, fidelity and respect for the sanctity of human life have taken flight. What remains now are purifying socio-ethical sores straining us in the face and begging for urgent modification (183).

### **Clarification of Terms**

#### **\* Cognitive Behavioural Therapy:**

Cognitive behavioral therapy, henceforth CBT, has been defined as a type of psychotherapy in which negative patterns of thought about the self and the world are challenged in order to alter unwanted behavior patterns or treat mood disorders such as depression or anxiety (emphasis mine). Cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) is a very popular form of therapy because it has been proven effective for a large number of people suffering from anxiety, depression, and other mental illnesses. Also, CBT is a psychosocial intervention that is the most widely used evidence-based practice for improving mental health. Guided by empirical research, CBT focuses on the development of personal coping strategies that target solving current problems



and changing unhelpful patterns in cognitions (e.g. thoughts, beliefs, and attitudes), behaviors, and emotional regulation. It was originally designed to treat depression, and is now used for a number of mental health conditions (Field et al. 2006).

\* **Stoicism:**

**Etymology**

Stoic comes from the Greek *stōikos*, meaning “of the portico”. This, in turn, comes from *stoa*, the painted portico, in reference to where the influential Stoic Zeno of Citium taught—his front porch. This term can be understood considering their basic tenets. Thus: “Philosophy does not promise to secure anything external for man, otherwise it would be admitting something that lies beyond its proper subject-matter.

**Modern usage**

The word “stoic” commonly refers to someone indifferent to pain, pleasure, grief, or joy. The modern usage as ‘person who represses feelings or endures patiently’ was first cited in 1579 as a noun, and 1596 as an adjective. In contrast to the term “Epicurean”, the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy’s entry on Stoicism notes, “the sense of the English adjective ‘stoical’ is not utterly misleading with regard to its philosophical origins”. (Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy)

**The Stoic Ethics**

Apparently, Stoicism is a school of philosophy that rose to prominence in Greece during the 3rd Century B.C. There were no psychologists, psychiatrists, or therapists at this time; philosophers, instead, were the “physicians of the soul.” It was philosophy alone that provided the Greeks with guidance, and Stoicism was a particularly useful tool for self-improvement. In their moral philosophy, the Stoics aimed at happiness, but unlike the Epicureans they did not expect to find it in pleasure. Instead, the stoics sort happiness through wisdom, a wisdom by which to control what lay within human ability and to accept with dignified resignation what had to be. Zeno was inspired as a youth by the ethical teachings and the life of Socrates, who had face death with serenity and courage. This example of superb control.... provided the stoics with an authentic model after which to pattern their lives. It was Epictetus who wrote... “do not demand that events should happen as u wish; but wish them to happen as they do happen, and you will go on well. We should not fear future events, for they will happen as they should. In the real sense, we should have nothing to fear, but fear itself... (Stumpf and Fieser109). It is important to note however, that it was their metaphysics that gave the basis upon which their moral philosophy rested.

**Ethics and the Human Drama**

According to Epictetus, moral philosophy rested upon a simple insight, wherein each person is an actor in a drama. What Epictetus meant when he used this image as analyzed by Stumpf and Fieser, was that an actor does not choose a role, but, on the contrary, it is the author or director of the drama who selects people to play the various roles. In the drama of the world, it is God, or the principle of reason, who determines what each person shall be and how he or she will be situated in history. Human wisdom, said the Stoics, consists in recognizing what our role in this drama is and then performing the part well. Some people have ‘bit parts’, while others are cast into leading roles. If it is God’s pleasure that you should act a poor person, see that you act it well, or a handicapped person or a ruler, or a private citizen. For it is your business to act well the given part. The actor develops a great indifference to those things over which he or she has no control, as for example, the shape and form of the scenery, as well all who the other players will be. The actor has no control over the story or the plot. But there is one thing which actors can control and that that is their **attitude and emotions**. We sulk because of a bit part, or be consumed with jealousy because someone else is chosen to be the hero, or feel terribly insulted because the makeup artist has provided a particularly ugly nose. But neither sulking, nor jealousy nor feeling insulted can in any way alter the fact that we have bit parts, are not heroes,

and must wear an ugly nose. These feelings can only rob the actors of happiness. If we can remain free from these feelings...we will achieve a serenity and happiness that are the mark of a wise person. The wise person is the one who knows what his or her role is (Stumpf and Fieser 110).

When you make the decision to seek counseling or therapy because of issues, circumstances and problems which are beyond your control as the stoics have asserted, you are in part making the decision to consult an applied philosopher – your therapist just may not know it! Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (CBT) is one of the most well-known treatment models for issues such as anxiety, depression, and substance abuse – you would be hard-pressed to find a psychotherapist who does not use any aspect of CBT in his or her practice, but CBT is also deeply indebted to the Stoic philosophers of ancient Greece. ([https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://www.ukhypnosis.com/2010/07/31/excerpt-the-philosophy-of-cognitive-behavioural-therapy-cbt/&grqid=\\_uTPJpsa&hl=en-NG](https://googleweblight.com/i?u=https://www.ukhypnosis.com/2010/07/31/excerpt-the-philosophy-of-cognitive-behavioural-therapy-cbt/&grqid=_uTPJpsa&hl=en-NG)). Stoicism teaches the development of self-control and fortitude as a means of overcoming destructive emotions; the philosophy holds that becoming a clear and unbiased thinker allows one to understand the universal reason (logos). A primary aspect of Stoicism involves improving the individual's ethical and moral well-being: "Virtue consists in a will that is in agreement with Nature". This principle also applies to the realm of interpersonal relationships; "to be free from anger, envy, and jealousy, "and to accept even slaves as "equals of other men, because all men alike are products of nature" (Robertson 74). Uduigwomen observes that the moral life can simply be defined as the life that is conducive to the attainment of peaceful communal coexistence. It is a life of uprightness, probity, honesty and goodness. .. (175). The Stoic ethics espouses a deterministic perspective; in regard to those who lack Stoic virtue, Cleanthes once opined that the wicked man is "like a dog tied to a cart, and compelled to go wherever it goes". A Stoic of virtue, by contrast, would amend his will to suit the world and remain, in the words of Epictetus, "sick and yet happy, in peril and yet happy, dying and yet happy, in exile and happy, in disgrace and happy", (Epictetus Qtd in "list of CBT techniques" <https://www.infocounselling.com/list-of-cbt-techniques/&grqid=ltFI4cey&hl=en-NG>) thus positing a "completely autonomous" individual will, and at the same time a universe that is "a rigidly deterministic single whole".

### **Framework of Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT)**

From our previous discussion, we shall examine three tenets of Stoicism that have formed the framework of cognitive-behavioral therapy and hence contributed greatly to human disorder, namely: logic, acceptance, and control.

#### **1) Logic**

Stoics believed that the mind functions as an intermediary between our impressions and actions. A wise mind, they said, could successfully differentiate between accurate and faulty impressions through the use of logic. True impressions were based in observable laws of nature, and they were to be assimilated into one's worldview and acted upon. False impressions had no natural basis, and would lead to destructive emotions if not discarded. A stoic understood that emotional suffering occurs when expectations do not align with reality – when our expectations and interpretations are illogical. Instead of trying to change nature – a fruitless effort – a stoic would realign his or her thoughts to more accurately reflect nature. Reducing the discrepancy between expectations and reality meant reducing one's suffering, as suffering was the result of this discrepancy.

#### **2) Acceptance**

Stoics believed all of nature was to be accepted, even its more tragic elements – death, loss, pain, misfortune, etc. These things are naturally occurring, and therefore part of the natural law. Equally accepting our strengths and limitations, along with the beauties and horrors of the world, would lead to a balanced, well-adjusted life. Stoics were skeptical of overly optimistic or pessimistic judgments – after all, nature isn't all good, or all bad. We are all recipients of good

and bad fortune. So Stoics strived to live in the present moment and non-judgmentally accept their circumstance without forming rigid expectations about what was to come.

### 3) Control

Stoics recognized that we don't have complete control over external circumstances—our reputations, or the way people treat us, for example. But we do have control over our own thoughts and attitudes. They believed we should concentrate our energy into these things we truly can control, and that doing so would give us the best opportunity to influence the world around us for the better. It was through acting ethically that Stoics believed each individual could do his or her part to combat the injustices of the world. Everything else, they said, was outside our control, and the best we can do is accept it. *These three things – using logical thought to identify unrealistic beliefs, accepting our circumstances, and making the distinction between the things we can and cannot control, are core tenets of cognitive-behavioral therapy. These can be seen in Aaron Beck's original list of cognitive distortions: catastrophizing, all-or-nothing thinking, or magnification and minimization are all faults of logic that can lead to destructive emotions; jumping to conclusions, mind reading, and fortune telling are examples of failure to accept that which we do not know; personalization and overgeneralization are mistakes of locus of control.*

#### **Psychology and Psychotherapy**

“Man is disturbed not by things, but by the views he takes of them.” – **Epictetus, 1st Century Stoic philosopher**

“People don't just get upset. They contribute to their upsetness.” – **Albert Ellis, 20th Century psychologist**

Stoic philosophy was the original philosophical inspiration for modern cognitive psychotherapy, particularly as mediated by Dr Albert Ellis' Rational-Emotive Behavior Therapy (REBT), the major precursor of CBT (Ellis). The original cognitive therapy treatment manual for depression by Aaron T. Beck et al. states, “The philosophical origins of cognitive therapy can be traced back to the Stoic philosophers”. A well-known quotation from The Handbook of Epictetus was taught to most clients during the initial session of traditional REBT by Ellis and his followers: “It's not the events that upset us, but our judgments about the events.” This subsequently became a common element in the “socialization” phase of many other approaches to CBT. The question of Stoicism's influence on modern psychotherapy, particularly REBT and CBT, was described in detail in The Philosophy of Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (2010) by Donald Robertson. Moreover, several early 20th century psychotherapists were influenced by stoicism, most notably the “rational persuasion” school founded by the Swiss neurologist and psychotherapist Paul DuBois, who drew heavily on Stoicism in his clinical work and encouraged his clients to study passages from Seneca as homework assignments.

#### **How Stoicism could Contribute Greatly to Human Disorder in the Light of CBT**

The contemplation of universal determinism, of the transience or impermanence of things, including our own mortality, and the meditative vision of the world seen from above, or the cosmos conceived of as a whole, constitute specific meditative and visualization practices within the field of ancient Hellenistic psychotherapy. Contemplation of the good qualities (“virtues”) found in those we admire and in our ideal conception of philosophical enlightenment and moral strength (the “Sage”) provides us with a means of role-modelling excellence and deriving precepts or maxims to help guide our own actions. The rehearsal, memorization, and recall of short verbal formulae, precepts, dogmas, sayings, or maxims resembles the modern practice of autosuggestion, affirmation, or the use of coping statements in CBT. The objective analysis of our experience into its value-free components, by suspending emotive judgments and rhetoric, constitutes a means of cognitive restructuring involving the disputation of faulty thinking, or cognitive distortion. By sticking to the facts, we counter the

emotional disturbance caused by our own “internal rhetoric.” Socratic philosophy has a broader scope than modern psychotherapy, it looks at the bigger picture, and allows us the opportunity to place such therapy within the context of an overall “art of living”, or philosophy of life.

### **Stoicism and Global Pandemic**

The Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was the last famous Stoic philosopher of antiquity. During the last 14 years of his life he faced one of the worst plagues in European history. The Antonine Plague, named after him, was probably caused by a strain of the smallpox virus. It's estimated to have killed up to 5 million people, possibly including Marcus himself. From AD166 to around AD180, repeated outbreaks occurred throughout the known world. Roman historians describe the legions being devastated and entire towns and villages being depopulated and going to ruin. Rome itself was particularly badly affected, carts leaving the city each day piled high with dead bodies. In the middle of this plague, Marcus wrote a book, known as *The Meditations*, which records the moral and psychological advice he gave himself at this time. He frequently applies Stoic philosophy to the challenges of coping with pain, illness, anxiety and loss. It's no stretch of the imagination to view *The Meditations* as a manual for developing precisely the mental resilience skills required to cope with a pandemic.

First of all, because Stoics believe that our true good resides in our own character and actions, they would frequently remind themselves to distinguish between what's “up to us” and what isn't. Modern Stoics tend to call this “the dichotomy of control” and many people find this distinction alone helpful in alleviating stress. What happens to me is never directly under my control, never completely up to me, but my own thoughts and actions are – at least the voluntary ones. The pandemic isn't really under my control but the way I behave in response to it is. Much, if not all, of our thinking is also up to us. Hence, “It's not events that upset us but rather our opinions about them.” More specifically, our judgment that something is really bad, awful or even catastrophic, causes our distress. This is one of the basic psychological principles of Stoicism. It's also the basic premise of modern CBT, It's not the virus that makes us afraid but rather our opinions about it. Nor is it the inconsiderate actions of others, those ignoring social distancing recommendations, that make us angry so much as our opinions about them (Robertson Pdf download).

### **Evaluation and Conclusion**

Suffice it to say that the ideas discussed above are not mutually exclusive, as there are more to what has been said when it comes to talking about the contribution of the stoics to human disorder. Also, although tons of prints have been expended on this issue, to do an evaluation will not be uncalled for. Despite the influence outlined above, Stoicism and cognitive-behavioral therapy do diverge in significant ways. The most significant difference is perhaps one of scope. Many Stoics, including Epictetus, ascribed to fatalism. They believed that our fates were out of our control, and that the best we could do was dispassionately accept whatever our fates may be. C B T has a more limited scope, and does not posit any hypotheses about the greater workings of the universe. CBT is merely a therapeutic tool, though a powerful one. However, from my research, it was understood that the modern industrialization of psychotherapy, the division of the therapist's labor, has compartmentalized it in a manner that is bound to cause certain contradictions. What was once a lifestyle and calling, a vocation in the true sense of the word, has now been degraded into a mere “job”. By nature, however, we do not merely study the cure of human suffering in order to alleviate it, but also to understand and transform ourselves and our relationship with life itself. Perhaps, as the ancients seemed to believe, the philosopher-therapist must first transform his own way of life, making it a living example of his views, in order to be able to help others. By contrast, if the goal of the “rational” or “philosophical” therapist is merely to do his job and leave it all behind him at the weekend, to treat what we call “psychotherapy” as just another profession then perhaps that's not a very rational or philosophical goal.



There is a fundamental problem in stoics' philosophy of indifference and CBT's adaptation of it. Plain men do not believe that the best to live is to cultivate the virtue of indifference to the exclusion of all other virtues. For instance, if your son or wife dies, to suggest the best way to react is to be indifferent will seem ridiculous to most of us says A. F. Uduigwomen (44). Moreover, the implication of the philosophy of indifference is that immoral acts such as abortion, adultery, stealing and murder done out of indifference would be regarded as good by the stoics. But such a moral outlook is not consistent with our usual ethical beliefs. But as Robertson, LeBon and others are the first ones to point out, therapy is not philosophy. Therapies consist of a collection of techniques (derived from a given theory and refined via pertinent empirical evidence), not of general precepts about how to live one's life. And therapies – especially CBT – are meant to target specific problems for limited periods of time, not to serve as lifelong all-purpose companions. So the difference between Stoicism (or any philosophy of life) and CBT-related (or any other) therapies is that you go to therapy if you have a specific, potentially treatable problem, like depression, or a type of phobia, or panic disorder. Conversely, you reflect on and practice a philosophy your entire life, and it informs your outlook on pretty much everything.

The situation human kind find itself today is such that the ancient tradition and its teaching need not be underestimated. Suicide is in the increase, armed robbery, prostitution, kidnapping and a host of other maladies are perpetrated with the view to finding consolation by such acts. My opinion is that hope need not be lost we need to learn how to accept things we cannot change and play our parts here on earth as far as we can. It is hoped that, in the future research may be conducted on the potential applications of combined Stoicism and CBT-based training courses as a form of long-term emotional resilience-building.

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## A Philosophical Investigation of Niccolò Machiavelli's Political Philosophy

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**Abstract:** Machiavelli's attempt to resolve human nature is very controversial and problematic. One fundamental problem with the Machiavellian doctrine is that it reveals political despotism and political tyranny. It reveals the problem of the misuse of political power by man. The Machiavellian tradition of politics reveals political realism, freedom, prudence and stability. Machiavelli's political philosophy represents republicanism. Machiavelli suggest that the Prince ought to be equipped with intellectual sagacity. Machiavellianism poses a negative doctrine. Machiavelli as a genuinely modern political thinker tries to distinguish the temporal (politics) from the spiritual (religion). Machiavelli presents a complex relationship between the temporal (politics) and the spiritual (religion). Machiavellian conception of politics exposes the unethical and amoral behaviour of people and the maintenance of rulership in the state. Machiavelli's views on ethics and religion are skeptical. This paper adopts the method of analysis and hermeneutical method in unraveling the debates and counter debates associated with the Machiavellian conception of politics and ethics. This paper concludes that the Machiavellian tradition has been misconstrued. It has been misunderstood that Machiavelli despises the concept of the good, religion or ethics. Machiavelli's political philosophy demonstrates the doctrine of the state characterized by social order. Machiavelli's doctrine of the state reveals the superiority of the state over the individual. It guarantees the normative structure of the political state as an organism. Machiavelli's conceptualization and contextualization of politics reveals normative outcomes and the idea of the common good. The maintenance of rulership in the state requires intellectual sagacity, social order and social stability. Machiavelli's notion of the state reveals the limits of a historical context that is constructed by the struggle between virtue and fortune or good and evil. Machiavelli's philosophy is the amoralization of society.

**Keywords:** The Prince, Politics, Ethics, Religion, Society, the State

### Introduction

Machiavelli (1469-1527) has been regarded as a teacher of evil. Machiavelli is genuinely referred to as a modern political thinker. The Machiavellian tradition of politics reveals liberal despotism, freedom, pragmatism, realism, prudence, and stability. Machiavelli attempts to separate ethics from politics but this does not presupposed the fact that Machiavelli despises religion or ethics. Machiavelli attempts to present a complex relationship between the temporal (politics) and the spiritual (religion). The Machiavellian doctrine of the state assumes the political dimension of political order and political authority. Machiavellian doctrine of the state reveals the superiority of the state over the citizens. It reveals the organizational structure of the political state. Machiavellian conception of politics exposes the unethical behaviour and the maintenance of rulership in the state. The Machiavellian conception of the state reveals the limits of a world that is constructed as a struggle between virtue and fortune. The Machiavellian doctrine of the state guarantees nobility and republican liberty. Machiavellian doctrine of the state is political realism, the maintenance of rulership, political order and state authority. Machiavellian republicanism reveals the limits of a world that is characterized by a struggle between virtue and fortune, good and evil. For goodness is an inverted idea of ensuring that the Prince is not ruined. Machiavelli argues that learning not to be good will help the Prince to keep his estates.

### Hermeneutics of Machiavelli's Political Philosophy

For Foster, Machiavelli is the first genuinely modern political thinker, and there is a sense in

which this statement is true (Foster 268). The negative doctrines of Machiavelli are those which first strike the reader's attention. He attacks the separation of the temporal (politics) from the spiritual (religion) sphere (Foster 269). This does not mean that Machiavelli despises religion. A Prince should therefore be careful that nothing ever escapes his lips which is not replete with the five qualities -mercy, good faith, integrity, kindness and religion (see, Foster 271). Foster argues further that:

Moreover, in the actions of all men and most of all Princes, where there is no tribunal to which we can appeal we look to results. Wherefore, if a prince succeeds in establishing and maintaining his authority, the means will always be judged honourable and be approved by everyone. The essence of Machiavellianism is not merely that it supplies a system of technical rules for the acquisition and maintenance of power. Such a system of rules would not necessarily involve a reversal of moral standards. A handbook of carpentry provides a system of technical rules for the working of wood and a man who has mastered them may make use of them to enable him to break into houses, or for other illicit purposes. But the handbook is not said to have an immoral tendency because it imparts a knowledge which may be used for an immoral end (274).

Machiavelli's "*The Prince*" is in part just a technical treatise: but Machiavelli's notion of 'virtue' makes it something much more than this (275). According to Machiavelli cited by Foster, the two great forces which govern the lives of men are 'fortune' and 'virtue'. Human affairs are so governed by fortune and by God (275). The difference between the Machiavellian and the Christian conceptions of power by which human affairs are controlled is the obverse side of the difference which we have already observed between the Machiavellian and the Christian views of human nature (277). The Machiavellian doctrine of the state assumes the superiority of free states (278). But liberal despotism is not what Machiavelli means by a free state. The superiority of the state relies on freedom, prudence and stability. It is germane to note that there is a sense in which it would be true to say that freedom for Machiavelli means self-government(279). The state is made a state by a certain structure of organization, as the body is made an organism by similar structure among its parts (280).

For Mansfield, *The Prince* as a textbook of political philosophy reveals that Machiavelli offers a defence of popular liberty and republican government (Mansfield 17-18). Mansfield, however, argues that:

Machiavelli posits a complex relationship between ethics and politics that associates princely virtue with the capacity to know and act within the political world as it is and with the beastly abilities to dispense violence and practise deception. Behind this argument dwells the distinctively Machiavellian insight that politics is a realm of appearances where the practice of moral or Christian virtues often results in a Prince's ruin while knowing how not to be good, may result in greater security and wellbeing for both the Prince and people (22-23).

Machiavelli's political theory elicits political elitism. Machiavelli's elitist proclivities in "*The Prince*" has helped to fuel a vast interpretive literature concerning his political attitudes, his theory of politics, and the nature and meaning of Machiavellianism in Western political thought (23). The notoriety of the Prince rests primarily upon the nature of Machiavelli's advice concerning the 'methods and rules' that a leader must follow in order to exhibit strength (virtu), gain and maintain his position within a particular territory (lo stato) and secure the state itself (18). Machiavelli further argues that a more complex relation between value(or ethics) and politics in "*The Prince*". Machiavelli's political theory advocates that goodness is sometimes disastrous in politics and cruelty less ruinous than clemency (See, Mansfield 18-19). According to the Machiavellian tradition, the real truth is that in politics, a ruler must be ready to play



upon falsehoods and appearances, being often obliged, in order to maintain the state, to act against faith, against charity, against humanity and against religion. Accordingly, the Prince must learn how not to be good (See, Mansfield 18-19). Mansfield went further to assert that;

In contemporary vocabulary, the terms Machiavellian and Machiavellianism capture an understanding of politics as a domain that embraces naked self interest, the maintenance of rulership at all costs, the utility of unethical behaviour and the centrality of power as an end that justifies any means. The metaphysical picture behind his account of politics is that an all-pervading necessity that forms the fabric of the world but wherein freedom as the exercise of human control over circumstances, is a real possibility at least most of the time (20).

“The Prince” as a textbook of politics allows us to see the limits of a world that is constructed as a struggle between 'virtue' and 'fortune' a world wholly devoid of human mutuality, reciprocity and genuine civic life (20). The contemporary significance that Machiavelli attaches to liberty cannot be overstated, for he argues that only a city free from servitude is potentially capable of achieving greatness whether in power or wealth or both (21). Machiavellian republicanism involves a defence of the people (popolo) as the active guardians of public liberty. As usual, Machiavelli's reasoning on this matter is complex and contextual and it does not denote an absolute rule (20). The emphasis on political struggle which as we have seen is an indelible aspect of Machiavellian politics. It leads to the most audacious element of Machiavellian republicanism (See, Mansfield 20-21). Machiavelli recommends as most beneficial to republican liberty a government that combines 'a princely virtue' a nobility and the power of the people under the same constitution. Machiavelli is regarded as a defender of republican citizenship and liberty, self-government and civic virtue (See, Mansfield 21-22). Machiavelli's political philosophy reveals the normative ideal political order. Machiavelli argues that injustice threatens the normative foundation of human society. Machiavelli's philosophy and political thinking is the politics of human society. The politics of human society presupposes that social life was the best indeed the only for them to develop their rational nature. Machiavelli tries to separate morality from politics. Cohen further argues that:

Machiavelli is the first writer to move away from the paternalism of traditional society towards something closer to our notion of democracy. In his political writings, the masses ignorant and vulgar though they may be, are better guardians of stability and liberty than individuals can ever imagine. And despite his reputation for lyricism, Machiavelli reminds us that injustice threatens the foundations of society from within and urges that it always be combated wherever it appears and whoever it affects (95).

Machiavelli's writings are primarily a historical and contemporary political analysis of how power is won, maintained and lost (96). Machiavelli is often narrowly portrayed as simply promoting the use of force and duplicity. Machiavelli's intention was highly moral: to protect the state against internal and external threats and ultimately to promote the welfare of the citizens not simply the interests of the Prince (102). In the *Discourse*, Machiavelli advocates 'civic virtue' putting the common good ahead of selfish interests and identifies that curious feature of collective decision making that the judgement of the masses may be sounder than that of even enlightened individuals.<sup>28</sup> The state is only as good as citizens. The rulers must be aware of the dangers of allowing civic spirit to wane ( Cf. Cohen 102-103). For Cohen:

Republics flourish when they respect customs and traditions; when town dominates country; when a large-middle class exists; when popular power is institutionalized; and when there is plenty of civic spirit. It is really only in times of crisis that a Prince is needed such times as when, for example, a ruthless

individual cannot be stopped, or when the state lacks virtue and there is civic-injustice or when the republic has been fashioned by 'unsuitable material'. Unfortunately, where there is a Prince who does things in his own interests usually harms the city and what does in the interests of the city harms him. The masses have following their own interests too (102-103).

One section in the *Discourse* is headed with the warning: How frequently erroneous are the views men adopt in regard to matters of moment; it explains that men are easily corrupted; they pass from one ambition to another and having first striven against ill-treatment inflict it next upon others (see, Cohen 99-100). Machiavelli argues that political community should be defined by a common weal. Machiavelli's assessment of the basic motivating force is remarkably close to Thomas Hobbes a century later in England: man is primarily concerned to impose his will on others or to impress them and gain recognition. Aristotle, too, had described man as a political animal but, unlike Machiavelli's version, as one naturally disposed to work within a community for the commonwealth as defined by the aristocrats (Cohen 101). Machiavelli is the first major European figure to praise freedom as a primary virtue, writing variously that those who set up a tyranny are no less blameworthy than the founders of a Republic or a kingdom praiseworthy and that all towns and all countries that all in all respect freedom and profit by this enormously (Cohen 101). Machiavelli's democracy only extends like that of the Greeks to a minority of the richest countrymen whose job it is to stop others seizing power and perhaps, by exploiting the power of the mob (Cohen 102). Popular government is better than tyranny not for any overriding 'moral' reason but by reason of its success in bringing about certain political goals: national independence, security and stability (Cohen 102). Machiavelli, following Aristotle, says that there are six types of government of which three are bad and three are good in themselves but easily becomes corrupt. The good ones are principality, aristocracy and democracy and the corresponding bad ones are tyranny, oligarchy and anarchy. States are perpetually degenerating and regenerating through the various forms. Although, fortunately, Machiavelli thinks, a state in one of the inferior forms will normally fall under the political control of the one better organized (Cohen 97).

### **Machiavelli's Political Philosophy as the Amoralization of Society**

Machiavelli recognizes the internal contradictions inherent in every society. Machiavelli's political philosophy is the amoralization of society. Machiavelli, like the ancients, expects the state to follow a cycle of growth, maturity and then decay (Cohen 97-98). Machiavelli views on societies as characterized by certain internal contradiction resorting to the claim that the 'end justifies the means' even if the means fall below the publicly held standards of morality. Machiavelli's political philosophy reveals political dishonesty and achievements in the light of the initial promise. Machiavelli's state was a secular entity with no relation to the Church. A well ordered and stable state could be successful if it had a strong government at the centre, an integrated public authority recognized by all and a citizen army. Machiavelli was equally hostile to hereditary monarchy and feudal nobility (Shushila and Ramaswamy 157). Machiavelli's theory of social change occurs due to the role of fortune. According to Machiavelli, fortune favours and befriends the brave in society. Machiavelli's ideal was a Republic. Machiavelli, in his conceptual analysis of the characteristics and dynamics of the modern nation state understands the strength that was denied from possessing a common language and customs (see, Shushila and Ramaswamy 157-158). Human control is attained by systematic and self-conscious statesmanship (Shushila and Ramaswamy 160). And achievements in the light of the initial promise. Machiavelli's theory is political realism and pragmatism and the fact that he writes about human nature; the nature of political society and its actual operations; and with a concern about how things were rather than how they ought to be (Shushila and Ramaswamy 137).

Machiavelli underlines the importance of politics as a public responsibility and the need for rules and maxims distinct from those applicable in the private sphere. Machiavelli had

tremendous faith in history outside of the conviction that the study of history was of crucial significance for an understanding of contemporary reality. Freedom of the country on a common ground remains the normative core or theme of Machiavelli's political writings. Politics was ultimately and finally a constant struggle for power and domination which has to be judged by its own rules and norms so that states could survive (Mukherjee and Ramaswamy 137). Machiavelli's political importance was in providing a normative outlook that accepts both secularization and amoralization of politics (Mukherjee and Ramaswamy 162). He takes politics out of the context of theology and subordinates moral principles to the logical necessities of political existence and people's welfare (Mukherjee and Ramaswamy 164). For Cohen:

Machiavelli also accepted conflict as permanent and universal seeing it as natural unlike his predecessors who viewed social conflict as unnatural and curable by certain kinds of social systems. The basis of social conflict was the permanent struggle between the common man, the powerful and the moneyed; although, he does not explain the struggle in economic terms. For Machiavelli, a well ordered state ensures the well-being and security necessary to combat social conflict and the radical selfishness of human nature. The state has no higher end or any divine purpose (97).

Gramsci praised the greatness of Machiavelli for separating politics from ethics. Undeservedly, Machiavelli was seen as the devil's advocate confined to permanent infamy for preaching villainy and duplicitous pursuit of political power (see, Hoffman and Graham 287). Machiavelli was described as a founding father of fascist theory. Machiavelli advocates for the Prince to study "his ruin than his preservation: for a man who wishes in all particulars to make a profession of good comes to ruin among so many who are not good (see, Hoffman and Graham 287). Rosen argues that: whence it is necessary that a Prince, if he wishes to maintain himself, he must study not to be good and to use this knowledge or not as necessity demands (77). Machiavelli argues that there are qualities which can earn Princes either blame or praise. According to Machiavelli cited by Stanley Rosen et al, they argued that:

And this is the reason that someone is held to be liberal, someone miserly (using a Tuscan term because *avaro* in our language is still he who desires to possess by means of rapine, *misero* we call one who holds back too much from using his own); someone is held to be a donor, someone rapacious, someone cruel, someone given to pity; the one a breaker of trust; the other trustworthy; the one effeminate and pusillanimous; the other ferocious and spirited; the one humane; the other proud; the one lustful; the other chaste; the one a man of integrity; the other astute; the one harsh; the other easy going; the one grave; the other light; the one religious; the other disinclined to belief; and similarly. And I know that everyone will confess that it would be a most praiseworthy thing for there to be found in a Prince all of the qualities written out above that are considered good; but because they cannot be possessed nor with integrity be observed since human circumstances do not consent to this; and it is necessary for him to be prudent in such a manner as to know how to flee the infamy of those vices that of those vices that would lose him his estate and with regard to those that would not to be on his guard if it is possible or if everything is well considered, there will be found something seeming to be virtue which if followed, would be his ruin and there will be found something else seeming to be vice which if followed, would produce his balance, security and well-being (77-78).

Machiavelli argues that a well ordered society is the society characterized by virtue, human well being and security. For Rosen, to a Prince, then, it is not necessary to have the qualities written of above but it is necessary to seem to have them (79). Machiavelli's notion of politics reflects the normative assumption of political authority and liberty. According to Mackenzie:

At the threshold between antiquity and modernity, Machiavelli's "The Prince" provides us with a third source for the normative justification of political order: brute force. According to Machiavelli, the princely ruler is entitled to do whatever is necessary to maintain order (given that order is the real *raison d'être* of political life) and therefore can use all necessary means to achieve that end. The people (and, more importantly, the Princes' rivals) will not step out of line knowing that to do so is to risk the cunning and strength of the Prince being used against them (21-22).

Accordingly, Mackenzie holds that people began to question the traditional sources of political order (morality, religion, state force) and indeed, people began to revolt against and overthrow the established orders that promoted and sustained these forms of political order (Mackenzie 22-23). The Machiavellian position assumes that self preservation is a universal feature of human existence. The state and civil society has become increasingly blurred in contemporary liberal democracies. Machiavelli's political realism encapsulates elitist tendency in the name of political pragmatism (see, Mckenzie 26). Machiavelli argues for the state to be the monopoly of force. Machiavelli assumes the superiority of the state over the people.

### **Machiavelli's Conceptions of the Prince and the State**

Machiavelli's text "The Prince" is a peculiarly fertile ground for the arts, for philosophy and for political thinking. It is the politics of human society and human nature. Machiavelli's most important and original points are usually considered as the analysis of the conditions for republican government. In addition, Machiavelli writes that our religion has glorified, humble and makes men contemplative rather than men of action. It has assigned as man's highest good humility, abnegation and contempt for mundane things (Cf, Cohen 93-94). For Cohen, Machiavelli heralds the tactics of the emerging societies in redefining their relationship with the moral authority of the Church and is very clear: the Prince has a 'higher' morality rather than no morality at all; and this is not just a Machiavellian view; many societies depend on just such a contradiction resorting to the claim that "the end justifies the means"; and even if the means fall below the publicly held standards of morality (Cf, Cohen 95). The state is only as good as its citizens - the rulers must be aware of the dangers of allowing civic spirit to wane. People are all a mixture, none much superior to any other; and no system is perfect either. Even a good Prince can become corrupt; and so it is best to design the state with a series of checks and balances (Cf, Cohen 95). For Foster:

Machiavelli rejects the doctrine of Natural Law. Machiavelli does not believe that man is destined to a supernatural end. Machiavelli does not confine man's end to merely material well being. Machiavellian doctrine of humanity reveals the values of greatness, power and fame. The temporal ruler was the custodian of Human Law and the custodian of Divine Law was the Church. Machiavelli's theory is not hostile to religion. Princes and republics who wish to maintain themselves free from corruption must above all things preserve the purity of all religious observances and treat them with proper reverence (368-269).

Machiavelli argues that virtue is the sum of those qualities that tend to make a man great, powerful, and famous. Machiavelli measures a man's virtue by his ability to attain power and fame (Foster 372). According to Foster:

Machiavelli's notion of virtue is correlative to his notion of the human end and human nature. Human virtue must comprise those qualities by which man is enabled to achieve the end for which he is destined and for Machiavelli this end is the attainment of success, power, and fame. It follows that for him the virtue of a man consists in the qualities which fit him to win these things. This is what he means by the Italian word 'virtu' a term which occurs throughout his writings and stands for a notion cardinal in his philosophy (271).



Machiavelli's concept of "The Prince" presupposes an ideal state which is aimed at the common good. For Raphael, the state carries out its purpose by laying down laws backed by force; and requiring everyone to refrain from actions (crimes and torts) that harm the common good and to contribute in taxes and other imposts for the upkeep of services (such as defence, public utility and social security services) that promote the common good. We have seen that the general will includes the idea of the common good as the object or aim of the state (Raphael 107). For Mukherjee and Ramaswamy, Machiavelli commands a sinister reputation as no other thinker in the annals of political theory. Rousseau projects Machiavelli as a republican, a satirist of tyranny and described him as a good citizen and an honourable man. For Machiavelli, success was the yardstick to measure and judge political activities and assessed the strengths and weaknesses of an ideal political state (Mukherjee and Ramaswamy 137). Machiavelli thinks that religion is necessary for the health and prosperity of a state. Machiavellian conception of politics exposes the unethical behaviour and the maintenance of rulership or Princeship in the state. Machiavelli's political theory is appropriate for understanding human nature and misleadingly presented. For Warburton, political theory helps to understand the concepts and terms used in a political argument and analysis (See, Foster 269-270). The Machiavellian conception of the state reveals the limits of a world that is constructed as a struggle between virtue and fortune. The Machiavellian doctrine of the state guarantees nobility and republican liberty.

Machiavellian doctrine of the state is political realism, the maintenance of rulership, political order and state authority. Machiavellian republicanism reveals the limits of a world that is characterized by a struggle between virtue and fortune, good and evil (Warburton 7). For goodness is an inverted idea of ensuring that the Prince is not ruined. Machiavelli holds that learning not to be good will help the Prince to keep his estates. Machiavellian doctrine of the state reflects the struggle between virtue and fortune. According to Rousseau, cited by Aaron, that Machiavelli reveals with clarity pretending to give great lessons to kings, he gave great lessons to people. Machiavelli's political philosophy is historicity, society and tyranny. No one wants to be known as Machiavellian; a few confess an admiration for Machiavelli; many declare themselves as Marxists (Aaron 95). Rousseau and Spinoza in trying to rehabilitate Machiavelli and make him an exponent of republicanism and a defender of freedom. Machiavelli is referred to as a political realist. Realism simply means seeing things the way they are. Machiavelli's political realism has janus-face; lessons in freedom to peoples; and it teaches tyranny to Princes. Machiavelli's political teachings make the Prince formidable to his subjects and estates. "The Prince" must not equip himself with Christian virtue. Conflict and cruelty are inescapable aspects of Machiavelli's political action. The idea of good and evil are reflected in Machiavelli's political philosophy. Freedom remains the metaphysical implication of Machiavelli's account of politics. Freedom remains the all-pervading logical necessity that forms the fabric of the socio-political world. Machiavelli's political realism reveals phenomenological puzzle about human action, human nature, human character, circumstance and method. Machiavelli argues that goodness is disastrous in politics and a *leader* must play upon falsehood and appearances (Aaron 96). A Prince must have a determination to exercise a steady self control and calmness. Machiavelli refers to the idea of virtue and glory as being gendered. According to Pitkin (1984), cited by Aaron, Machiavelli's metaphysics is decisively gendered. According to Aaron Machiavelli celebrates politics as a sphere of unrestrained evil and power as the exercises of unremitting violence (Aaron 98). Machiavelli remarks: it cannot be called virtue to kill one's fellow citizens; betray one's friend; be without faith; without pity; and without religion. You gain power and not glory. Glory (gloria) elicits a crucial qualification.

### **Evaluation**

Power is simply for self-aggrandizement. Leaders should be feared and not hated. Machiavelli displayed the role of an adviser to the Prince and he holds that we should see reality as it is. Accordingly, Aaron however, argues that:

Machiavelli simplified and caricatured an otherwise rich and subtle body of thought. Machiavelli displayed the role of an adviser to the Prince, whoever this might be, one man, or all men, a monarchy or the Republic. As a political thinker, Machiavelli said repeatedly with absolute candour that we must see reality as it is and not as we would wish it to be. Machiavelli's thought presupposes the saying: the end justifies the means. His political philosophy reflects the normative outcome of an amoral study of political and historical reality. The mystery of Machiavelli; his intentions and the state of his soul at any given moment exists only outside the limits of this elementary and basic problem (Aaron 98-99).

Furthermore, Machiavelli is referred to as a teacher of evil; his political thought reflects deception and violence. Machiavelli teaches men to be cruel and cunning. Machiavelli's politics is anchored on the moralist question. It reveals the amoralization of politics in society. The moralists question the relation between what is and what should be, between the effectiveness of the means and their conformity to ethical standards. Machiavelli's philosophical journey stretches from the writings of his youth to that of the philosophy of desperation (Shanks 93). Machiavelli's study of civic virtue is at the heart of his republican theory of citizenship. Republicanism is the condition of being free from subjection to a foreign power and governed by one's own institutions, laws and ordinances. The significance that Machiavelli attaches to liberty cannot be overemphasized. Machiavellian republicanism involves a defence of the people (popolo) as the active guardian of liberty. Machiavelli reminds us that the limit of our world is tied to the struggle between virtue and fortune. Our world is wholly devoid of human mutuality, reciprocity and genuine civic life (Shanks 94). Machiavelli's politics encompasses a vast array of historical and political topics. The promotion of the public good and not his private interests.

Machiavelli's texts '*Mandragola*' talks about domestic affairs while '*The Prince*' talks about politics. Moreover, violence is fundamental and instrumental in Machiavelli's political thought. Machiavelli recommends as most beneficial to republican liberty a government that combines a princely virtue; nobility and the power of the peoples under the same constitution. Machiavellian republicanism is aimed at finding ways of channelling the energies and agitations within the state to good effect (Shanks 95). Deception, is for Machiavelli, an admirable example of his intellectual sagacity. Machiavelli's political realism forms part of a philosophy of history. It is a philosophy of progress as well as dialectical philosophy (Shanks 96). Furthermore, Machiavelli's political thought represents a typical way of considering history, politics and action. Machiavelli's political ideal is the republic of free citizens. Machiavelli holds that one must conquer fortune not for the glory of one man but for the safety of all in society (Aaron 95). The Machiavellian tradition argues that the ultimate goal of the Prince is the search for power and glory (Aaron 96). Machiavelli's contemporary political philosophy cuts across the threshold of political action (Aaron 101). Finally, politics, virtue, freedom, republicanism, glory, power, fortune, history, violence, cruelty, deceit and religion are fundamental elements in Machiavelli's views on human nature and politico-philosophical thinking.

### **Concluding Reflections**

Machiavelli's political philosophy reveals the doctrine of the state in a pragmatic framework. Machiavelli's political thought is political realism. Machiavelli's conceptualization of politics reveals liberal despotism, freedom, pragmatism, realism, prudence and stability. Machiavelli attempts to separate ethics from politics. It has been misconstrued that Machiavelli despises religion or ethics. Machiavelli attempts to present a complex relationship between the temporal (politics) and the spiritual (religion). Machiavelli's political philosophy demonstrates the doctrine of the state characterized by political order. Machiavelli's doctrine of the state reveals the superiority of the state over the individual. It guarantees the organizational

structure of the political state as an organism. Machiavelli's conceptualization and contextualization of politics reveals normative outcomes. The maintenance of rulership in the state requires intellectual sagacity, social order and political stability. Machiavelli's notion of the state reveals the limits of a historical world that is constructed by the struggle between virtue and fortune or good and evil.

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## Interrelation of God and Causality in African Metaphysics

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**Abstract:** This discourse acknowledges the philosophical altercations on the effectual conceptions of God and causality in understanding the development of man. It is about the conceptual relationship of God and the workability of causality in African traditional metaphysics. It is taken that every culture operates within a conception of being which comprises of the sort of entities or existents taken to be real within such a framework of thought, and what it means to be as such. Understanding such a conception of causality is crucial to having a grasp of the people's views regarding every aspect of life. It tries to relate the conceptual and pragmatic consideration of the belief of the personhood of God to the workability of causality in African traditional or philosophical thought. It also made assertive connection with some western thought on the relation of God and causality. At a concluding parlance, it is observed that, mostly, African traditional belief does not isolate the consideration of the belief of God from that of causality. That causality resides in the workability of the essential personhood of God, since both good and evil eschew from the supreme transcendental reality, which created or originated them. That every culture relates the cause and effect to ontological discourse of events, situation, and accidents, and African traditional philosophy cannot be said to be exclusive.

**Keywords:** God, African Philosophy, Causality, Man, Metaphysics

### Introduction: The Basic Understanding of African Metaphysics

In metaphysical discourse, many issues are considered as very important in an attempt to find meaning in them all, especially the ones that are much related to man living condition and the general natural order of things in the universe. African philosophy is one of such metaphysical avenue. That is why it can be classified as a "metaphysical culturalism." Its cultures are positively beclouded with metaphysical coloration of relevance. African philosophical enterprise is classically domesticated within metaphysical conception and perception of reality, because of its contents, materials or objects of concern or analysis. First of all, amongst numerous conceptions and definitions of metaphysics, Echekwube(2002) posits that;

Metaphysics is properly understood as the study of being in its very essence, the study of being as being (ens in quantum ens). It is a science which considers reality whatever exists in its concrete and abstract natures, that is both in its empirical, observable and spiritual manifestations (7).

It is on this conception that African philosophy can be considered as a science, or a scientific study of realities, since the realities and events which it studies are real and factual to its claim epistemologically. Though, majority of them are metaphysically enclosed to knowledge empirically. On these epistemic and cultural assumption, Anyanwu (1983, 80) asserted that; "no knowledgeable person can defend the view that the so-called primitive people had no adequate theory or principle of causality solely because their theory was not "scientific. The truth is that theory was meaningful and relevant to their definition of reality or to their mode of perception." It considers some contents of concerns and analysis which are beyond mere perceptual acceptability but realistic to its scientific bias. Some of them are the consideration of the doctrine of immortality, universals, personal identity, and concept of death, afterlife, and causation.

On a much detailed consideration of the philosophical preoccupation of African minds in defining their collective personality and identity, Wiredu (1995, 23) has understood the



contents of analysis and importance of human growth and development within the pivot of African philosophy, then he explicated that;

There is a large bunch of them, but let me mention only the following: Reality, Being, Existence, Thing, Object, Entity, Substance, Property, Quality, Truth, Fact, Opinion, Belief, Knowledge, Faith, Doubt, Certainty, Statement, Proposition, Sentence, Idea, Mind, Soul, Spirit, Thought, Sensation, Matter, Ego, Self, Person, Individuality, Community, Subjectivity, Objectivity, Cause, Chance, Reason, Explanation, Meaning, Freedom, Responsibility, Punishment, Democracy, Justice, God, World, Universe, Nature, Super-nature, Space, Time, Nothingness, Creation, Life, Death, Afterlife, Morality, Religion.

In African ontology and cosmology, all these are considered very important for the understanding of man, because the human person is confronted with different aspects and types of reality, even when there is diversity in the unity in them. Sometime, even all the times man is confuse about them, and rationally wonder about their origin and meaningfulness as he relates with them. Through the senses, he experience material reality very much variegated. This is the most primordial and direct contact with reality. It is a brute fact, a confrontation that is the point of departure of all other links with possession of reality (Iroegbu 1995, 19). Man is placed at the Centre of consideration in the analysis of the personhood of God and the explications of the phenomenology of causality as Echekwube (2002) will wish us to understand that; “in as much as we have learnt that life is the vital principle of living organism which itself originates from God, we can only liken it to the soul which is the vivifying principle in man who possessed body and soul.” This is responsive character of identity and personality of man in relation to the beingness of God, owing to the development of conscious and experiential principle of human acting and happening. Then, “while the soul is spiritual, simple and immortal, the body is material, composite and mortal. Man, therefore, is the component of body and soul. However, when the soul leaves the body, there occurs death and no more physical man is visible.” This component nature originated from the beingness of God, makes every action associated with the workability of nature to be attributed to God itself, even in African philosophical and developmental thoughts.

### **Understanding Causality in Human Development**

Causality comes from the word 'causal' which means 'agent' and “cause”, and it could be described as the reason or reasons for the existence of a being, an event or an effect. It has to do with the explanation for the coming about of another thing of effect which may be link together. Ebeh (2011, 22) says that the thought of event with the necessary cause presupposes the existence of a causal agent. Antecedence and consequence are implications or actions that move together, the former is the reason of the cause, while the latter is the necessary connection between the cause and effects. In Africa, no life, no causality can be inferred in man, the operational possession of vital forces of realities. Hence, for instance, death of life can be regarded as an effect of a live not lived. And both life and death are traceable to the personhood of God in African metaphysics. Live is the causality of death, and in some cases, death is the causality of life. Both of them are an effect of the other. When this is envisaged, the personhood of God is questioned.

Hence, the thrust of this paper is the operational beliefs in God in relation to the philosophy of causality in African metaphysics. Hence, when one has to look at things around him or her in order to understanding them better, that is philosophy. Men and women have at their disposal an array of resources for generating greater knowledge of truth so that their lives may be ever more human. Among these is *philosophy*, which is directly concerned with asking the questions of life's meaning and sketching answers to it. Philosophy emerges, then, as one of noblest of human tasks. Causality is inferred in most times when realities, events and situations are enumerated in attempts to emphasis for philosophical analysis, especially on metaphysical

parlances. From history, the analysis of determinism, for example, has been situated within the consideration of the effects of causality.

In all, it seems almost impossible for any adult to live in the world without the notions of cause and effect. What each culture considers as the cause of an event depends on the structure of reality within that culture. So far, we have seen the basic assumptions of African philosophy, namely, that everything that exists is a life force, that there is a hierarchy of forces, that there is no isolated force in the universe, and all forces are constantly interacting. 'All created forces preserve a bond with one another, an intimate ontological relationship' (Anyanwu 1983, 66). Hence, in describing the African concept of reality, Echekwube (1972 and 2002) states that; "our African notion of reality unifies everything in itself." Everything therein is wholistic, never dualistic, as seen in western philosophical thought and perception of reality. In African philosophical thought and development, "one does not distinguish the sacred in isolation from the profane, the spiritual from the material, the invisible from the visible." This conception of reality, both seen and unseen; is believed to be based on holding the cosmos in wholistic existence or form of its creation. Everything has vital force or forces, as Placide Tempels recognises in his book: *Bantu Philosophy*. With such operational propensity of these vital forces in nature, where everything is identified to have spirit, including the inanimate realities, then, "the profane gives evidence to the sacred, the material the spiritual and the visible to the invisible. In such a concept, reality is manifested in Beings in a transcendental manner."

In a most serious or different note, the western notion of reality is different, largely on empirical verifications of convictions. So one of the possessions of reality that is point of consideration is the concepts of cause and chance; looking at the perception of them by some thinkers in both the Western and African traditional thoughts. Though the issues have been lingering ones in philosophical environment, but one will not afford to abandon it until considerably assertions of value are made to solve problems in them. With such development, it will be positioned that, in the African world, therefore, the homogeneity or reality is emphasized and for one to better one's condition on earth, one must seek harmonious integration with nature and all it entails (Echekwube 2002). Many scholars hold that if things came out for a man as prosperously as he wishes, it must be that some gods have taken interests in him, his doings and have brought him success. On the other hand, if a man's children die, his crops fail, his fortune is ruined and sickness comes, all these are due to supernatural forces unfavorably disposed towards him. This unitary conception of life has greatly influenced the African to the extent that is meaningless without reference to its ultimate meaning which can be found only in relation God (Echekwube 2002). While many others do not believe to link events with supernatural forces, but associate them merely to human acts, and in greater extent, do not link causes to and effects.

### **God in Human Understanding**

Generally, the relationship between the natural and human events has been proving the conceptual and pragmatic implication of the consideration of all-powerfulness of God, in many cases, meaningless. Though, there is sense of incompatibility of their interests and analysis of existential relevance. In some analyses, it is seen that He who is God, is not the one in charge of events, that the natural ordering has no control by any external agent, rather solely, independent of any influence. The issues of man's creativeness in manipulating things and events come in, and make humanity more relevant in many cases, rather than the divinity. The whole affairs in nature seem to be about the existence of man, and man seen to be putting efforts to control some of the negations which have been pulling weights against his comforts and happiness. Though, as O'Shea (1963) recognizes that; "the ultimate happiness of Man does not consist in external things, not bodily advantage, nor pleasure of sense- nor indeed in the exercise of the moral virtues, of prudence or of art- but in the contemplation of truth; hence the whole functioning of human life is meant to be all the service of those engaged in the contemplation of truth" (11). In the realm of human and cosmic imperfections, man's sense of

spirituality and religiosity is questioned on the domain of the Divinity which appears to be very illusive and non-verifiable to exert conviction in the face of limitedness.

For example, in Karl Marx's thought, reflecting and on the foundation of the works of Fredrick Feuerbach on the conception that man created God, not God who created man, and on which he said that; the idea of the existence of Supreme Being, God cannot be proven just because the attributes which are associated with human *beingness* are given to supreme deity, according to human judgment from the products of his rationality and intelligibility, to create the "ultimateness" and "almightiness" out of a Being that cannot be perceived or empirically ascertained. With the valuation of human earthly conditioning, the existence and attributes of God are questioned. The realm of "ultimativity" is frequently designated as the "supernatural," which is another way of speaking of infinitude. The supernatural is what is beyond the limit of the finite or natural.

Furthermore, man keeps on relying on the principles which he does not have comprehension on. Out of faith and imaginative conviction man believes that God exist, but from the philosophical stand of Feuerbach who believe that the imagery of God is in the nature of man, shows that man may be creating God out of no reason, because man can have everything he wants if he removes the fear he attributes to non-empirical God. At the endpoint is that, the religion in the past and present has been a misguided tool of social integration with the reign of conflicts that been so associated with it (Isanbor 2012). Aside African philosophy, there have been many views or conceptions of the interplays of God and causality. Though, from the determinist view of human actions, both the Western and African conceptions of determinism envisaged that the principal consequence of determinism is the entailment that all future events have already been determined and will necessarily happen. It can also be argued that both culture associate determinism with, and rely upon, the ideas of materialism and causality (Ogundare 2006).

In African philosophy, the conceptual acceptability of God in human affairs and development is related to the dominance recognition of 'force(s). There is determinism because there is a 'force'. Unifying the conceptions to that of God in African religious thought, Anyanwu (1983) explicated that;

In African philosophy (or in African religious thought) there are several principles (God, divinities, spirits, ancestors, natural forces) that help to explain experiences. In other words, the African postulates forces: God, divinities, spirits, ancestors, as the underlying principles which gives or guarantees unity in the universe. Each of the forces has its own function, and the function is not capricious but regular in its manifestation. For example, God is not merely a Great Muntu or a Power to be feared and worshipped. Rather, He is a symbol that serves to introduce unity in the world of diversity, order in the disordered world, and simplicity in t complex world. Divinities and ancestors also have their own function in the social life of the African people (78-79).

From the functional cause of events and things, the debate of human destiny and its corresponding actions of its freedom or freewill is examined. It can be examined because they are perceivable, that cause and effects are discoverable, not by reason but by experience, will be reality be admitted with regard to such objects, as we remember to have once been altogether unknown to us; since we must be conscious of the utter in ability, which we then lay under, of foretelling what would arise from them (Stumpf 1983, 267). The issue has been that one cannot separate the causes of events or things from the outcome of the causes. That, every event or thing has a corresponding cause, and there is no event or thing even from human being and him as an entity, without a cause. That every contingent being in nature has a cause is an excuse.

In most cases, man is regarded as the agent, because of his rationality and intelligibility, since causality is defined as an act of bringing into reality what not in reality, and those things that are empirically verifiable by the human senses and capacity of evaluation. But, philosophically man has observed that, from the things he caused into being, have already been cause into nature by other causal agent, and this causal agent of nature and all other things in nature will be without a cause in itself, and this is considered as the ultimate cause, the uncaused agent. This is God, the Supreme Being (Aquinas, *Summa*, Pt. 2 Art 4). This conception of God as the “uncaused cause” is pedagogically associated with Aristotelian philosophy tradition and then emphatically developed in Thomistic philosophical tradition, when explicating the *beingness* of God.

For the purpose of diversity of thoughts, it is important to examine the hinged consideration of western thought on the relation of God and causality. Western philosophical traditions are hinged on particular individual thinkers, unlike cultural or societal or communal thinking or conceptions of things or events in Africa. The western philosophical thinkers are the paragon of evaluations of conceptions. They are who have reflected on the events and situations around the working development of humanity especially. With empirical and realistic mindsets, the western thinkers believe mostly that cause and effects are evident in nature, but the relationship between them is what debatable. This condition has led to two group of thought: the soft and hard determinism. The soft determinists believe that man is both free and determined while the hard determinists believe that man is totally determined. The issues lie on the actions and responsibilities of man in the consideration of cause and effect.

#### **Principle of Causality in African Metaphysics: Knowing the Unknown**

Fundamental to the traditional African theory of causality is the conception of orderly universe in which all events or effects are caused and potentially explicable. Unlike the western world, people speak of mechanical, chemical, psychical interaction among the beings of forces. For the African, there is yet another causality namely metaphysical causality which binds the creature to the creator (Ebeh 2011, 23). The Africans see the event as being determined by the will by the spiritual being, the operation of the automatic forces and self-willed action of men and women, animal and other beings follow in the sequence. The African life is permeated by the understanding that nothing happen without a cause, and that is nothing happens by chance, irrespective of the nature. And this means that the concept of chance does not have a place in African metaphysics. Everything is traceable to the deterministic dignity of humanity, it has no option than to follow the laid down parts to make meaning from its existence in the universe.

In metaphysical discourses, many issues are considered as very important, realities exemplified, especially the ones that are very related to man's living condition and the general natural order of things in the universe. Metaphysical discourses are evidenced in every culture with its peculiarity, as Anyanwu (1983, 66) recognizes that; “it seems almost impossible for any adult to live in the world without the notion of cause and effect. What each culture considers as the cause of an event depends on the structure of reality within that culture” (p. 66). The African culture projects the evidence of forces in every life form, and that defines how every reality is perceived and reverence. So far, looking forward for proper understanding of the African humanity in relation to traditional conception of *beingness* of God, “we have seen the basis assumption of African philosophy, namely, that everything that exists is a life force, that there is a hierarchy of forces, that there is no isolated force in the universe, and that all forces are constantly interacting (p. 66).

For instance, the *Yoruba, Igbo and Esan Cultures* of Nigeria believe that human destiny is the mysterious power believed to control human events. Destiny or predestination is the belief that whatever happens or that will happen in the future has been preordained and happened



according to an earlier master plan. It is the belief that every person has his biography written before causing to the world which consequently implies that anything one does is not something done out of freewill but something done in fulfillment of preordained history. For these cultures of people, nothing happens by chance, everything has a cause, even the natural disasters are even considered to be caused by the sins of the people of the land in which such events had happened, and they are seen as punishments to that affects. This means that cause is necessarily follows by its effect(s), in most cases, the effects of events are as results of sins committed by the people especially in the names of sudden death, disasters and the likes. According to Imafidon (2014), in a like manner, causality in *Esan* community reflects the interaction between the physical and non-physical in human existence. They operate with the idea that every event has a cause but not every event has a scientifically explainable or verifiable cause.

On a particular consideration, the *Igbo culture* does not talk about causality outside the concepts of human freedom, good and evil. They believe like every other Africans that God is the chief causal agent. But they have problems with the presence of evil nature and in human affairs. That if God is believed to be the ultimate cause of human life, why is he not regarded to be equally the ultimate end of that life. With this, the *Igbo* generally does not see himself going back to God at death in a sort of union with God in beatific vision. His abide at death will be, not in the divine-world, but in the ancestral world (Iroegbu 1995, 372). Everything, despite the presence of Evil, has cause with corresponding effect, and the issues of chance are highly limited in their consideration (see, Ifemesia 1979, 56 and Adeleye 2006, 39). On a similar note, the *Igbo* recognize the events have purely naturally causes of their certain phenomenological considerations, although the latter are subordinated in the final analysis to the spiritual in their quest for ultimate explanation. In natural causes of events God cannot be excused, because it is believed that God has the power to regulate and monitor activities.

### **Inseparability of God and Causality in African Metaphysics**

This compartment of explanation is about the affirmation of the interconnectedness of God and causality in African philosophy, of its evaluative note from the beginning; that there will be always difference in philosophical concerns on every particular reality or concept, just because of variations that are accorded to the workability of human cultures, in diversity of rationality, and also as in perceptions. Nonetheless, it is true that a single term conceals a variety of meanings. Hence there need for a preliminary clarification. Driven by the desire to discover the ultimate truth of existence, human beings seek to acquire those universal elements of knowledge which enable them to understand themselves better and to advance in their own self-realization.

These fundamental elements of knowledge spring from the *wonder* awakened in them by the contemplation of creation: human beings are astonished to discover themselves as part of the world, in a relationship with others like them, all sharing a common destiny. Here begins, then, the journey which will lead them to discover ever new frontiers of knowledge. Without wonder, men and women would lapse into deadening routine and little by little would become incapable of a life which is genuinely personal (John Paul II 1998, no. 4). This truth within human epistemic development resides in the holistic conception of the personality of God. His personhood embraced the materialistic and spiritual regeneration component of man, as Danquah (1965) in describing the situational prescription of God among the Akan people of Ghana, writes that, "Akan knowledge of God teaches that he is the Great ancestor. He is a true high God and manlike ancestor of the first man. As such ancestor He deserves to be worshipped, man is worshipped in the community... life, human life, is one continuous blood (and)... the continuance of that blood in the continuance of the community is the greatest single factor of existence." Anyway, from the both cultures one can easily deduced that are causes of events. On the thoughts of Aristotle and Berkeley that there is cause of every event or action since there is the conception of the existence of the uncaused agent who is responsible of all other causes in

the universe. The bottom-line is that there are causes of event and thing, and in one of the proofs of the existence of God, especially that of Thomas Aquinas, there is hierarchy of perfection, which is greatly exemplified in the level of causes, and there he talked about Uncaused Cause as God, which indicates the belief in causation.

On the contrary, for David Hume there is no necessary connection between cause of event and its effect. It is about the association of events with their outcomes. By the human reasoning, that they are independent of the other. This stands the existence of God cannot be explained empirically, and many scientists hold tenaciously to this conviction. Although, Hook (1997) will posit that, “not surprisingly, the scientists who hold to this conviction invariably turn out to be the most religious of men. The God of the scientist is not the God of the prophet, priest, or moralist.” And for the purpose of Christianizing God of African traditional metaphysics in the face of science and technology, Mbukanna (2014) will substantiate that;

So, God is behind the success of scientific enterprises which can be seen in the areas of improved medical care, improved communication system and the invention of various devices for mass production of food and drinkables. In other words the success recorded in various human endeavors is fundamentally due to God's gift of intelligence to the human person. Technology is not therefore only a gift of science. It is the result of the power of the Almighty God working in us. Animals unblest with reason cannot do science and technical work.

More straightforwardly, the existence of God has not been scientific, but out of nothing, He created the developmental intelligibility of science. We, in African, should not imitate modern atheistic Europe that has advanced in science and technology and only believe now in the providence of science and also deny the reality of God who made them what they are (Mbukanna 2014). In African philosophy, God is science in man, since realities express the *beingness* and *immanentness* of God. In African thought, every event has a corresponding cause and effect, and the two phenomena happen in union with other thing, and nothing happens by chance. The Igbo ontological tradition and culture speak of *Obi* and the Yoruba of *Emi* (heart or soul) whose departure for the body brings about death (see Adeleye 2006, 36). Unless due to the Christian influence, *Obi* and *Emi* are not regarded as definite entities that are immortal or that go to heaven or Hell after death. Rather, one may say that they dissolve into collective immortality of the living, into *Ntu*, and can be reborn. There is no individual immortality as such because there is no isolated force (Anyanwu 1983, 65). The belief in the existence of God takes a central stage in the consideration of causation in African Thoughts, and there is conception of the interference of the divine in human affairs, and due to this relationship, there is monitoring of events in nature, then they consider God is the Causal Agent of their existence. Therefore, since there is a cause of every event there no chance of every event, event rather happens ontologically or functionally, and it produces effects as mostly observed empirically.

### **Conclusion**

From the foregoing, it is deduced or understood that African philosophical thought cannot necessarily separate the conception of God from that of causality. It is a matter of relational transcendence since both realities are basically within the domain of metaphysical explication. The transcendence itself is the act of forming relations; the act of forming notions of unity, notions of universality and notions of homogeneity. With these notions created by transcendence of history and development, we are able to relate one thing to another (see, Unah 2006, 13). These notions of homogeneity are conjunction with the Aristotelian conception of God as the 'uncaused cause'. In the causality of reality, the *beingness* of God is expressed by showcasing His divinity in humanity. With this, the Africans traditionally conceivably attribute societal and humanistic propensity and workability of cosmic causality to the personality of God. The Africans cannot excuse God from the causal relation of events and situation. It will always be convenient to relate causality with God, whether positive or

negative, in order to exact the relevance of God's presence in human dealings. In summation, it is basically on the philosophical assumption and notation that the conceptual and pragmatic workability of causality on reality is succinctly linked with the personhood of the greatest ancestor, God, and the African philosophical and religious thoughts are certain that God is aware of the causal situation and events.

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## Philosophy of Social Communication and Human Capital Development in Nigeria

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**Abstract:** Communication is an integral part of human existence in the society. However, for it to enhance societal development by means of human capital development, man must be philosophical. This paper examines Human capital development as the core of social development and national growth. It therefore opines that efforts must be made in ensuring that the human capacity to attain his/her potential is well developed. This development is achievable when communication is effective at all levels; and that is why philosophy of communication comes handy as a tool for the integral development of the human person. As such, this research work shall use the qualitative analytical approach in addressing the issue of communication and the role philosophy plays in collaborating with communication towards the realization of human capital development in Nigeria. This research paper adopts an expository method in its presentation of the discourse. It concludes that the philosophy of social communication if fully and consciously embraced in Nigeria through proper socialization will aid national human capital development.

**Keywords:** Philosophy, communication, Social Communication, Human Capital Development, National Development.

### Introduction

Society is a product of man's developmental effort and this effort has come to be accepted as national interest. Every nation struggles to develop and bring about a comfortable life for her citizenry, through various efforts geared towards the achievement of the goals of nationhood. Hitherto, nations rely on financial and physical capital development projects, but gradually as globalization thrive to make the world a smaller and more complex entity, priorities changed to focus on the human capital as a vital tool for development. More so, to sustain financial and physical capital, humans are important agents, and the role they play in societal development cannot be overemphasized. Jacques Maritain corroborated the above when he stated that "...even in default of any positive sources of information, it is a very reasonable conjecture that the first man received from God knowledge together with existence, that by education he might complete the work of procreation" (Maritain 18). In developing human capital, knowledge and skill acquisition are key and to achieve them, there is bound to be communication. Communication comes up in our social interactions, and these social interactions should lead to meaningful human capital development and improve the development of the country. It is important to note that any meaningful communication for social interactions must be critically analyzed to be one that will be driven towards integral development. This model of social communication must be checked to sieve the meanings made out from every communication; and also, it should reflect on the value of the people in maintaining healthy communication. This is possible through the vehicle philosophy; philosophy helps us check our personal and group communication to ensure that our social and human interactions well harnessed and utilized. Thus philosophy of social communication comes to play in overhauling and re-engineering our human capacities in communication and to explore significant development in the realization of a harmonious society. The goal of every society is progress and development and this can only be done through evaluating the model of communication and the types and meanings made out of the piece of information.

In a society like Nigeria, where human capital is yet to be prioritized fully and the importance of philosophical inquiry is undermined. This work shall focus on the role philosophy of communication in human capital development in Nigeria using an analytical and expository methodological approach in addressing the discourse.

### **Conceptual Clarifications:**

**PHILOSOPHY:** Philosophy cannot be subjected to easy definition or generally acceptable definition, but to understand the concept of philosophy better, one must examine the etymology of the term. Etymologically, philosophy is from the Greek word '*philosophia*', which is an amalgam of two words *philos* (friend), or *phila* (love), or *philein* (to love) and *Sophia* (wisdom) (see, Essien and Ukwamedua 14). Hence, it can be seen in terms of friendship with wisdom and when one loves or befriends something he goes in pursuit of same, in other words we can see philosophy from the root words as a pursuit or search for wisdom. It ascends beyond the ordinary, asking questions and looking for reasons. *Sophia* when examined extensively shows a wider range of application than the English meaning as wisdom. Whenever intelligence is exercised in any affair of life, there is room for *Sophia* (*The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*). Homer used it to refer to a carpenter's skill. Herodotus used the term *philosophhein* to mean desire to find out (*The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*), philosophy hence is the love of exercising one's curiosity and intelligence rather than the love of wisdom, showing its application in everyday life. It has been defined in diverse ways to show its investigative capacity on itself and other field of study. Maritain suggests to say that since the principle of philosophy are absolutely first principles of all human knowledge, they possess an authority over the principles of other human sciences (Maritain 84). Philosophy interrogates other discipline, and that is why it is often referred to as a second order discipline. Thus by its nature and scope it is a problem to itself and does not exempt itself from its own criticism but applies its critical tool to itself.

Since philosophy cannot be pegged to a single definition there are various definitions of the subject matter and philosophers are divided on this. The disagreement between philosophers as to definition is part of philosophy. The conception of philosophy is necessary to open our minds to the ingredients contained in the definition of the subject matter. Plato's description of philosophy is clothed in his definition of philosopher as a man whose passion is to seek the truth, a man whose heart is fixed on the reality rather than appearance. He sees philosophy as a gift the gods have bestowed on mortals (Plato 64). It tries to build man's skill to understand himself, others around him and his environment and to chart a better course towards development and the need to work in harmony to achieve this development.

From the foregoing it is simply defined as the love of wisdom, in other words a pursuit of wisdom. Philosophy ascends beyond the ordinary and it is interdisciplinary. Maritain opines that philosophy is not a wisdom of conduct or practical life that consists in acting well. It is a wisdom whose nature consists essentially in knowing (Maritain 76). He defines it as science which by the natural light of reason studies the first causes or the highest principles of all things. Philosophy studies man, and tries to answer questions pertaining to his intellect. It is in the strictest truth wisdom, for it is the province of wisdom to study the highest causes: *sapientis est altissimus causas considerare*. It grasps the entire universe in a small number of principles and enriches the intellect without burdening it (Maritain 80). Philosophy is one of the forces that have shaped the structures of western society. It has had much to do with influencing men's attitude to life and bringing about changes in the societies (Omogbe 192). Epicurus defines philosophy as an activity which secures the happy life by means of discussion and argument. For William James, philosophy in the full sense is only man thinking, thinking about generalities rather than particulars. For John Dewey, it is thinking which has become conscious of itself, thinking on thinking. Philosophy is knowledge sought solely for its own sake and not for the sake of some other knowledge. This is because it is the ultimate knowledge in

the natural order (Makumba 26). From the above, philosophy can be defined as the rational study of the events of man's life and the interactions of man with other beings or reality. It attempts to find answers to the questions that boggle the mind when man thinks of the event of his life both physical and otherwise.

**Philosophy of Social Communication:** To philosophize is to communicate philosophically; and from inception philosophy has communicated convincingly...because philosophy and communication have always been together from the beginning. Philosophy comes into its own and solidifies its stance through communication- it is logical that we subject communication to philosophical investigation (Chang and Butchart 4).

Philosophy of social communication is a salient area of inquiry due to the increased understanding of the fundamental role communication plays in all aspects of our life and the activities of globalization (Adidi 5). However, despite the salient nature of this discipline, its definition is scanty; and bulk of it is rendered as philosophy of communication *simpliciter*. But the idea of philosophy of social communication is borne out of the idea that one communicates not in the vacuum, but in a society. There are numerous communications within the social sphere distinguishable by the study of philosophy of social communication; it guides our communication ethics. Philosophy of social communication is the core ingredient for understanding the importance of and the difference between and among various approaches to communication ethics. If one cannot think philosophically, one cannot question taken-for-granted assumptions. In the case of communication ethics, to fail to think philosophically is to miss the bias, prejudice and assumption that constitute a given communication ethics (Armett and Ameson 5).

Man is a societal being, he is made for interaction with others, hence, philosophy of social communication is a branch of philosophy that evaluates, interrogates and investigate the basic social relations or exchange of thoughts between individuals within the society by looking at the meanings derivable from the interaction, and the various models of communication.

**Social Communication:** To understand what social communication is, one must first understand what communication is, and according to Stuart Sillars, communication may be defined as the giving, receiving or exchange of information, opinions or ideas by writing, speech or visual means- or any combination of the three - so that the material communicated is completely understood by everyone concerned (Sillars 1). Social communication is an integral part of the human person and his/her nature as a human being living in the society. Aristotle rightly pointed out that *Et Homo Socialis; Et Homo Politicus* (Man is a social and political animal). In fact, he said "he who is unable to live in the society is either a beast or a god" (Omogbe 195, and as such man is a social and political being, made for company, fellowship and interaction. Jurgen Habermas rightly posit that anyone acting communicatively must, in performing any speech action, raise universal validity claims and suppose that they can be vindicated..." (Njoku 34). Social communication, also known as pragmatics, includes so much more than manners or conversation. The *American Speech Language Hearing Association* (ASHA) refers to social communication as "rules for how we use language in different situations with different people." Social communication includes both verbal and nonverbal language. ASHA breaks social communication into three main topics including using language, changing language, and following rules (Delaware Speech and Hearing Center).

**Human Capital:** Human capital is not a new concept in academic discipline, it existed even though not with such title, Adams Smith wrote of an individual's acquisition of talents as "a capital fixed and realized as it were in his person" (Smith 36). This goes to show the existence of the concept as evolving with the very nature of man, because man bestowed with existence and intellect throughout the stages of civilization was able to make effort to develop and acquire new skills that will suit the situation of the time. Thus, the role of the human person as a life wire

of every nation is not doubtable. Sankay et al. rightly opined that the active agents of modernization are human beings, for they alone can accumulate capital, exploit natural resources and build political and social organizations (Sankay, et al 4). The first use of the word was credited to Arthur Pigou and it was given prominence through the works of leading economists like Jacob Mincer, Theodore Schultz and Gary S. Becker who saw it as a form of capital; and emphasized its important in economic growth. Its view has since then been extended to areas like economic growth, the labour market, education, health, marriage and other macroeconomic and social issues (Sankay, et al, 72).

Human capital can then be defined as the skills, general or specific, acquired by an individual in the cause of vocational and technical education and on-the-job training in the industrial work place (Enyekit 5). Human capital according to Schultz can also be described as a tool for enhancing competitive advantage since it involves the process of training, knowledge acquisition (education), initiatives and others which are all geared towards skill acquisition (Schultz 15). It refers to the abilities and skills of human resources of a country, while human capital development refers to the process of acquiring; and increasing the number of persons who have the skills, education and experience that are critical for economic growth and development of a country's economy. Ejere posited that human capital refers to the human factor in the production process; and consists of the combined knowledge, skills or competencies and abilities of the workforce (Ejere 99). It is the only factor of production capable of learning, adapting or changing, innovative and creative (Boztosun 106).

**Human Capital Development:** Human Capital Development understood from the concept of human capital already discussed above is a continuous process of acquiring necessary knowledge, skills and experiences applied to production of economic value for achieving sustainable development. According to Sullivan and Steven, Human capital development is about recruiting, supporting and investing in people through education, training, coaching, mentoring, internships, organizational development and human resources management (45). Human capital development recognizes that the development and growth of people in organizations and business is an important and essential asset to the organizations future success. Healthfield defined human capital development as a framework for helping employees develop their personal and organizational skills, knowledge and ability (15). According to Healthfield, human capital development includes such opportunities as employee training, employee career development, performance management and development, coaching, monitoring, etc.

The significance and relevance of human capital development in the achievement of meaningful and sustainable economic growth and development have been widely acknowledged and canvassed in various studies. For advancement and meaningful development, there must be conscious effort at grooming the human person by all countries of the world, sustained economic growth and development would result in futile attempt without it; therefore, the place of human capital development in economic growth cannot be overemphasized. Human capital development is a key to global transformation and most advanced nations have already keyed into this vital aspect of development. Adedeji and Bamidele stated rightly that among the generally agreed factors of impressive economic performance of most developed and newly industrializing countries is an impressive commitment to human capital formation (515).

According to Adelakun, contemporary discussions on human capital development and economic growth have been dominated by three theories viz:

- **Human Capital Theory:** The theory explains the relevance of education in development of cognitive skills and subsequent increase in productivity and efficiency of workers. Theodore, Schultz, Gory Bucker and Jacob Mincer introduced the notion that people invest



in education or as to increase their stock of human capabilities which can be formed by combining innate abilities with investment in human beings. The provision of education is seen as a productive investment in human capital, an investment which the proponents of human capital theory considers to be equally or even more equally worthwhile than that in physical capital. Literacy enhances the productivity of workers and logical and analytical reasoning provides technical and specialized knowledge which increases the marginal productivity of workers in high skill or profession and positions.

- **The Modernization Theory:** The theory focuses on the role of education in transforming values, beliefs and behaviours and inculcating modern values and attitudes like, receptiveness to new idea, willingness to plan and calculate sense of personal and social efficacy. According to the modernization theorists, these normative and attitudinal changes continue throughout the life cycle and alter the individual's relationship with the social structure. Thus, educational expansion through its effects on individual values and benefits sets in motion the necessary building blocks for a more productive workforce and a more sustained economic growth.
- **The Dependence Theory:** This theory arose from Marxist conceptualizations based on the dynamic world system that structures conditions for economic transformation in both the core and periphery of the world economy. Certain features of the world polity such as state fiscal strength, degrees and regime centralization and external political integration may contribute to economic growth in the developing world (Adelakun 67).

#### **The Role of Human Capital Development in National Growth and Development:**

There is a recent shift from the idea of physical and financial capital development to human capital development, because of the need for investment in skills and knowledge as a crucial tool to economic and socio-political development. Most of the nation's we now classify as advanced are nations that bothered to invest in human capital, because they discovered early the need to use the human person as the first means of societal development. Whatever the level of economic, social or political development, if it is not backed by human capital development, it will crumble, it is the humans who create other development and sustain them. Schultz who set the pace for human capital development opined that investing in human capital is more vital than investing in physical capital (Schultz 580). The view of Becker that investments in education and training are the most relevant types of investments in human capital is evident in the world we live today. He posited that human capital is linked to economic growth, from individual to national levels (Becker 95). It implies that human capital development involve education, skill levels, and problem-solving abilities that will equip an individual with the wherewithal to be productive in the global economy of the current world. By stating that human resources constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations, Harbinson emphasized the importance of human capital to development (Harbinson 14).

For centuries, human capital has remained vital research area because it is relevant in different aspects of life. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, greater emphasis is placed on it because knowledge and information are considered key to development of a nation and individuals. The need for skill acquisition and knowledge has further increased the quest for education.

#### **Human Capital Development: The Nigerian Situation**

Nigeria is on a constant journey of development even though blessed with abundant resources, it throws a step forward and countless backward. It has made little or no effort to realize her full potential in terms of sustainable human capital or people driven development like other advanced economies of the world. Attention is necessary in the area of stability, material prosperity, peace and social progress. The success of the aforementioned has been slowed down by laissez-faire attitude of leaders and inadequate human capital development which has resulted in weak infrastructure and uneventful growth in manufacturing, poor policy

implementation and regulatory environment and mismanagement and misuse of resources. Developing Nigeria's human capital is important but has been neglected over time. There is need for investment in human capital development without which the aspiration to be among the twenty (20) leading economy in 2020 will be dead on arrival. Human capital development must be considered as a key priority, if Nigeria will step up to the numerous challenges of the 21st century globalize economy which is skill and knowledge based. Ejere opined that country's competitiveness in the New International Economic Order (NIEO) is strongly connected to the quality of her human capital. Hence human capital formation is undoubtedly the pivot for any meaningful programme of socio-economic development of Nigeria; and indeed of any country (Ejere 100). And has been embraced by most of the nations we look up to. According to International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and World Health Organization many countries have employed their human capital to achieve significant progress in terms of level of productivity and technological advancement. The Asian tigers; (Taiwan, Singapore) economies experienced sharp improvements through investments in human capital. It was recommended by the United Nations that developing countries should invest a minimum of 26 per cent on education and the World Health Organisation specified at least 5 per cent on health" (Ogunleye, et al, 67).

Human Capital can be developed through the process of human empowerment since it is expected to facilitate active participation and from that perspective may be affirmed a major source of economic growth. Appropriate knowledge and skills are acquired in formal setting of primary, secondary and higher education including adult, professional, technical and non-formal education. However Nigeria is yet to wake up to the fact that human capital can be used as a major drive to facilitate an improved economy, this is seen in the lack of interest in prioritizing the education of the large illiterate masses, less fund is earmarked for the education sector in all budgets while a huge amount is expended on other ventures that will benefit the government and her loyalists, just recently a whopping thirty-seven billion naira was earmarked for renovation of the national assembly complex, an avenue to enrich few individuals. Low funding of the component of human capital in boosting economic growth have contributed to numerous challenges ranging from low quality of educational delivery which result to half-baked graduates and weak healthcare infrastructures (Regan and Lipsey 12).

To achieve economic growth, Nigeria must begin to prioritize and develop human capital through the two indices of education and health which will in turn lead to productivity and the importance of sound and effective communication cannot be overemphasized and this sound communication is a product of philosophical inquiry and scrutiny. These two sectors which have been neglected by government must begin to receive significant attention by a clear and purposeful vision which can emanate from only a critical mind. A large percentage of Nigeria's population estimated to be 182.2 Million according to World Bank in 2016 are uneducated. In 2017, Nigeria's Minister of Education, Adamu Adamu stated in the Annual Education Conference that 60 million Nigerians constituting 30% of the population are illiterates. Hence Nigeria remains at rather low levels of literacy and often with insufficient access to education and health care. The government should be able to put more funds into education, healthcare, training, skills and other related factors in order to curb the persistent challenge of high unemployment rate, inadequate education and poor healthcare system, which will in turn reflect positive change on the economy and promote economic growth, While the education and health sectors are underfunded by government at federal, states and local levels, the little funding appropriated for these sectors by government and private sector players were mismanaged, leading to dearth of human capital (Ogunleye, et al, 67). The observation of Bill Gate, co-founder and Technology Adviser at Microsoft while advising Nigeria on what needed to be done to develop its human capital is apt when he said: "To anchor the economy over long term investments in infrastructure and competitiveness must go hand in hand with investments in people. People without roads, ports, and factories can't flourish. Also, roads,

ports, and factories without skilled workers to build and manage them can't sustain an economy" (Ogunleye, et al, 68). More so, the Chairman, Africa Oil & Gas Talent Summit (AOGS) Advisory Council, Felix Amieyeofori, identified human capital development as key to grow Nigeria's oil industry, thereby, challenging the Federal Government and other stakeholders to give it a topmost attention. The Chairman, who regretted that Nigeria has been ranked as one of the least nations in human capital index, said: "Nigeria is ranked 152 out of 157 countries on the World Bank 2018 Human Capital Index list. Nigeria shared the bottom of the index with countries like Chad, South Sudan, Niger, Mali, and Liberia. Of the 85.08 million Labour forces by 3rd quarter 2017, only 7.14 percent work in any form of industry, including the oil and gas industry."

Nigeria as a developing country in Sub Sahara Africa, in an attempt to develop her human capital so as to achieve sustainable growth embarked on some educational programs in the past, but these have only served as conduits to transfer money to the corrupt political leaders and their cronies. In 1967, Nigeria launched a mass-oriented education program; Universal Basic Education (UBE). The program was launched at Sokoto by the President at that time, Olusegun Obasanjo. However, not long after the period of commencement, the federal government reported that the falling standard of education in Nigeria is caused by "acute shortage of qualified teachers in the primary school level. It was reported that about 23 percent of the over 400,000 teachers employed in the nation's primary schools do not possess the Teachers' Grade Two Certificate, even when the National Certificate of Education (NCE) is the minimum educational requirement one should possess to teach in the nation's primary schools. Nigeria in 1976 again launched the Universal Primary Education (UPE) but as noted, the program failed due to lack of funds resulting from corruption, amongst other factors. These have caused undesirable consequences for the development of high quality human capital in Nigeria but, have not changed the focus of the Nation of Nigeria on human capital development in its objective to achieve significant levels of economic growth.

The Minister of Budget and National Planning, Udoma Udo Udoma, said the federal government has made significant increases in capital allocations in human capital related sectors in the last three years in spite of dwindling revenues, to demonstrate its commitment to improving human capital development at the national level. He said President Muhammadu Buhari-led administration has increased the capital expenditure for health and education. In addition," the current administration has launched a wide-ranging Social Investment Programme which caters for human development for which a total budgetary allocation of N500 billion has been provided in the 2016 and 2017 budgets as well as the 2018 budget proposals", he pointed out (Zaka 4).

In spite of the effort government claim to put, which are majorly politically motivated, we still face decay in health and educational sectors thus weakening our productivity. Life expectancy as an important health indicator and a component of human capital development continues remain at low levels in Nigeria. When one looks at the effort claimed to be put by the government and the actual productivity, one realizes that there is high rate of inability to manage the education, health, skills, training and other related sectors in addressing human capital development especially in recent time as corruption and favoritism has been extolled in place of virtue in service. Since achievement of high levels of Human capital development is key to the achievement of sustainable development, the Nigerian government and citizens must make effort to reduce the gap between the country and more advanced nations of the world.

The major problems plaguing Nigeria can also be tied to our inability to relate well, and take cognizance of our individual peculiarities and uniqueness and this is no doubt vital to human capital development. A situation where we are able to learn the skill of self-mastery and the mastery of other people's emotions and mirror their feelings will help us to live in peace and harmony. So many talents have been lost, so many persons have had to sacrifice their individual

skills and locations where it is more profitable due to threat on their lives caused by division on our part as a nation, the media has also in no small ways mislead the masses into what they ordinarily should refrain from. We are weighed down by our inability to understand each other and we can only begin to get this in place through philosophy of communication which will groom us on the skills of interpersonal communication and relationship which will in turn build our personality to be admirable.

### **The Role of Philosophy of Social Communication in Human Capital Development**

There is no better way Human Capital Development can reach its destination of realization without the need for philosophy of social communication. Philosophy of social communication has its foundation in the philosophy of meaning (Njoku vi) through exchange of ideas. According to Njoku "the entire problem lies deep in the issue of the construction of meaning" (iv), and it is this meaning and the various interpretations that brings conflict in the society. These conflicts can come from ideas if not well harnessed and can impede on human capital development. Where there are conflicts especially of personal interest, then, there can be no growth in the society. This is where philosophy comes to play in order to understand and query the dynamics of effective communication to prevent conflicts of ideas to forestall human capital development. Hence, philosophy of social communication through engaging and democratization of ideas can enhance human capital development. Thus engaging of exchange of ideas is not to bring about conflict but through social interactions communication can bring about fruitful engagement. More so, through critical thinking and rational application the human being discovers what he can contribute to the society as he engages with others through communication; it is through social interactions he begins to understand him (her)self in dialogue and engagement. It also helps us understand that through a philosophical import in communication human beings recognizes issues and find common grounds for action, and builds a sense of identity and participation in order to implement their decision. Man as a being should know 'yourself' according to Socrates; but not just in isolation but with others. It is through others that one can unleash his/her potentials through effective communication that is mutual and engaging without individualistic tendencies.

According to Njoku, Rene Descartes wanted a kind of knowledge that would help humans know the principles operative in physical nature, employ them usefully in such a way that has not been adapted to the present time, and render ourselves the lords and possessors of nature. He went further to say that the Cartesian vision of knowledge which for this paper translates into "Human Capital Development" is not only based on utility that will be derived from the physical sciences, but it will be generalized. Descartes argued that the type of knowledge he wanted would empower us to control nature. This control of nature comes with critical thinking not to overpower nature and improves the new ways of doing things. Will people have the confidence to make project work? Will they acquire the new knowledge and skills they need? How can barriers of illiteracy be overcome? Philosophy of social communication can help media become powerful tools to advice and counsel people about new ideas and methods, to encourage adoption of those ideas and methods, and to improve training overall.

The following can be listed on how Philosophy of social communication can have a link to Human Capital Development.

1. The major goal or essence of communication for man is to develop and improve his skills and society and not just interpersonal communication. He engages in verbal and nonverbal style learned overtime and shared. The fact that no man is an island means that man must develop his society through the act of social communication as he/she engages in building the society. Jean-Paul Sartre explains the relationship of communication to essence of man thus, "I am what I say". He continued by saying that "language is not an instinct of the constituted human creature, nor is it an invention of our subjectivity...it forms part of the human condition." This implies that man's very nature presupposes that he is in a continuous struggle for development of himself and society through it. Early man



mumbled words and continued to improve it in communication and through improved his hunting skills with hand tools and in the process ignited the current civilization of man down to the present time. Hence, through effective communication, induced by sound philosophical engagement, human capital development is guaranteed and the society moves from a stage of development and makes progress.

2. Philosophy of social communication aid meaningful interactions and galvanizes, directs, clarify and give strength to one's communication. Prioritizing content as basic constituent of any communication. Often times, especially with the spate of globalization, the human person is distracted with how to effectively exploit the agents of socialization and communication to achieve the growth of his skill, hence through philosophy, man weighs the content of what he comes across with and is able to determine what suit his skill development and what does not, and apply what suit the skill development to improve himself as an important agent in societal development.
3. Thus making philosophy of social communication an important investigation for societal change and human capital development requires the exploration of the relations between social communication theory and human capital development. It examines the rudiment of effective communication and the ethics of communication. Moreover, a philosophical reflection on communication may set free practices and insights which may stimulate culture and society and foster an open, critical debate about human capital development.
4. Philosophy of social communication encompasses concerns of communication and its place in human existence. The philosophy of communication tries to reclaim a place for independent thought, the rediscovery and strengthening of theoretical reasoning and critical philosophical reflection in daily life which will further the development of human capital and set it on the road to achieving the growth and progress of Nigeria.
5. Philosophy of social communication explores the role communication plays in human capital development through skill acquisition, intensification of multi-disciplinary collaboration with respect to the variety of concerns, arguments, positions and scientific or philosophical self-conceptions.
6. Philosophy of social communication ensures training of students specializing in Information and Communication and also to activate scientific research in the field of communication and set the pace for growth.
7. A social interaction is a social exchange between two or more individuals. These interactions form the basis for social structure and therefore are a key object of basic social inquiry and analysis. Social structures and cultures are founded upon social interactions. By interacting with one another, people design rules, institutions and systems within which they seek to live. Symbols are used to communicate the expectations of a given society to those new to it, either children or outsiders. Through this broad schema of social development, one sees how social interaction lies at its core.
8. The people involved in this social interaction and exchange are humans, hence, philosophy comes to regulate such interaction in a way that will boost human capital development and raise skilled people who will be able to chart better course for societal development.
9. Human resources and society cannot be separated from each other. They are both created through social interactions and cannot be understood in terms without the other.

### **Conclusion**

Human capital development is the core of social development and national growth. The human person in his dynamic nature is the agent of societal change and the life of every nation; hence, the efforts must be concerted in seeing that the human capacity is well developed and no doubt, to achieve this, there must be communication at all levels, that is why philosophy of communication comes handy as a tool for this human capital development, to guide the use of communication and the medium and content disseminated.

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# Mass Media and Unsustainable Development in Nigeria: A Critical Investigation

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**Abstract:** Globally, mass media are among the catalysts behind sustainable development. This is as the industries set and shape government agenda, expose utopic policies, clueless governance and proffer the necessary ideas and knowledge that ensure sustainable development. The decades of predatory governance, corruption, despotism and their resultant unsustainable development characterizing the Nigerian state however questions the existence of these lofty roles of the mass media. This paper therefore investigates the expected roles and connection between mass media and unsustainable development in Nigeria. The paper analytically justifies the argument with evidences, unveils the underlining rationale behind the role of mass media in Nigerian unsustainable development, and proffers axiological panacea to poor mass media performance in Nigeria. The study finds that Nigerian mass media largely promote the egoistic interest of those in government and their cronies, and this jeopardizes sustainable development. The study therefore concludes that mass media in Nigeria largely neglect its responsibilities towards Nigerian nation, and thus operate below global expectations of communication industries.

**Key words:** Mass media; Unsustainable; Development; Critical; Investigation

## Introduction

Unsustainable development has finally become endemic in Nigeria. This unpalatable condition hinges on poor politics and governance which are the fulcrum and catalyst of backwardness in civil societies. But the monitoring, criticism or censure of politics and governance in civil societies are largely the responsibilities of the mass media. The centrality of the mass media in civil societies are so important that one of the former United States President, Thomas Jefferson, once observed that if he is caught in the midst of choices over whether the civil society should have a government without the mass media or mass media without a government, he will prefer the latter (Abati 1). This is because the mass media are the global daises that inform right decision, shape quality governance, monitor adequate implementation and foster sustainable development.

The mass media also communicate the contents of governance to the masses and public opinion to the government (Dunu 179). And this important communication informs policy formulation and ensures adequate implementation that translates to sustainable development. The essential nature of mass media in civil societies is also evident in the fact that the industries are the platforms expected to stir necessary civil disobedience, positive revolution, removal of despotic and predatory governments and restoration of sustainable development trajectory, which according to John Locke, is the right of the masses when social contract is reneged (Appadorai 25, Nwoko 82-83).

Sadly, the case is different with Nigerian mass media. For despite the decades of predatory governance, tyranny, oppression of the masses, purposeful neglect and unsustainable development in Nigeria, the organizations largely resort to building a docile, feeble and tepid society where poor, clueless and utopic governance not only prevail, but face little or no challenge and criticism. This notwithstanding, Nigerian mass media have been commended severally by successive governments for their positive contributions to peace and stability in the country. Yet, starring at these mass media commendations and their massive programmes



are decades of unsustainable development. This becomes a pointer to the fact that Nigerian mass media are deficient in their constitutional responsibilities. Consequently, this paper outlines the role of Nigerian mass media in the prevalent unsustainable development in the country as well as the rationale behind poor mass media performance in Nigeria.

### **Conceptual Analysis**

Unexplained concepts are largely misnomers that obstruct understanding and knowledge (Chinweuba 39). But analysis unravels the meanings lurking in a concept and creates better insight and understanding for the audience. Hence, there is need to analyze mass media and unsustainable development which are outstanding concepts in this discourse. Mass media are channels through which information is passed to numerous, scattered and heterogeneous audiences in different locations (Abone 293). It is the modern means of communication that simultaneously and sometimes instantaneously reach a large scattered heterogeneous and anonymous audience, across distance and time, with the aid of technical communication devices (Santas and Ogoshi 75). In this sense, the mass media are technical communication industries that use the television, radio, newspaper, magazine, Bulletin, internet, etc, channels to educate and transfer information, ideas and knowledge to larger audiences in diverse locations.

From this understanding, it stands that mass media comprise of publishing and broadcasting institutions that inform the public through print and electronic means (Chinweuba 74). These print and electronic organizations however are what the society largely calls the press (Olisa 63; Okoro 13). The press or mass media are therefore channels of information characterized by journalistic processes of gathering, selecting, processing and transmission of useful information, ideas and knowledge to the public. Based on the important position the mass media occupy in human society, the industries are also referred to as news industries or public news services. Because of their importance in discussions and decisions on matters of national importance, the mass media are also regarded as the fourth estate of the realm.

Unsustainable development, for its part, is when positive growth or change in a civil society is short lived. In other words, unsustainable development connotes growth in every sector of a country for a short period of time. It also points at a situation where available resources in a country are not maintained for a long or lasting period of time. Unsustainable development too, points at a state of defunctness, redundancy, retrogression or underdevelopment.

Truly, unsustainable development is when a country's functional structures, social, cultural, political, economic, religious, educational and technological institutions are unable to retain or maintain maturity. Maturity in this context points at full, enough, necessary extent, state of adequacy and sufficiency propelled by mature human capital and cultural, social, political, economic, educational and technological institutions. Based on these connotations, the United Nations 2005 World Summit Outcome (WSO) observes that unsustainable development is absence of lasting growth and prosperity in the areas of socio-politics, economy, culture and environmental protection (1). Thus, unsustainable development is a situation in which the societal systems and institutions are continuously feeble, collapsing and unsatisfying to human wants and aspirations. From all these, unsustainable development could again be understood as a condition replete with decreasing skill, knowledge, capacity, and creativity.

### **Cradle and Basis of Mass Media in Nigeria**

Mass media came into existence from the time people became conscious of the merits of communal living, and started living in communities. Man at this time became aware of the need to inform, integrate and educate the members of the community. This however makes information, integration and education the bedrock of communication and mass media. In such primitive societies, sentinels bear the responsibility of reporting dangers to the inhabitants of the society. And decisions of council of elders were circulated to the members of

the society through some form of media. More still, story tellers and Jesters were local media that entertain the people, and shape their perceptions of the world and relationship with others. All these communication channels largely involve the use of local instruments like gongs, minstrels, sculptures, carvings, paintings, drawings, etc to reach the people. They also involve the use of natural existents; rivers, streams, stones, etc., and animate objects like: dogs, birds, snakes, bees, etc, as well as signs and marks on tress, ground, walls, etc to reach the members of the community. With the growth and complexity of human societies, coupled with advancement in science and technology, these roles and means have taken a new dimension. This dimension consists in the use of modern mass communication devices and gadgets to pass information to wider audience “en masse”.

The basis of the mass media in Nigerian society however is predicated on natural and civil laws. Natural law is a general rule found by reason, by which man is also empowered to gather information necessary to preserve his own life (Hobbes 223 & 224). From this natural law dimension came the United Nations declaration and subsequently African charter on human rights. The African charter as adopted in 1986 and ratified in 1990 states among others that every individual have the right to receive information, to express and disseminate his opinions within the law (Aghamelu 156). The United Nations declaration however formed section 24 of 1960 constitution of Nigeria which supports freedom of expression; to hold opinions, receive and impart ideas and information without interference, own, establish and operate mass media for the dissemination of information and opinion within the confines of the law (Momoh 1). This provision of the law was reiterated in sections 25 of 1963 Republican constitution, 38 of 1989 constitution, 40 of 1995 constitution, and 39 (1) of 1999 constitution. These constitutional provisions indeed underscore the establishment and operation of mass media in Nigeria. As such:

The only institution imbued with the ability to furnish the citizens with ... information is the mass Media. The duty of the media is for the entire society to be informed accurately and adequately of all the events and developments affecting the interests of every section of the society...so significant is the media's role that the media has been dubbed the very "oxygen" of the society (Dunu and Uzochukwu 321).

### **The Expected Role of the Mass Media in Nigerian Society**

Based on constitutional provisions, the responsibility of the mass media bothers on ensuring sustainable development through dissemination of balanced and objective information. In fact, the industries are expected to be the major sources of quantity and quality information needed to enlighten the public on issues concerning sustainable human existence. Along this line, it is expected that mass media programmes, discussions, debates, and analysis stand as the pivot of societies' sustainable growth and development. Thus, the mass media are looked upon to reinforce the fabrics of Nigerian society and consciousness of the people towards the polity with adequate information (Okoro 12). For without adequate and proper information, rumours and speculations will be the order of the day, and human relationship in civil society will be suspicious and unstable.

Beside the conventional schools however, the educational orientation and intellectual development of the public rest on the mass media. As such, the industry is tasked with the duty of inculcating the ethical needs of the society, knowledge of civil duties, rights and responsibilities, means of potential and opportunity discovery, as well as self and national actualization in the public. In this way, the people are more informed about tenets of human existence and sustainable development.

The responsibility of the mass media also extends to enhancing the prevention of undesirable consequences in the society through its programmes. Thus, the mass media are meant to focus

on news programmes relevant in the society; news that impedes social disorder and facilitates positive and sustainable social change. In Nigerian nascent democratic setting where the odour of military regimes still hover, and the boundaries between various spheres of life are not strictly defined but overlap and often generate conflict among principal political actors and ethnic groups, the mass media are expected to moderate this conflict to ensure stability. In this manner, the mass media are generally expected to place interest in promoting culture of peace, positive virtues, values, and stable polity that will guarantee sustainable development in Nigerian society. Along this line, mass media are meant to champion the facilitation of individual and national adjustment to the positive realities of life. As such, the industries are expected to emerge as the catalyst propelling desired human perceptions, thinking, behaviour, public discourse, and socio-political action (NOUN13).

Indeed, the mass media is burdened with the task of setting the agenda for sustainable development. This is in the sense of creating awareness of topical issues in development, initiating people and national oriented projects and motivating public opinions that will inform government decisions on such matters. Thus,

The mass media are the platform for vigorous public discussions, exchange of information and opinion that essentially pave way to citizen's right exercise of duties, choices and decisions, citizens' continuous active participation in the development of the society, as well as their formation and expression of opinion on current matters of public importance (Godwin 366).

In this agenda setting function, the mass media are also expected to create awareness of socio-political and economic realities, to “connect the government to the governed”, service the populace, and contribute to Nigerian general development (Ate 1). With this essential platform therefore, “what people would have ignored under uninformed condition”, can be attended to by frequent release of motivational information on mass media discussion platform to the public (Umechukwu 152). Thus, the mass media should not only provide the public with issues to think and deliberate, but guide them to make decisions and proffer solutions that are socially lucrative. And above all, the mass media are expected to be the vigilant “watchdog” of public interest. For their duties include surveillance over public good, governance, government functionaries and state actors. In this way, the mass media exercise social control over government and her policies, monitors implementation of constitutional stipulations, quality execution of people and national oriented projects and ensuring sustainable development (Ayakoroma 688). These lofty roles are universal and in consonance with critical observations on mass media in human society.

### **Some Philosophical observations on Mass Media in Human Society**

The philosophical observations on mass media are existential models for modern mass media. And the justification of the mass media, based on these observations, rests on mass media active positive functions in human society. Among these philosophical observations are those of McLuhan Marshall, Jean Baudrillard, and Frankfurt School championed by Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Erich Fromm, Walter Benjamin, Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas. McLuhan Marshall's observation revolves on what constitutes mass media (positive human and societal change). He envisages mass media as the message and extension of humanity (McLuhan 515). This is in the sense that mass media hold the function of extending human sight, hearing and touch through space and time. Thus, electronic media, McLuhan holds, open up new vistas for people and enable them to be instantly everywhere. As such, the mass media are viewed as a global village; in which awareness of events and sustainable development are speedily available. Along this line, McLuhan's observation conceives mass media as environments. This is as mass media have all the effects geographers and biologists have associated with environments such as influencing and shaping the occupants (McLuhan 515).

McLuhan's observation is thus premised on the conception that mass media have the duty of crossing barriers, erasing old categories and probing around to ensure sustainable growth of human society. Based on this, McLuhan's remark advocates that mass media mean change. For when something is communicated; a message is transferred, the recipient has changed in some manner or degree (McLuhan Eric 30). To adequately attend to the lofty function of transformation of human sensory experiences and social order, the mass media, according to this observation, must be rich and objective in data and information. In all these, McLuhan's observation tasks the mass media with playing critical role of stimulating greater consciousness of the people and participation, as well as the emergence of new social order and new forms of culture. This means that the mass media with the present technology fail in its duties when it supply the society with vague and shadowy information and poor reception, instead of meaningful information needed to make meaningful sense of realities.

Advancing McLuhan's observation in his work, "Requiem for the Mass Media", the French Philosopher Jean Baudrillard documents that man is largely dependent on mass media. And mass media with its technological structure affect and shape human thought process, attitudes, feelings and life. This is evident in the audience subsequent reaction after mass media encounter. Like McLuhan, Baudrillard demonstrates that mass media should serve some ultimate emancipation end in human society. Based on this, Baudrillard's observation affirms that modern mass media hold the duty of creating a new world of values, meaning, activity, social organization, thought and experience. This duty extends to playing a critical role in the sustainable development of the constitution and new post modern society. Along this line, mass media must therefore not only be concerned with relaying information to the public but with interpreting human conditions and aiding people in approaching the world meaningfully through the lenses of their outputs.

Similarly, the Frankfurt school critical observation stresses the role of the mass media in shaping human thought, behaviour, influencing politics and managing human society. Based on this position, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno present a model of mass media that is instrument of power; social, political and economic control. This model was critically advanced by Erich Fromm, Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas who are convinced that mass media exist for the sustainable development of human society.

### **Mass Media and Unsustainable Development in Nigeria**

Mass media in Nigeria are mostly agents of government and political elites, on whom they depend to operate (Eze 215). This is largely why the industry refrains from criticizing the government and those connected to it. This is also the rationale behind mass media restriction, repression or denial of citizens' dissent or opposite opinion on critical issues in governance. This is as well the major reason behind the endemic predatory governance, "undemocratic democracy", despotism and unsustainable development prevalent in Nigeria. As such, the masses are hindered from knowing the proper and correct perspective to critical issues in governance (Ekwo 11). The masses are too deprived of conducive environment necessary for actualizing their potentials and dreams.

Deliberately, most Nigerian mass media operators distort and upset the pictures and dissent voices, or the whole electronic mechanism to undermine critics of government and the present unsustainable development. Largely therefore, Nigerian mass media build a docile society devoid of criticism and challenge, where high level corruption and oppression of the masses thrive among those in government. This is why the same mass media are active in long reflection and justification of the poor ideologies, policies, little or no achievements, draconian legislations, government oppression and negligence of the masses, numerous taxations of the public, egoistic political considerations of the government of the day and their consequent unsustainable development.



There is also the issue of protocol journalism in which some government officials are deliberately shielded from vital questions and investigations by mass media practitioners either based cowardice or in return for remuneration, kindness or consideration (Dunu 195). In line with this, the traditional mass media investigation of endemic unsustainable development fostered by false campaign promises, abuse of office, breach of the constitution, abuse of power, utopic policies, etc is poorly attended to, thereby rendering these socio-political and economic ills as norms in Nigerian context. In fact, the Nigerian mass media are largely bias, and extremely commercializes news and commentaries on governance. This makes the industries vulnerable to blackmail journalism, where most of the mass media investigations and reports are sponsored by powerful elites. As such, the Nigerian mass media are mainly active and objective when the news bother on minor or inconsequential issues in governance, on issues engineered by powerful politicians and government actors, on corrupt politicians with little or no connection with the incumbent government, on corrupt low rank “god fatherless” public and civil servants, and when the concerned mass media are connected to powerful elites, political parties or opposition politicians who stand to defend and protect them. The Nigerian Press Council in awareness of this situation and its resultant unsustainable development remarks:

The Nigerian media have fallen victim of manipulations by government and politicians. We are being witnesses to the fallen standard of journalistic profession and its negative contributions to nation building through a hackneyed uncouth and indiscrete reporting of events and issues... ethnic polarization of the media houses and consequent undue influence on power and political tussles. As a result, in the moment of crisis, the media become ready tools for those actively involved in the crisis of power (Aghamelu 157).

Consequently, history have little records of Nigerian journalistic activities that held past politicians, government officials or state actors accountable, and stir public opinion against inordinate political and economic desires of government officials. These are little indeed compared to avalanche of anti-societal and sustainable developmental activities which mass media industries have swept under the carpet. Thus, the certificate saga of president Muhammadu Buhari, his alleged impersonation and persistent breach of rule of law, lopsided governance, alleged marginalization of Igbo people and federal Government islamization agenda, issues of Fulani herdsmen, indigenious people of Biafra (IPOB) and *Boko Haram* terrorists, among others, have received little or no attention from the Nigerian mass media.

Besides, the Nigerian mass media largely disseminate edited, censored and often misleading reports on governance through government paid media correspondents (Dare 6). And on many occasions when government approval over reports is delayed, Nigerian mass media personnel often over censor reports for fear of reprisals from government (Dunu 192). This has characterized the Nigerian mass media industries with consistent factual inexactitude; a situation where information is incomplete with some missing facts because it is deliberately distorted. As such, Nigerian mass media are replete with sponsored, stage managed or censored news and broadcasts, meant at times to tarnish the images of dissidents and oppositions and to deceive the public on the reality on ground.

To please the government, Nigerian mass media is active in conferring endless status on state actors and government officials, projecting them as “Excellencies” and “incomparable achievers” (Ekwo 11). On this note, the mass media consistently magnifies and praises their little achievements in other to build support for them in the citizenry. Consequently, greater journalistic writings, commentaries, editorials, articles, reviews, columns, broadcasts, discussions, etc. fail to probe shrouded issues and negligence in governance which portend dire consequences to the masses. Such probe would have helped in dealing decisively with problems of corruption, ethnicity, and unaccountability, abuse of power and public office as

well as unsustainable development. By this unprofessional trend therefore, the Nigerian mass media demean themselves, and portray the industries as sycophants and “lap dogs” of the elites and government of the day. Hence, the global community now views journalism as practiced in Nigeria as unscientific, biased and “hogwash of exaggerations and speculations where facts are distorted to suit the ends of government and those who own the media” (Dukor 286). It is in regret of this impression that Afe Babalola remarks that Nigerian reputation is at the lowest ebb, and urges the mass media to resolve toward exposing and combating corruption at all levels (20).

On other occasions however, the mass media is merely satisfied with the phenomenological account of governance and not its analytic and implicative aspects. This is more pathetic as most of these mass media are not concerned about the truth of the matter but rumours and unfounded speculations (Aghamelu 160). And to please the government of the day still, the Nigerian mass media refrain from thorough publicity of alternative policy proposed by the opposition parties, civil societies, interest groups or dissidents. As such, the public is blocked from knowing the real facts surrounding state policy formulations and governance. With these and more unprofessionalism, Nigerian mass media foster the falling standard of governance and its resultant unsustainable development in the country.

### **Evidences of Unsustainable Development in Nigeria**

The justification of the argument so far predicates on the glaring endemic unsustainable development, which is largely the visible result of mass media redundancy and negligence of duty in Nigeria. This unsustainable development is evident in the consistent decades of systemic, institutional and infrastructural collapse. Thus, the social, cultural, political, economic, legal, security and technological institutions are moribund, and the structures accommodating them are fast dilapidating lacking maintenance. This have heightened spate of unemployment and mass poverty. Coupled with these are non diversification of the economy, consistent economic recession, scarcity of basic commodities, endemic corruption, poverty, mass hunger and low life expectancy. The Aljazeera news of Tuesday, March 24, 2020 supports this view when it reiterates decades of United Nations report that greater percentage of Nigerian population live below poverty line of one dollar in a day.

Within the context of Nigerian unsustainable development also is the education sector, which is fast deteriorating because of poor funding, poor staff emolument, negligence and incessant strike. In the same vein, health institutions and services are regrettably below global expectation. And there are evidences of excruciating socio-economic struggle among the masses in order afford the daily meals. This have created general frustration, anger, demoralization and disenchantment, leading to widespread hate speech, tension, terrorism, banditry, agitation, threats of secession, militancy and reckless loss of human lives in the country. The Nigerian consistent unsustainable development is as well visible in the general absence of good housing, welfare packages, inadequate social services and basic amenities for the greater population. This was why Dalhatu and Bagaji document that unsustainable development in Nigeria deprives the citizenry of quality education, good housing, industrial and technological feats and advancement, comfortable life; and thereby renders the people as cannon fodders for terrorism, banditry, insurgency, militancy and agitation (15).

Indeed, the harsh socio-economic situation resulting from endemic unsustainable development in Nigeria is the catalyst behind the spate of “brain drain” syndrome in the country (Akintoye and Opeyemi 16). Thus, those with connection leave the country in droves, and thereby create conspicuous shortage of human capital. Based on all these evidences fostered by the mischievous silence of the mass media, Nigeria is globally viewed as a failed and stateless state where life is solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short (Hobbes 186).

### **Rationale behind the Role of Mass Media in Nigerian Unsustainable Development**

Mass media organizations in Nigeria are owned by state and federal governments, politicians

and elites connected with the political system. As such, ownership influence has been a major factor affecting mass media performance and position on critical issues in Nigerian society. This influence is strengthened by the recruitment process, dismissal and remuneration of the staff of mass media organizations which depend on these proprietors. As such, journalism in Nigeria largely hangs on the maxim; “he who pays the piper dictates the tune”. Thus, the organizational confidence and responsiveness of mass media staff in Nigeria is influenced by the media proprietors, who establish the industries for their egoistic interests (Danjuma 165). This is why mass media reports, documentaries and commentaries on governance and other critical issues in Nigerian like unsustainable development are highly dependent on ownership structure and interest in the political system (Edogbo 33).

Because the mass media is the only source of news for wider heterogeneous audience, successive Nigerian governments view it with bias. Since most of the leadership gained power through the services of the mass media, government functionaries are aware of mass media potentials in rousing people's consciousness and changing the trend of governance. Since they want to stay in power for long, these officials threaten the mass media with repressive laws, policies and declarations that force premium on shallow and sensational reports and make “scapegoat” from dissident media practitioners. As such, Nigerian mass media personnel, according to Sommerland in Ugborajah are “walking on razor's edge” (133).

Consequently, the industries perform with regulated freedom, ensured through repressive instructions, pronouncements, decrees and laws such as; official secrets Act of 1962, Newspaper amendment Act of 1964, Newspaper prohibition circulation act of 1967, defamation Act No. 11 of 1976 and public officers (assumed protection against false publication) decree No. 4 of 1984 (Aghamelu 156-157). Evidently, occasions where the mass media have performed outside censorship have been met with severe punishments ranging from fine, revocation of licenses of the industry, detention to prison sentences for personnel involved (Idemili 48). Occasions when any of the mass media loyalty to the government is doubted is also met with severe punishments. Such was the lot of Africa Independent Television (AIT) and Raypower radio station that were threatened since 2015 and whose licenses were revoked on June 6, 2019 by President Muhammadu Buhari's government. As such, underperformance of mass media in Nigeria is propelled by fear; of loosing the license of operation and means of livelihood. Agba however draws attention to the fact that this fear has been there since independence as the first republic mass media organizations were also under the siege of government pronouncements, laws and decrees (196).

In Nigeria however, ethnic and political rivalry visible in cultural and political divides also pervades the mass media. Thus, the polarization of the mass media along these divides negatively affects the industries objectivity to issues concerning governance and sustainable development. In fact, some of the mass media manipulate these issues to suit their divide, or to avoid reprisal attack from the affected divide. Similarly, the fear of reprisal attack also renders mass media organisations that are neutral from these divides redundant. Indeed, mass media in Nigeria are pressured from every angle; the public, political parties, interest groups, government and state actors. This pressure has largely resulted to occasions where the mass media is coerced to take side, and report critical issues in governance in a way that promotes the interest of the stronger force and not general sustainable development.

A further investigation into the unprofessionalism of mass media in Nigeria reveals other driving forces. These are the forces of poverty and greed which breed every kind of social dysfunction in an individual; such as the feeling of financial insecurity and irrational pursuit of wealth (Fukuyama 5). There is poor remuneration for many journalists, and some of them with trailing history of poverty show the tendency to live above this deplorable condition. Some others could not however control their greed (Chinweuba 42). Corruption is therefore a monster that has eaten the fabrics of mass media organizations in Nigeria. It threatens

investigative and objective journalism and results to Nigeria's unsustainable development. Alluding to this fact, Santas and Ogoshi allege that Nigerian mass media practitioners on critical assignments have been corrupt on several occasions by receiving bribes, and engaging in host of other unethical behaviours in the discharge of their duties of reporting news events (82). The result has been deliberate killing of news stories, writing fictitious stories and making favourable commentaries just to promote the image of the concerned political figure or government functionary.

Against the ethics of the profession therefore, a great number of mass media practitioners and their organizations have political and pecuniary interests. These are also propelled by most Nigerian cultures where one's social status, worth and recognition are measured by the amount of wealth one has accumulated and how politically one is connected (Chinweuba 42). As such, the accomplishment of high social status in Nigeria mainly goes with amassment of tremendous wealth and craves for political appointments. These also underscore the present journalism of self-aggrandizement, replete with machinations to compromise critical issues in governance in order to achieve egoistic aims. Consequently, most Nigerian press run a docile journalism, while some have become part of the exploitative system, and lack moral will that ensures objectivity.

However, it is evident that mass media in Nigeria are not well equipped with modern communication equipment. As such, poor antiquated and mainly analogue electronic devices and gadgets are still being used to investigate and disseminate information in the present technology driven world. This is coupled with poor infrastructure, transportation facilities and remunerations which have greatly hindered their quick response to issues and events pertaining to sustainable development. In fact, the government and some proprietors of these mass media organizations have overlooked technological transformations that characterize mass media in the modern world. This unfortunate condition has negatively affected the quality of mass media investigation of issues and dissemination of news reports pertaining to the present Nigerian unsustainable development.

#### **Axiological Panacea to Poor Mass Media Performance in Nigeria**

To discharge their functions creditably, Nigerian mass media need to be truly independent, and must be availed a free environment. This will largely enable the industries to approach journalism with public interest. For sustainable development can only be facilitated by a strong, pluralistic and independent mass media within a society (Dunu 184). To foster the quality of free press in Nigeria, repressive decrees and laws affecting objective and free journalism has to be abolished. Too, the bodies regulating mass media practices; Nigeria press council (NPC), Nigerian Union of journalist (NUJ), Nigeria Guild of Editors (NGE), and National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) which serve as the "watchdogs" of the press need a paradigm shift from mere "witch-hunting" and vendetta czars to quality control architects. Thus, these bodies should embark on constant publicity of values, laws, regulations and ethics specific to mass media practices. They should as well beef up their duty of protecting the rights and privileges of mass media practitioners and industries. These will redirect the mentality of most journalists which revolves on material gain in exchange for important investigations and reports pertaining to illegal activities behind unsustainable development.

Consequently, the Bodies in-charge of press regulation must shake off political influences, bribery, and remain resolute in sanctioning inaccurate journalism, corruption and unethical practices perpetrated by mass media practitioners. The ability of the regulatory bodies to sanction media practitioners will indeed serve as a deterrent to "bad eggs" in journalisms and boost professionalism. Along this line, all legal frictions inhibiting the prosecution of earring members should be addressed, and professionalism in journalism should be reinforced or rewarded. To foster the quality of mass media in Nigeria, strict adherence to professional practice should be encouraged through constant orientation and re-orientation of mass media



practitioners in workshops, seminars and conferences. This will as well ensure enhanced and balanced journalism evident in consistent observational tendency and ability to get clues and make required deductions and meanings from existent facts and assumptions.

Insecurity has also plagued the effort of the mass media to discharge its responsibilities towards curbing unsustainable development. Thus, successive governments, stakeholders, individuals, and anti-social groups; Niger Delta militants and *Boko Haram* terrorists, consistently issue threat to mass media organizations, thereby hindering the free practice of journalism. Such threats have on many occasions manifested leading to the death of many journalists. Santos and Ogoshi for instance, report that on April 26, 2012, a suicide bomber hit This Day Newspaper office in Abuja, and on April 27, 2012 bomb blasts again hit the same This Day Newspaper office, and those of The Moment and The Sun Newspapers in Kaduna killing many journalists (82). If the insecurity of journalists is not quickly addressed by the government, the confidence needed to report issues that will sustain national development will continue to elude the press.

In similar vein, mass media owners should be mandated to secure life and health insurance for journalists attached to their organizations. Knowing that there is something to depend on in the case of injury or death will definitely boost confidence of journalists in their jobs. However, Nigerian government should eschew the habit of persecuting journalists and mass media organizations whose loyalties are in doubt. For this have for long wasted society's talent, resources, and hampers their objective reportage on issues behind Nigerian unsustainable development. Such journalists should rather be encouraged to indulge in more balanced and fair journalism. Truly, there is great need to discourage mercenary character in Nigerian mass media, for development without a balanced, objective and credible mass media will always lack sustenance.

### **Conclusion**

The assessment of the mass media in Nigerian context rests on natural and constitutional right bestowed on the industry to receive and impart information necessary for sustainable development. This right presupposes that the mass media as the fourth estate of the realm remain non partisan in upholding the truth for the general interest and good of the society. This entails that great amount of balanced, detailed and fair reports are expected from the mass media, as well as ideas and knowledge necessary to initiate and sustain growth in every sector of Nigerian state. It as well entails that mass media industries remain transparent, "investigative and objective in the collection and dissemination of information, comprehensive in the coverage and reportage of events and issues, and educative and informative in the process of mobilization" (Okoro 13). These mean that efficient and effective approaches in publication, monitoring government activities, exposing corruption, raising the socio-political consciousness and awareness of the people, and promotion of developmental programmes in a political state ensure sustainable development (Nwodu & Ukozor 2).

Sadly, these lofty functions are inadequate among Nigerian mass media. And worst still, most activities of these mass media industries cause great concern, and elicit negative criticism from the public. These negative criticisms are more pronounced as Nigerian mass media engage in activities that are largely far from public interest, public good and sustainable development. Such activities include display of sycophancy, hypocrisy, trivialities, sentiments, bias, exaggerations, lies, shallow and sensational reports and extreme commercialization. This is accompanied by unethical political polarization along ethnic loyalty, political parties, sectional groups and selfish interests (Dukor 287). The consequences of these have been mutual distrust and disbelief from the Nigerian public as well as unsustainable development of the society which largely rests on mismanaged, ineffective and inefficient mass media.

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## John Rawls' Concept of Justice: Panacea to the unhealthy Ethnic Consciousness and Politics of Exclusion in Nigeria

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**Abstract:** Many have assumed that providence brought different ethnic groups together in Nigeria to form one great indivisible-nation. This assumption is probable especially now that nations are merging to form a formidable force in the world. Nigeria, on the other hand, has continuously wrestled with the problem of integrating properly these ethnic groups into one entity as a result of her delicate ethnic consciousness. The danger of this apparent consciousness is marginalization as seen in the exclusions in the distribution of both fortune and ascendancy in the country. These have endangered the continuous survival of Nigeria though, the togetherness of Nigeria has been viewed as inviolable. However, it would be decently objectionable for the oneness of a country like ours not to be priced under the present situation of marginalization, injustice and unhealthy ethnic and religious consciousness, which has compromised the basic principles of justice. In concrete terms, there cannot be any justification for the continuous existence of a country like Nigeria that has thrown to the dogs equality, social justice and that which should hold the country together as one indivisible entity. If the country is to remain united, it must hold with high esteem the philosophy of fairness regarding all citizens. Therefore, this paper aims at offering some solutions to the problem of injustice provoked by politics of exclusion and multi-ethnicity in Nigeria. It is hoped that in the end this paper will explore both the limits and the potentials of the ideas enshrined in Rawls' principles of justice.

**Keyword:** Ethnicity, Ethnic Nationalities, Pluralism, Politics of Exclusion, Equality, Marginalization.

### **Preamble:**

Ethnic consciousness has been a persistent problem in Nigeria political trajectory since Independence in 1960. Given the complexities of the amalgamation of the country where more than 250 ethnic groups have been put together as one entity, political actors have been equipped with little or no political philosophy and ethical measures towards containing the situation. So, ethnicity has endured till date as an issue to be grappled with in Nigeria. As such, exclusions in the political involvement and ascendancy has in fact been the upshot of this problem. From all indications, there appears to be a deliberate control of one ethnic entity over the others. Hence, the issue of marginalization and the demand for social justice has been a topical issue at every moment; especially seen from various attempts by some ethnic microcosm to secede and disaffiliate from the superficial and invented entity called Nigeria on the grounds of the perceived inequality in the polity. These ethnic groups and other minority groups are still agitating for self-determination because they feel their interests are not satisfactorily given any consideration. Meanwhile, in all of these, the unity, oneness, continuous and cooperate existence of Nigeria has been considered inviolable, and therefore, should not be negotiated.

Another problem is that Nigeria is also trapped in a justice system where both the common man and the state authorities do not have confidence anymore. There exists at all levels a yawning gap between the ideal and what is operational, especially as regards the inadequacy of the justice system (Osasona 125-162). The judicial system and its operations have been largely politicized, while corruption, ethno-religious bigotry have permeated through the system; poor working condition and operations, bribery and corruption within and outside the system have circumvented the dispensation of duties and justice to Nigerians (Afon & Badiora 241-256); the courts have become business centers where people go in for services to be done as they pay



for, corruption has become the order of the day, the judicial service has become politicized and bastardized by politicians, the judges are themselves confused, over-worked and uncoordinated thus contradicting one another in their actions and verdicts (Salawu 107-124). These have led to a situation where the general public and other state authorities themselves despise and have lost confidence in the justice system (see also Oduntan 35-51), and injustice arguably has become a huge threat to peaceful coexistence and stability in our social structure. Hitherto, unjust acts are more or less a national affair. In fact, the worldwide manifestation of injustice has been evident in our judicial system which in recent times has become worse than ever.

In every society with the above scenario, the looming issue that is likely to create chaos is the problem of injustice more importantly the injustice meted out by oppressors or the rich and powerful to the poor in the society, which John Rawls in his quest for a just and stable society sought to unravel by looking at the moral foundations behind unjust acts and proffering principles that will help to a considerable extent curtail this problem of injustice.

Justice theories especially that of John Rawls has been misconceived by many as mere principles or another theory out of the many. In the case of Rawls, his theory of justice stands out and needs little adjustment to fit into the various social structures and organs of Nigeria. Thus, since, the unity of Nigeria ought to be guarded jealously, it is expected that the political actors should be prepared to adopt and implement some integrative philosophies that will ensure the existence of Nigeria as an entity, rather than breeding unwholesome rivalry with their unruly ways of steering the wheel of the country's political affairs. From the foregoing, the role of justice in a country like ours cannot be over emphasized, being the first and good quality of all human and social institutions, likewise all laws, their establishments maintenance and regulation would have to be transformed if they fail to dispense justice and it is so for every state and society that cherishes sustainable peace, order and prosperity. In any stable society, justice is not bargained or left to the dictates of goodwill. Justice system and its operation in every state and society should be a reflection of its extent of civilization, its efficiency and the confidence the public has in the system.

### **Rawls on the Idea of Justice**

In his theory of justice, Rawls leaves bare the question "What is the most appropriate moral formation of justice for a multi-ethnic society?" (Freeman, 2007:1). In theory, he pursues this question as part of a more general inquiry into the nature of social justice and its compatibility with human nature and a person's good. Thus, he attempted to work out a conception of justice that provides a realistically systematic substitute to the utilitarian model. As an alternative to this utilitarian model, Rawls, drawing on the social contract tradition, develops an idea of justice "that is highly Kantian in nature" but that the utilitarian model is a teleological theory (Rawls, 2001:77). In the theory of justice as fairness, the principle of equal rights for all citizens has priority over the goal of producing the greatest amount of happiness for the largest number of individuals, but in utilitarian theory the goal of producing the greatest amount of happiness for the largest number of individuals has priority over the principle of equal rights for all citizens. According to this conception, justice requires that basic social goods liberty and opportunity, income and wealth, and the basis of self-respect be equally distributed, unless an unequal is to everyone's advantage but under favourable social conditions a special conception, "justice as fairness," applies (Freeman 2). Thus, he tries to construct a theory of justice which brings equality and liberty together with special consideration for the citizens as regards to liberty.

Cooperative arrangement freely made is fair when the participants agree to the principles which govern their association, and when those principles are applied consistently. Rawls therefore is of the view that we envision the principles of justice as chosen by members of society themselves from a specially designed perspective, which he calls "the original position"

to guarantee a choice which is both rational and fair (Rawls, 1999:90). Care must be taken to avoid Rawls' use of the term 'justice as fairness' which does not in any way imply that justice and fairness are identical, but that the principles of justice are agreed to under fair conditions by individuals who are in a state of equality. 'Justice as fairness' also implies that the principles of justice apply equally to all individuals (89). These principles must be decided upon in such a way as to benefit all individuals, and must not be merely designed to favour the interests of a particular group of individuals over another group of individuals.

According to Rawls, the two principles of justice which would be agreed to by rational and mutually disinterested individuals in the 'original position' of equality are that; each individual should have an equal right to as much liberty as is compatible with the rights of others; and any social or economic inequalities which occur between individuals should be designed to benefit every individual, and should belong to positions which are equally available to all individuals (Rawls, 2001:70).

However, the problem with this position is that everyone at one point or the other desires to protect certain interests, and the rationality to advance this conception of the good for everyone is unattainable and unrealistic under such circumstances, since no one has a reason to consent in an enduring loss for him or her i.e. having to sacrifice his/her interest in order to achieve a greater equilibrium and satisfaction for everyone, and in the absence of these strong and lasting benevolent instincts and impulses, a rational man would not accept a structure merely because it is altruistic or because it maximizes the sum of advantages irrespective of its permanent effects on one's own basic rights and interests.

Accordingly, the idea is that since everyone's welfare is dependent upon a structure of mutual understanding without which no one could have a suitable life, the division of benefits should be carried so as to accommodate the disposition and cooperation of all partaking members in it, including those who are underprivileged (79). It may be beneficial but it is not just that some should have less in order that others may prosper. But there is no injustice in the greater benefits earned by a few provided that the state of life of persons not so privileged is protected (80). Thus, the two principles mentioned seem to be a fair agreement on the basis of which those with higher advantage and more privileged in the social structure, neither of which we can be said to deserve, could expect the willing cooperation of others who are underprivileged when some reasonable system is a prerequisite for the welfare of everyone (Daniels, 1975:69).

For this reason, Rawls presents the ideal principles of justice chosen under a condition he called a *veil of ignorance* which is to vouchsafe that no one is unnecessarily favored or under-favored in the choice of principles and by the effect of natural chance or the exigencies of social situations (Rawls, 2001:118). Going further a bit, it is equally expected that no one is able to project principles to favour his particular condition since the essential features is that no one knows his place in society, his class position or social status, nor does anyone know his fortune in the distribution of natural assets and abilities, his intelligence and strength. This is what Rawls refers to as the *original position* (102). This for him will ensure the principles of "justice as fairness": since it is assumed that just and fair distribution is agreed upon in an initial situation that is unbiased because those who decided the distributive process and structure *ab initio* never had a pre-informed understanding of the class structure and those who might be favored in the process (Rawls 97).

### **Rawls' Two Principles of Justice**

According to John Rawls, when we conceive of justice, the first thing that should readily come to mind is fairness as such, the first principle of a conception of justice is for "each person to have an equal right to the most extensive scheme of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar scheme of liberties for others" (Rawls, 1999:53). In another place he expressed his idea of justice as fairness thus; "that each person has the same indefeasible claim to a fully adequate

scheme of equal basic liberty which scheme is compatible with the same scheme of liberty for all” (Rawls, 2001:98). As such, the first principle of justice for him is referred to as 'the principle of greatest equal liberty' (Rawls, 1999:53). The second principle has two parts and it bothers on reasonable economic distribution which in a way is intricately tied around the first principle. The principles primarily apply to the basic structure of the society and govern the assignment of rights and duties and regulate the distribution of social and economic advantages (53). These two parts of the second principle are '*the difference principle*' and '*the principle of fair equality of opportunity*'. According to Rawls, the two principles are arranged in a serial order with the first principle of justice logically (and lexically) prior to the second, in that for justice to be attained the first principle of justice as fairness must be plausible before the second principle can be accomplished. As such, the first principle cannot be justified or compensated with the second if it is violated. The logical order of the second principle of justice is (a) the principle of fair equality of opportunity, and (b) the difference principle. Thus, for justice to be attained the principle of fair equality of opportunity must be satisfied before the difference principle is satisfied (54).

Rawls further explains that the two principles are not mutually exclusive but rather specific in their content and their acceptance rest on certain assumptions that the logical priority of the first principle of justice over the second principle implies that violations of basic rights cannot be compensated by arguing that such violations may produce economic or social advantages (56). Furthermore, the logical priority of the first part of the second principle over the second part implies that infringements upon fair equality of opportunity cannot be justified by arguing that such infringements may produce economic or social compensations when the first is violated *ab initio*. For him therefore, injustice is simply inequalities that are not to the benefit of all (54). Thus both equality and inequality should be to the advantage of all. Again, Rawls also explains that judgments about the principles of justice in the 'original position' of equality among individuals are most likely to be reasonable and impartial if they are made in conditions of 'reflective equilibrium' and are not distorted by temporary or changing circumstances (56).

Rawls in his formal argument presented that the principle of *efficiency* which is another form of principle may be applied to the method by which basic rights and duties are assigned and to the method by which social or economic inequalities are structured (54). To understand this fully, the method by which rights and duties are assigned may be described as efficient, that means that if there is no possible rearrangement which could be performed to make this assignment of rights and duties more advantageous to any particular individual without simultaneously making it less advantageous to another individual. He continues by saying: when the principles mention persons or require that everyone gain from an inequality, the reference is to representative persons holding the various social positions, or offices established by basic social structure (56). Thus, the method by which social or economic inequalities are structured may be described as efficient if there is no possible restructuring which could be performed to make this structuring more advantageous to any particular individual without simultaneously making it less advantageous to another individual (Eryilmaz, 2019:105). So, these principles work in tandem to reduce structural inequality (Mandel, 15). The second principle basically intends social-economic institutions to regulate socio-economic inequalities (Rawls 53).

As such, the basis of Rawls' argument is that, the *difference* principle may be applied to the method by which rights and duties are assigned and to the method by which social or economic inequalities are structured. The method by which rights and duties are assigned may be described as fair (justice), and impartial (injustice), if it cannot be made any more than fair to any particular individual without simultaneously making it less fair to another individual. Similarly, the method by which social or economic inequalities are structured may be described as fair and impartial if it cannot be made any more than fair to any particular

individual without simultaneously making it less fair to another individual (Gilbert 847). However, to Rawls the principle of *efficiency* and the *difference principle* are mutually compatible and are principles of justice for social institutions. Principles of justice for individuals include fairness, benevolence, generosity, the duty to keep promises, the duty to offer mutual aid, the duty to show mutual respect, the duty not to cause unnecessary suffering, the duty not to harm or injure others, and the duty to uphold justice (Rawls 79).

Rawls describes three types of teleological theories of justice as the classical principle of utility then the average principle of utility, and the perfectionism (85). Looking at this critically, the classical principle of utility, that the best action produces the greatest amount of utility for the greatest number of individuals. According to the average principle of utility, the best actions maximize the average utility which may be enjoyed by each individual. According to perfectionism, the best actions maximize human achievement (e.g. in the arts and sciences) or maximize the attainment of some desired goal. Rawls argues further that a major defect of utilitarianism is that the principle of utility may require that individuals who are disadvantaged in relation to others in their ability to attain primary social goods (e.g. rights, opportunities, income, and wealth) may have to suffer even greater disadvantages if this redistribution of rights and opportunities produces greater happiness for a larger number of individuals.

According to Rawls, the principles of justice (including the principle of greatest equal liberty, the principle of fair equality of opportunity, and the difference principle) may be fulfilled by a constitutional democracy. However, a frequently-seen defect of constitutional democracy is that it may allow a greater disparity in the distribution of wealth and property than is compatible with equality of economic, social, and political opportunity for all individuals. Another frequently-seen defect of constitutional democracy is that it may allow political power to accumulate in the hands of a particular group or party who may use the institutions of government to gain greater advantage. Rawls concludes that in order to correct these defects, it is necessary for political equality of opportunity (i.e. equal rights of participation in the political process) to be constitutionally guaranteed.

### **Analyzing the Nigerian Predicament**

Rawls' theory is meant to deal effectually with the problem ethnic consciousness which is one of the features of modern societies. One might be tempted to ascertain the relevance of Rawls' theory to Nigeria. There is this erroneous tendency to think that Rawls' theory is meant to address pluralism and its attendant problems in the western democracies alone but his theory is not just limited to western democracies neither can we impose a limit to the limitless potentials of his theory. As a matter of fact, the theory, essentially, serves as an antidote to the variability that goes with any multi-ethnic society as well as any democratic society which no doubt, Nigeria qualifies as one due to the nature of our heterogeneity.

As we have noted earlier, Nigeria is not only experiencing the problems associated with religious diversity, but also ethnic diversity. Therefore, Nigeria could be likened to the picture that Rawls painted. Predictably, with 250 ethnic groups and of course, with diverse religious affiliations, a country like ours, has so much to contend with as regards finding a balance to accommodate such multiplicity. More importantly, Rawls himself never intends to put a limit to the limitless application potentials his theory has. In this conviction, Young reiterates emphatically that "with the theory of justice, Rawls unswervingly confronts the problem of modern democratic societies..." (Young 5).

Since independence in 1960, the right to occupy certain political positions in Nigeria depends essentially on the particular ethnic nationality that one is affiliated with. Likewise, for any particular ethnic group to attract any substantial developmental project from the federal government, it also depends almost entirely on the ethnic group's affinity with the powers that be. Thus, without mincing words, this indicates the type of politics that is practiced in Nigeria.



This is what is understood as politics of exclusion and over the years, there seems to be no genuine effort on the part of the authorities to fashion out more inclusive style of leadership in the country.

No doubt, this politics of exclusion cannot exist without any moral basis considering the circumstances of our amalgamation in the first place. It should be recalled that before the British came, there were only nations, empires, autonomous communities and independent ethnic groups. These autonomous groups and communities were rudely interrupted and forthwith amalgamated on equal basis, and they became citizens of and invented Nigeria on seemingly equal notes. So the existence of politics of exclusion is an aberration, and calls the moral issue of equality of all groups and citizens into question. As a matter of fact, "...a society lives up to the ideal of community if its members are treated as free and equal persons" (Kymlicka 208). It would be pertinent to note that the Nigeria ought to live up to the ideals of modern democratic society if all these ethnic groups are treated on an equal basis in every facet of life. Obviously, in Nigeria, it appears that individual's rights are either guaranteed or not depending on the section of the country he or she comes from. In this case, it is; therefore, correct to say that ethnic consciousness comes first before the individuals that make up the group. Therefore, guarantying the equality of the various ethnic groups is tantamount to guarantying the equality of individuals in the country as a whole. Thus, such ideology of equality would not help to realize a just and invariably a stable society, especially when the citizens tend to be viewed from the particular section that they identify with. Hence, our constitutional arrangement ought to be in line with the notion that the equality of communities corresponds with the equality of individuals across the country.

How can one claim to be a citizen of a particular country, whereas he is excluded in certain areas of political life? In fact, citizenship entails equal rights and opportunity according to the first principle of justice of Rawls. So, the exclusions of certain section of the country without impunity in the political life of Nigeria goes against what citizenship stands for. A citizen must be allowed to identify "with the community to which he or she belongs, and committed to promoting its common good through active participation in its political life" (Miller 53). One cannot actually claim to be a citizen of a country that set limits to his or her rights and privileges. In the same vein, when restrictions are placed on a certain section of a society or are treated as second class citizens with regards to the extent they can go politically in relation to other sections, such citizens within that section cannot in any way claim to be true citizens of the society in question. An ideal society fights to protect and guarantee the basic rights and liberties of its citizens and anything contrary to this, such a society cannot boast of an ethically sound society, and not worthy of existence. As earlier pointed out, guaranteeing the equality of all ethnic groups is tantamount to guaranteeing the equality of all individual citizens, especially in Nigeria.

Another problem is that each ethnic group has got its unique philosophy, religious and cultural orientations, which they tend to guard jealously, which tend to create polarity because these cultural as well as religious orientations regulate their daily lives. In the light of this, Rawls in his own words states,

...a reasonable doctrine...covers the major religious, philosophical, and moral aspects of human life in a more or less consistent and coherent manner. It organizes and characterizes recognized values so that they are compatible with one another and express an intelligible view of the world (Rawls 59).

Rawls emphasizes that rationality lies in the 'receptive disposition' of a comprehensive doctrine towards other comprehensive doctrines. In a like manner, ethnic groups ought to have the same disposition among them towards each other's' cultural expression.

This suggests that in a country like Nigeria, all sections should have certain principles and

ideals which they must agree to as the foundational basis of their existence. That is of course what Rawls is talking about when he said that the opposing doctrines have their own conceptions of the good, and there is the possibility of one such conception to be recognized by all citizens who are fully reasonable and rational (134). Meanwhile, all can view these principles and ideals as appropriate manifestation of their own comprehensive doctrines in the realm of politics. Rawls, nevertheless, issues a warning against a possible misunderstanding of what overlapping consensus is all about. To that effect, he states that overlapping consensus should not be understood as a mere *modus vivendi*, for this is a mere agreement to 'live and let live'. An agreement of this kind is not capable of sustaining stability in any society, because none has the moral responsibility to keep such agreement.

### Conclusion:

In Nigeria today, there is always the situation of “war of everyone against everyone” or “war of all against all” as if it was in the State of nature. This is because, the Nation-Nigeria ordinarily was not a nation created on the consent of the people as pointed out earlier since the amalgamation was made under duress. The Imperial leaders coerced the people but did not unite them. Thus, how Nigeria can achieve this eluding unity is a major problem as many ethnic nationalities are becoming more conscious of their identity. The problem lies in the attainment of consensus, which is only possible in the Nigerian context if every ethnic group in the country comes together on certain political values which permeate through all the groups. This is because, “the desire of the individual to stick to his own group may originate from narrow-mindedness, but results in racism or ethnocentrism (Kazim 48).

Although our country is said to be practicing a democratic system of government, facts on ground show that we are far away from what a true democracy stands for. Instead, what we practice could better be described as false democracy (pseudo-democracy). It is a democracy of displacing, misplacing and replacing of the citizens instead of representing them. Nigeria presently is lacking the qualities upon which true principles is predicated. This is why Rawls' attempts to examine the theory of justice by proposing in a way a new social contract theory, where he construed the idea of justice in terms of maximization of liberty, equality and opportunity as the central theme in a social system or social institution seeing 'justice' in the light of 'fairness' by invariably debunking the perception of justice that lies in the greatest good done to greatest number of people on the basis of inherent fault about the fact that justice is not being done towards those who do not constitute amongst the greatest number of people. In a summary, John Rawls' theory of justice is still very helpful at a time like this when all that everyone desires regarding maximizing the welfare of society. There is therefore the need to reconsider the Rawls' original position of the different cultural, religious and ethnic beliefs before the forceful amalgamation in order for us to achieve the objectives of the various agitation for restructuring. There is therefore the need to dis-amalgamate in order to re-amalgamate if need be according our cultural, religious and ethnic systems.

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## Rethinking African Metaphysics from an Igala Perspective

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**Abstract:** The whole of reality in African traditional philosophy is constituted by a hierarchy of beings of two categories, namely, spiritual beings and corporeal beings. These two categories of beings exist in two corresponding kinds of worlds, namely, the spiritual world and corporeal world. These two worlds although different in nature are not completely separated, for there are links and interactions between them. Those living in the spiritual world are interested in, and often intervene in the affairs of those living in the corporeal world. Metaphysics apart from its traditional and etymological definitions has diverse definitions given differently by different scholars. However, in whatever way it is defined, it should include the necessity for a universal outlook toward reality. It is therefore a philosophical outlook which tries to reach a more comprehensive, all-embracing, totalistic view of reality without neglecting the unique place of individual things in the holism of reality. Metaphysics therefore involves a synthesis of all experiences in order to achieve a coherent whole which gives a complete picture of reality. It is in this latter sense that we intend to survey aspects of African metaphysics using Igala conception of reality to see how the disparate metaphysical objects of the African people fit into a coherent metaphysical framework. African metaphysics should be seen as the African way of perceiving, interpreting and making meaning out of interactions, among beings, and reality in general. It is the totality of the African's perception of reality. African metaphysics will therefore include systematization of African perspective and its relation to being and existence. This will embrace the holistic conception of reality with its appurtenance of relations, qualities, characterizations, being and its subtleties, universals, particular, ideas, minds, culture, logic, moral, theories and presuppositions.

**Key words:** Africa, Metaphysics, Being, Spirit, Corporeal and Igala concept of reality.

### Introduction

The subject of African metaphysics is a very broad and far reaching inquiry but to make it relevant to any particular group of persons, it becomes necessary to reflect the thought and life of a particular people. It is in the light of the above that this discourse is centered on the Igala people of Kogi State. In the course of this research, there are two strategic hurdles to overcome. First, how can we meaningfully talk about African metaphysics? Second, how can we cover the breadth and depth of African metaphysics in a short treatise like this? Perhaps the consolation is the fact that no work can claim to say all that needs be said on any subject matter. What is important in any given work is to have a clear vision of what is intended to achieve. In this light, we feel persuaded that these hurdles can be safely handle and overcome.

Much has been said on different aspects of metaphysics. We cannot however pretend to have a fixed corpus of perception and articulation which we call African metaphysics. What we attempt therefore to do is to carry out some intellectual stock – talking on African metaphysics in these intervening years. Defining the focus of our work will allay the fears of scholars like Paulin Hountondji (1983, 32) who smell a rat any time attempt is made to talk of African philosophy as a static, collective and ideological set of beliefs which lie in the immutable soil of the African people.

In his *African Philosophy Myth and Reality*, Hountondji decried the vogue of perceiving African philosophy as a collection of immutable and definitive believe which are abstracted from history and progress (Hountondji, 1983 33). He says that our ideological definition of

philosophy is what is normally called to use when examining African philosophy. This leads to our seeing principles presenting some degree of coherence and intended to govern the daily practice of a man or people. As Wiredu and Oladipo have noted, ideology can be perceived both in a degenerate sense as “a set of ideas about what form the good society must take” (Oladipo, 1996, 73-74).

We must state that our attempt is not directed at speculating on the ideological roles of philosophy that is immutable, homogenous and hidden in the consciousness of the African people. This is also not to say that the unanimity question is totally baseless. A cultural philosophy must have certain underlying logic and understanding. However, it will be a mark of intellectual philistinism to continue to hold that all Africans conceive reality wof and weft from exactly the same perspective. What we have are similar out-looks which enjoy a higher semblance than with views outside the African sub-region.

Our target is to look at the “score board” to see how we stand with the spate or write-ups on African metaphysics or aspects of African metaphysics. This will enable us to count our gains and losses as we continue in this business of reconstructing African philosophy. This intellectual inventory will enable us to up-date our journey too far intellectually. If we do not take time to knot all our discussions together, we may soon discover to our dismay how irretrievably far fields we have stayed in the wrong direction.

The second challenge is to explain how we can cover the scope of African metaphysics within the ambit of this work. Our view is to x-ray some literature and then see how we can make very useful deductions from our study. This we see as feasible.

### **What is African Metaphysics?**

Metaphysics apart from its traditional and etymological definitions has diverse definitions given differently by different scholars. However, in whatever way it is defined, it should include the necessity for a universal outlook toward reality. The word “metaphysics” which is said to have Greek origin is believed to have been first used in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC by the peripatetic. It was seen as the science of being equal being. Parmenides is often referred to as the real enunciator of western metaphysics before Socrates, Plato and Aristotle gave it a more detailed and rigorous treatment. Down to Immanuel Kant, metaphysics became divided into three major parts, namely: rational theology, rational cosmology and rational psychology. For martin Heidegger, all ontological inquires have missed the mark by not addressing satisfactorily the question of being.

Metaphysics includes both transcends and particularisms of individual existence to focus on the interrelationships of particulars within the universal. It is therefore a philosophical outlook which tries to reach a more comprehensive, all-embracing, totalistic view of reality without neglecting the unique place of individual things in the holism of reality. So, in talking about reality, we are referring to both disparate and homogenous outlooks. It may be an aspect of reality such as properties, relations, individual beings, etc. it could be the examination of being in a generic sense. What is important in each case is to reach general and fundamental assumption that articulate a rationally acceptable world view as far as such sphere of reality is concerned. Michael Loux's universals and particulars: readings and Ontology captures the different areas of concern of metaphysics. A. J. Ayer has succinctly defined metaphysics as that branch of philosophical discourse which deal with the fundamental question about the structure of reality (Ayer, 1975, 23).

The etymological meaning of metaphysics holds that metaphysics is derived from the Greek words Meta-Ta-Physika meaning “after physics” or transcending the physical. Andronicus of Rhodes, the Chronicler of Aristotle's work on physical nature as metaphysics is concerned with issues bordering on the extra-mental, spiritual, abstract, universal or transcendental discipline. This cannot totally be said to be the understanding metaphysics evidences. Like

Immanuel Kant, we see metaphysics as concerning the totality of reality whether God as in rational theology; or man, nature and the universe as in rational cosmology or mind and its ideas as in rational psychology. However, these are not periscope wholly through a priori concepts as some have opined but through the interplay of *apriori* and *aposteriori* concepts or through experience and reason. Metaphysics is a science that seeks ultimate understanding of reality.

Metaphysics is defined by Collingwood (1969, 12) as the science of pure being and as a science which deals with the presuppositions underlying ordinary science. Its procedure is to ignore the differences between the individual thing and that individual and attend only to what they have in common. Metaphysics deals with the nature of existence. Metaphysics being the study of reality as a whole is concerned with the generalization of experience for the purpose of identifying fundamental entities (Harold, 1981, 1). Metaphysics therefore involves a synthesis of all experiences in order to achieve a coherent whole which gives a complete picture of reality. It is in this latter sense that we intend to survey aspects of African metaphysics to see how the disparate metaphysical objects of the African people fit into a coherent metaphysical framework.

African metaphysics should be seen as the African way of perceiving interpreting and making meaning out of interactions, among beings, and reality in general. It is the totality of the African's perception of reality. African metaphysics will therefore include systematization of African perspective as it relation to being and existence. This will embrace the holistic conception of reality with its appurtenance of relations, qualities, characterizations, being and its subtleness universals, particular, ideas, minds, culture, logic, moral, theories and presuppositions.

African metaphysics is holistic and interrelated. The logic in their metaphysics underpins their standard and expectations. This is not to go with the impression that all African communities share the same standards even though the standard is community based (Quine 1953, 12). What we intend to do is to abstract the general orientation of the African in their metaphysics and general views about certain aspects of reality. Here, we adumbrate the African's perception of the following aspect of reality namely: personality, being, substance, and causality, immortality of the soul, witchcraft, appearance and reality.

To preface this examination, we aver that, though we cannot really see African system as being rooted in the analytic tradition of western philosophy, this is not to say that African metaphysics is less rigorous. African metaphysics in the primeval time due to their unwritten nature cannot provide us with a written rigorous specimen of the metaphysics argumentation and analysis, nonetheless, the spirit of rigor is not absent because every view is properly examined and seen to rationally explain a cosmic puzzle before it is accepted. The African had a pragmatic metaphysics, if an idea, an explanation, a conception a belief or folk wisdom worked; it was accepted even though they may not fulfill certain fundamental criteria of objective reality. This notwithstanding, the Africans had far reaching thoughts about their environment, physical and transcendental phenomena with which they are acquainted with. If an idea worked, they still dig deep to unravel through mystical means to ascertain the basic for such phenomenon in their reality scheme. This means that the Africans are aware of the consequence of superficial contemplation of their universe. They thought and tried as deeply as their theoretical and experiential apparatus could aid them. Not having a form of writing must have hindered serious reflective after – thought which ruminating over written experiences can afford. A mere mental acquaintance with reality cannot guarantee tenacity and longevity of ideas. The ideas evaporate and new attempts are made from time to time to recapture the substance of previous experience. But as J. I Omoregbe (1996, 6) has opined, the African store their ideas in form of folklores, folk wisdom, mythologies, traditional proverb, religious world views etc. This enables them to examine more closely their views. However, this

form of preservation cannot be compared with documentation in written form. Their experiences are tested in order to ascertain their truth. These tests provide the Africans with clues as they continue their forays into wilderness of reality. It is thereafter against such a background that African metaphysics should be periscoped. Nothing is accepted without evidence and reason. The reason may commit us to either empirical or rational validation.

We can therefore say that in African metaphysics, empiricism merges with rationalism. The cleavage between empiricism and rationalism, if it exists at all is not a matter for serious epistemological dispute. With this background, we shall examine different concepts in order to show how they feature in African metaphysics.

### **Issues in African Metaphysics**

In African metaphysics, there is no great divide; there is nothing that is totally other; the human world and the spirit world intersect, feeding each other and in the meeting, heating the world up, and by the same token, making it cool. African metaphysics is all encompassing just as the African system of thought in its entirety. It is experienced in African concepts, songs, dances, proverbs, religious and social arena and the various ways of African life. In this case, we shall continue to examine established concepts in metaphysics such as personality, substance, being and immortality of the soul.

### **Personality**

Personality as a concept means all the qualities and attributes that makes an individual a distinct person. It includes one's make-up or constituent parts, character, conduct and personal idiosyncrasies. But personality in the context in which we are viewing it is seen from the angle of what makes-up the human personality in general and the significance of each constituent part. The western conception of a person being a rational, moral, free, linguistic and social entity (Omoregbe, 1996, 36-38) is taken for granted in the African metaphysics. In the western conception of personality, a person is said to be made up of spirit, soul and body. The spirit is usually said to be a higher principle in close link with the divine order, while the soul is the go-between sandwiched between the spirit and the body performing relational, regulative and communicative functions for both the spirit and body. Plato dwelt extensively on this subject. Talking of the rational, spirited and appetitive parts of the soul which appropriately should be seen as the part of the individual rather than the soul. The rational represents the spirit, the spirited, the soul and the appetitive, the body.

But in the African conception of personality, the initial problem is that of reaching a consensual view as to the constituent parts or dimensions of human persons. According to Onwuaniba (1984, 184-186), the Ibos, the Yoruba's of Nigeria and Akans of Ghana have their views of human personality. There exist some differences. In Igbo metaphysics, we have three component parts of human person namely Ahu (body) Mkpuruobi (soul) and Mmuo (spirit). For the Igbo, a man is simultaneously a physical and spiritual entity. However, it is his spirited dimension that is eternal. In the Akan conception of personality, we witness three variants of this conception-Dualist, Trichotomist and "Pentachotomist" positions. For instance, Wiredu holds a pentachotomist view instantiated by five parts of the human personality. We have the Nipadua (body), the okra (soul) Sunsum (Spirit), Notro (character from father), Mogyia (character from mother).

Kwame Gyekye (1984, 200ff) on his part has noted that Akan conception of a person is thoroughly dualistic, not tripartite. With this, we have seen the Igbo Trichotomistic view, the Pentachotomistic view of Wiredu and the dualistic view of Kwame Gyekye. For Gyekye it is soul and body, that is Okra and Nipadua respectively. The truth here is that the seeming disagreement as seen above is more apparent than real. The views are collectively correct, that is, Wiredu's Pentachotomistic view, Ibo trichotomic view and Gyekye's dualistic view. The problem lies in the need for further clarification and elucidation. To understand the concept of a person, we have what we call "threefold categorical objectification." The first level is the



residual categorical objectification which has to do with the double aspect conception. Secondly, we have the middle ranged categorical objectification and finally, the bloated categorical objectification. The point is that all these views are correct African perspectives on theory of human personality. (The residual categorical merely simplifies and reduces the conception to their two main board categorization, that is body (material) and spirit (immaterial). The tripartite conception stresses the need to demarcate the spiritual elements into their functional cleavages. The spirit is functionally different from the soul though both are immaterial. The spiritual gets information directly from the creator and transmits the same to the soul which in turn affects the body. On the reverse side, the body first affects the soul, and then the spirit. All these happen in a matter of seconds. But in man's fallen state, the soul and the spirit are subject simultaneously to the caprice and control of the body. The spirit of a rejuvenated man rejects the directive from the body via the soul. The third and last categorization is the bloated categorical objectification. This view clearly objectifies the African man's basis for interpreting a man's personality. I see man as earthly, that is, body and as biological, that is, having input from parents. Man is a product of his maternal and paternal lineage roots. This explains why in most African communities, a man has a right to seek for a place of abode both in his paternal and maternal families. He is not regarded as a stranger in any of these places.

An African metaphysics would not subscribe to the Humean and Russellian's view that there is no continuing self-identity. Or, as William James has said that man is a stream of consciousness, for the African, man has a continuing self-identity. This, the Igbos call "Mmuo", that is, spirit. The 'chi' is the destiny which can change depending on a number of factors like handwork, spiritual fortification etc. divine intervention can change a person's 'chi' but his spirit (Mmuo) cannot be changed – it continues as an identical being throughout existence. So, in the Igbo metaphysics of personality, a man's essence is his 'mmuo' (spirit) which continues to exist even after physical death. Existence of human personality is dual, earthly existence and spiritual (eternal) existence. The body exists temporarily on earth while the spirit continues to exist after death.

We have fairly elaborated on the African conception of a person because it is the central nut that holds other metaphysical world views together. Therefore, eclectically, African conception of personality is multidimensional and yet streamlinable into a simplified dualistic view of human personality. The African conception of personality therefore embraces and transcends the western conception.

### **Being**

Being is a generic term which represents all existing things. The Africans conceive everything as being. There is nothing that exists that is taken lightly. The belief is that there is reason for whatever is. Though man may not immediately know why a thing is created, but they all serve a purpose. Being is therefore conceived as the whole range of, existent things. The Africans have a hierarchy of being with god at the apex followed by the ancestors, then, we have totems or emblems of hereditary relationship followed by other spirits that are manipulated in the sorcery, witchcraft or magic of certain ends. These are represented at times as charms and amulets, then, we have man and finally, animal and plants as occupying the lowest level (Opoku, 1978, 9-10).

There is the argument in some quarters that this hierarchy is not rigid. Because events can cause a hitherto insignificant god or divinity to become so powerful that it assumes a central place of reverence in the life of the community more than the ancestors. The ancestors are revered because it is held that they are always better disposed to the good of living. But other gods or divinities are highly capricious and unpredictable. Plants and animals can be habited by powerful forces which make them to become very prominent in the spiritual rating of the society. This conception of being from the point of view of force is pervasive in African

conception of being. This may have prompted Tempels to concentrate his attention on this aspect to the neglect of other elements involved in explaining the concept of being. Henri Maurier in a similar vein has suggested the vitalist framework as most appropriate in understanding the African conception of being. Vitalist here is seen in the sense of understanding being in terms of fore and interrelationship among these forces or beings (Omoregbe, 1995, 35).

The above picture will give the impression of a disordered universe of perennial strife among the forces. Though there is, but this strife is controlled and regulated by the unseen hand of the creator. The African believe that whatever happens cannot go unnoticed by the omnipresent eyes of the creator. God being at the apex of the hierarchy of beings oversees and regulates what goes on in the universe. God's supreme position is made clear in the African names of God. The Igbo for instance call God Okaka-Amasi-Amasi and Chukwuokike meaning "One who is not fully known, and the creator of the universe". The Yorubas call Him Olodumare meaning the Almighty God while the Akan people of Ghana call Him Onyame which means the Supreme Being (Opoku, 1978, 34-35). In other words, God alone is full actuality and infinite. Other beings are finite and limited. For the Africans, beings form an intricate nexus of reality. Reality is seen both particularistically and universalistically. But of ultimate importance to the Africans is how things are holistically or the interconnections that exist among particular beings.

### **Substance**

The notion of substance in the African conception is closely related to the concepts of being and personality. Unlike western conception of substance where substance is seen as a substratum that sustains fleeting appearance or seen as the sum of all qualities or seen as mere idea in the mind As in the case of Berkeley, the Africans see substance as the quality of beingness which could be seen, felt or divined through oracular means. What constitute substances is the evidences that a thing exist whether seen or unseen by the physical eyes. The African does not go into the Berkeleyan and Lockean controversy of the unknown. Somewhat, the idea in the mind and the totality of qualities. The Africans for instances do not see spirits but they believe they exist, knowing their qualities is immaterial. What is important is that there is ample evidence that the activities of these spirits affect them favorably or adversely. However, there is the belief that every being has its distinctive qualities whether perceived or not.

### **Causality**

For the Africans, the concept of causality is a very central issue. The African life is permeated by the understanding that nothing happens without a cause. The question that is asked is why must a particular event happen to a particular person, at a particular place and in a given time? This means that the concept of chance does not have a place in the African metaphysics. What we call chance is our ignorance of the series of actions and reactions that have given rise to a given event. The corollary of this view is to hold that the African man's world is deterministically ordered through and through. This is not true. The African cause and effect nexus still permits the exercise of free-will. When a man is faced with alternative options, he is free to choose to carry out one or the other. However, in certain cases, the individual may find himself compelled by circumstances beyond his control to choose one of the alternative options.

Again, we can say that chance, determinism and freewill when properly understood can be seen as different sides of the same coin. What we call chance is what happens accidentally but yet traceable to a cause and a reason. What we call a determined event is the aftermath of a freely committed act which has consequently led to a determined cause and effect. It is like free will opens the door of actions and then determinism takes its turn. Man is free therefore to some extent and yet limited by his community. The African reality scheme is said to be both individualistic and communitarian. (Maurier Qtd in Omoregbe, 1985, 34-35). He is free to go

against the wishes of the community but with the accompanying sanctions. Through personal initiative, the individual can exercise his freedom without coming into conflict with the collective will of the community.

The African is not troubled about the Humean gnosological intricacies of necessary conditions for causality namely, priority in time, constant conjunction, contiguity in time and space and necessary connection. Neither do the Africans bother themselves about the Cartesian problem of interactionism. It is rather taken for granted that the body and the spirit though having different natures interact. As Sogolo has aptly put it, "one of the puzzles that face those seeking to understand traditional African belief system is how, in the explanation of observable events, disembodied or non-extended entities (spirits), witches, ghosts, gods etc. existing beyond the confines of space could possibly be invoked as causes. This problem arises mainly due to the widespread mechanistic view of causality where --- necessary connection is assumed to exist between the cause and effect, along Humean argument" (Sogolo, 1993, 103-104). Sogolo further maintains that the conception of causality today is so loose and varied in meaning that what counts as a causal explanation of an event would depend on factors such as the nature of the event to be explained, our interest in the event, whether the event has one cause or a multiplicity of necessary causes, whether, then the causes are more than one, they can be compatibly invoked and finally whether some of the causes are sufficient such that the other are unnecessary and superfluous (1993, 104). With the foregoing, it becomes clear that there are different conceptions that could constitute causal explanation. We may not need to examine the material, formal, efficient and final causes (as Aristotle posited) in every case of causal explanation. The Africans look at cause and effect from the point of view of imaginable range of possibilities or they resort to oracles for the final verdict.

### **Immortality of the soul**

The question of immortality of the souls is not a controversial issue in African reality scheme. It is taken as a truism. The soul of a man is immortal. It continues to exist after the dissolution of the body. its abode is determined by how well it lived here. If a soul lived well, it will live in a special place of peace but if it lived badly, it may be barred from having a resting place; it may continue to roam the earth. However, all spirits are said to have direct contact with the physical earth. This is why ancestral spirits are sacrificed to in the understanding that they come to eat of the sacrifices. This shows that the Christian concept of eternal separation between the living and the dead is not agreeable to the African world view. The concept of heaven and hell is not well delineated in the African conception.

The concept of immortality is closely linked with re-incarnation. For the Africans, spirits are reincarnated. Both good and bad spirits. The good spirit are welcomed while the bad spirits called Abiku, Ogbanje, Ndem are either exercised or rejected. The Africans through divination or other exoteric means claim to be capable of detecting which spirit has returned. The question at this point is, does a human person have two spirits – one given by the creator and the other represented by the incarnating spirit? The truth is that unregenerate man can be inhabited by more than one spirit because the spirit of God in him is inactive, but, at regeneration the spirit of God is quickened and the evil spirits lose their hold on the person's personality. A bad spirit may manifest as the spirit of witchcraft, sorcery or necromancy.

### **Witchcraft**

This leads us to the consideration of the notion of witchcraft in African metaphysics. Witchcraft is the spiritual skill of being able to carry on certain inimical activities in disembodied form. This could include sucking of blood, eating, holding of meetings, causing accident or inflicting pains or diseases. In Africa, there abound many proven cases of the activity of witches and wizards. This shows us that African experience surpasses the narrow causal explanatory framework of western philosophy. The scientific model is therefore not absolute. There is the method of extra sensory perception (ESP) which can be used by those so

endowed to understand the more complicated causal framework in which African experience fits. Witchcraft is a real phenomenon. The study of spiritism, occultism, mysticism, and cybernetics reveal that man is a carrier of great current of waves which can be projected to bring about certain desired ends however, with some limitations.

### Conclusion

We have therefore assumed that all Africans are bound to have more in common than with people of other continents. We have used Nigeria and Ghana as representative cultures in this study. We have attempted understanding the basis of African traditional metaphysics which has to do with 'Being' and its ontological appurtenances like personality, substance, etc., and to see how they differ from the western conception of being. We examined the vital element of African traditional metaphysics and came to the conclusion that African traditional metaphysics includes and transcends the western explanatory indices. While the west limit their enquiry to experience and reason, the African go beyond that to employ extra empirical and extra-ratiocinative means often called extra-sensory perception (ESP). This study leaves more room for studies in African metaphysics such as African ontology and its amputances and the Igala thought on metaphysics and others, and believes that this study is not exhaustive and that more studies are called for.

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## Teachers' Retention: A Tool For Promoting Quality and Functional Education In Nigeria

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**Abstract:** Maintaining quality and functional education is the function of teachers since they occupy the centre position in teaching and learning. These teachers like any other group of workers want to enjoy reasonable comfort with their families; and a good standard of living on retirement. This paper, among other things therefore state reasons why teachers leave the teaching profession and provides uncompromising basis recommendation in teachers' retention towards enhancing quality and functional education in Nigeria. Some of these recommendations are: improved special salary scale; conducive teaching and learning environment; job security; professional development programmes; welfare packages; social responsibility and societal recognition; involvement of teachers in decision making among others. It concludes that for teachers to effectively discharge duties. For effective and efficient maintenance of quality and functional education in Nigeria, all the recommendations of this paper for teacher's retention must be sincerely and faithfully adhered to.

**Key words:** Teachers, Retention, Quality, Promoting, Functional Education.

### Introduction

Teaching is both vital and strategic profession in the course of national development. It will be very difficult to produce professionals that will manage other sectors of the economy without adequate and qualified teachers. In Nigeria, teaching is reluctantly chosen as a profession, and in fact, the society looks at teachers as those that are unfortunate in life. This may be because government has little concern for the welfare of teachers. Education is given through teaching and learning, and teachers are central in the teaching situation (Abiodun, 2017). Ukeje (2018), without teachers, teaching and learning would not succeed. Hirsh and Emerick, (2016) confirms that, whatsoever a government, and organization or an individual put in place, without a teacher at the centre, there cannot be effective formal education.

Teaching gave birth to all other professions, such as Medicine, Engineering, Accounting, and Law, just to mention but a few. It is a fact that children would not want their mother to leave the home without intention of coming back again. That has not been the case in teaching profession, teachers who are leaders of other professions leave the teaching profession because of glaring unfavorable conditions of service forcing them out of teaching to seek for better jobs elsewhere without any hope of coming back.

Moreover, as that popular saying goes; to whom much is expected much must be given. Since the society expects much from teachers, therefore much must be given to them, in order to stay on their job, meet the much expectation of quality and functional education of the society. Today, society is shifting the problems of education sector on the helpless teachers. The problems of the sector that are mostly shifted directly on teachers include but not limited to the followings: poor student academic achievement, indiscipline, cultism, examination malpractice, high incidence of student dropout, insufficient instructional materials and congested classrooms poor salaries, accommodations, poor recognition and low funding of the sectors (Rafindadi, 2014).

As found out by Idakwoji (2014), a significant percent of the society even tends to see the innocent teachers as being responsible for most of those problems of education in Nigeria. This leads to reducing them to society weeping dogs regarding whatever goes wrong with the education of children. The helpless teachers have decided to rise and minimize their changes in the profession. Some of the measures they put in place as stated by Idokwoji (2014) include, industrial action to press home their demands, better working environment and or availability of required teaching and learning materials and other improved conditions of service. The failure of the appropriate authority to recognize teachers' request have resulted in quitting the profession, especially by the most qualified and experienced ones. In view of the above, measures or steps needed to be taken on order to retain teachers for improve quality and functional education in Nigeria.

### **Teachers' Retention**

Teachers' retention is the ability to keep teachers in service, to function effectively without having any thought of living their job for other job in the society, outside the teaching job. Baikie (2018) viewed teacher retention as an obligation to continue to work as a teacher in the class room or remain a teacher for life, and to handle teaching with all passion, without distraction and discouragement of any kinds. Hirsh and Emerick (2016) argued that teacher retention is a process in which the teachers are encouraged to remain within the teaching profession, to promote qualitative and functional education in Nigeria. In other words, the abilities to keep a teacher in service, through the provision of welfare, incentives, special salary scale, good condition of service fascinating working/teacher friendly environment, promote the stay of a teacher on their jobs, without immediately looking for other jobs and thereby promote teachers' retention.

### **Quality Education**

Quality education refers to educational system that is based on a curriculum relevant, or educational programme who it curriculum is relevant to it learner, the society, gender sensitivities, gender friendly, and it is constantly reviewed, reformed, or even changed with the changing circumstances. Isyaku, (2017), stated that it is a situation where schools are provided with adequate and quality teachers and put all necessary measures in to make them stay on teaching profession and to promote quality and functional education.

### **Functional Education**

A functional education is any educational programme that is capable of producing a positive output in any learner in any nation and functional education provides learners with knowledge on problem solving skills and scientific attitudes as priority for self-reliance in a world full of competition that characterizes survival of the fittest (Abiodun, 2017). Ali (2010) averted that a nation with functional education will ensure the availability of food for people, creation of jobs, provision of service that are goal oriented for sustainable development for its citizens. Idowu (2014), defined functional education as the total process of bringing up individuals to develop their potentials to the fullest and consequently be able to contribute maximally to the development of the society. In recognition of the vital role that functional education plays, the Federal Republic of Nigeria (2012) affirms that there is need for functional education at least for the promotion of a progressive, and a united Nigeria. to this end, school programmes should be relevant, practical and comprehensive, while interest and ability should determine the individual direction in education for acquisition of appropriate skills and development of mental, physical and social abilities and competencies. Therefore, to achieve this functional education, teachers' retention cannot be compromised.

### **Retention Strategies Theories**

Scholl (2018), Vroom Expectancy Theory provides some guidance for retaining teachers and employees. These are: valence, expectancy and instrumentality. These components work together to establish a motivational force.

- a. Valence is the degree to which the rewards offered by an organization align with the needs employees seek to fulfill. High valence indicates that the needs of teachers/employees are aligned well with the rewards system an organization offers. Conversely, low valence is a poor alignment of needs with the reward and can lead to low job satisfactions and thereby increase turnover and decrease retention. Valence is therefore the expected satisfaction a person receives from a particular outcome (Remond, 2018). The theory implies that teachers have certain needs to meet, and that they will be willing to stay on the job if the reward system (salary and other benefits) of the education sector are able to meet their needs, if otherwise employers of teachers will not be able to retain their teachers.
- b. Expectancy has several factors that can lead to job satisfaction and high retention rates in an organization. Examples are ability and interest, lack of ability and interest will decrease a person's expectancy (Scholl, 2018). Increasing expectancy in an organization can be done by management discovering what resources supervision and training employees need to make them to be more confident in their abilities (Redmond, 2010). From the above theory of expectancy, teachers need to have interest on teaching before the issue of retention will surface. A teacher that does not have interest on teaching cannot be retained in the teaching profession. Also, in order to enhance the ability of teachers, adequate training, supervision and resources have to be put in place by their employers. If this is done, retention of qualified teachers will be possible.
- c. Instrumentality is the perception of employee whether they will actually get what they desired even if it has been promised by the manager. Increasing instrumentality within an organization will be part of implementing an effective reward system for attainment of specific goals and accomplishment. The variables affecting instrumentality are trust in leaders' control policies (Scholl, 2018). The instrumentalist theory of retention denotes here is that the employer of the teachers must be trustworthy of fulfilling all their promises and abide by the policies of the educational system. If teachers could be this quality in their employers retention of quality teachers will not be difficult (Bello and Adebayo, 2014).

### **Basic Reasons Why Teachers Leave the Jobs**

The act of teaching ordinarily brings satisfaction to teachers and the pupils, this satisfaction is being eroded over time with incessant strikes, lockout, non – payment of salaries and allowances, compulsory and untimely retirement, non – promotion and stagnation (Bello and Adebayo, 2014). Again, one may notice that the rate at which teachers leave teaching profession for other profession is alarming. However, in the research work of Ingersoll (2018), teachers themselves say job dissatisfaction in such that they do not benefit what other people in other professions benefit. According to them, they do not have special allowance, interesting salary packages, welfare packages, but instead their classrooms are congested, offices are factually empty of office equipment, classrooms are dilapidated, instructional materials (real and model) are in shortage or unavailable, promotion is slow and at times untimely and, compulsory retirement.

Similarly, investigation by Redmond, (2018), reveals that most times, teachers leave when they encounter an environment that lacks essential professional supports. These they said include: job dissatisfaction, poor working condition, and salary, inadequate support from parents, administration, colleagues and the public; discipline, management and attendance problems; increase in class size, additional workload, poor motivation of students and lack of space for teachers to participate in key decisions affecting the school. Furthermore, there is lack of induction and monitoring programme for new and experienced teachers, lack of room for professional development especially for the teachers in rural areas.

### **Basic Strategies in Retaining Teachers towards Enhancing Qualitative and Functional Education in Nigeria**

Manpower is the most important resource of any organization. They supply talent, skills,

knowledge and experience to achieve the organization's objectives. In order for an organization to survive and prosper, it must be able to attract, develop, reward adequate and retain human resource. The author of this paper hereby state some strategies needed to retain teachers in our school, and they include but not limited to the followings:

- a. **Prompt payment of teachers' salary:** It is disheartening but very common in Nigeria to hear that government and its agencies, proprietors/proprietress of schools are owing teachers six or seven month salaries while people in other professions get their salaries as at when due. For teachers to remain in teaching profession there must be adequate provisions for the timely payment of their salaries (Ingersoll, 2018).
- b. **Special salary scale:** There should be a special salary package above that of all other professions for teachers, as teaching is obviously the mother of all professions. Teachers are found often complaining that: "the take home salary cannot take me home; the salary cannot make ends meet; the salary does not commensurate my qualification and work load; my colleagues in other sectors are earning better and higher" (Abiodun, 2017).
- c. **Good welfare packages for teachers:** According to Baikie (2018), a great degree of disaffection among teachers arises when they compare themselves with other professional who enjoy greater prestige and better socio – economic status. Better scheme car loans, soft loans, wardrobe and dressing allowances go a long way to make teachers stay in the job.
- d. **Conducive teaching and learning environment:** As Gyuse (2019) points out that salary is relative term and may not necessarily be a major determinant why teachers may stay or leave teaching. There are other factors than good salary which may encourage teachers to stay in their job. Conducive teaching and learning environment is one of such factors which include good and well ventilated classroom, well equipped laboratories, well equipped libraries, with internet services, air conditioned staff rooms, good manageable workloads, normal class size, availability and usability of instructional materials etc. All these could make a teacher stay on their job, if provided.
- e. **Training and professional development programme:** Individual aspires to attain a high social and economic status in any chosen career especially in the Nigerian context. The tendency to enter into a profession and to stay in that profession will certainly depend on how individual's ambitions and aspirations are realized. When the attainment of an individual ambition and aspirations are certain, there is a better chance to stay in that profession as affirmed by Baikie, (2018). Teachers should be given much more opportunity for professional development to build themselves in their profession with higher knowledge and skills.
- f. **Job security:** The usual practice in the northern region of Nigeria, whereby some teachers will be employed on either part – time or contract basis should be discouraged, if teachers that are qualified, experience and hardworking should be retained. Experience has proven that part – time and contract teacher/staff are always seeking for better opportunities where their job will be secured (Abiodun, 2017).
- g. **Attractive condition of service:** Away from special salary packages for teachers, other fringe benefits like, free medical facilities (for staff/teachers and their family members), educational supports to teachers' children/wards, overtime allowances for extra hours, transfers allowances in lieu of 28 days; timely promotion, good pension after retirement etc, which other professions like medicine, law, engineering etc enjoy and which made people in those professions to stay in their jobs should be extended to teaching profession.
- h. **Involvement of teachers in decision making:** Steinke and Putman (2017), highlights in their research work that teachers feel satisfied when they are included in the decision making at both local and national levels. Thus, if teachers are allowed to participate in policy formulation and decision making in education sector, it will enhance their job satisfaction and will remain in the job.



- I. **Good human relation:** If there is a cordial relationship between school administrators and teachers and between the teachers and school community, in such a way that they see themselves as partners in progress, not like boss and servant relationship. Teachers will love to remain in the job.
- j. **Manageable workload:** In the words of Billingsley (2018), if teachers are assigned with reasonable number of students, 40 pupils per teacher, this will definitely make them love teaching. But in a situation where teachers are faced with 150 to 200 pupils in a class, they will become bored and will be struggling for a way out of the teaching profession. There is also other situation whereby teachers are made to teach more classes and subjects due to inadequate numbers of qualified teacher in a particular subject which causes high workload, and may lead to teacher wanting out of the teaching job for other job (Ezeliola, 2014).

### **Conclusion**

Despite our belief in functional and quality education in Nigeria, the government and its agencies are still providing low quality education from elementary to tertiary levels. This may be because of the unwillingness of the government to improve condition of service of teachers. However, the government should understand that teachers are primarily attracted teaching by intrinsic motivation, but extrinsic factor also play a major role in retaining them, if really the priority of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is on quality and functional education, then all the basic strategies towards enhancing education, discussed in this paper will be observed.

### **Recommendations**

In line with the strategies pointed out in this paper towards teacher's retention discussed by the author of this article, the following recommendations will be relevant in retaining qualified teachers in Nigeria schools.

1. In order to raise the status of the teaching profession, there should be the provision of the social security and facilities for the development of the profession and the wellbeing of teachers at all level of the education.
2. Teaching should not serve as dumping ground for other professions. And only those that are qualified professionally should be allowed to engage in teaching. In other word, those that did not have teaching qualification should not be permitted to teach. This will make the qualified teachers to love their profession and the possibilities of retaining them will be very high.
3. The practice of employing young and vibrant teachers as contract staff in Nigerian schools should be stopped.
4. Teachers should be included in the decision making process for all education programme, Ministry and communities on matters that affect them.
5. The government and its agencies should make policies that will promote teachers' recognition in Nigeria.
6. There should be an increased welfare packages for the teachers to include allowance, chalkboard allowance, work load allowance, free medical care for their families, subsidize school fees for their children, house loan, car loan and more. These will make teaching attractive and teachers will definitely remain on their job.
7. Government, it agencies, non – governmental agencies, philanthropists should come to the aid of teachers in providing a conducive environment such as good classroom, modern offices, befitting staff quarters, adequate teaching and learning materials and more for effective teaching and learning to take place. If all is done teachers will not want to leave teaching for other professions since they are enjoying what other professionals are enjoying.

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# A Comparative Study of Rawls' and Nozick's Concept of Justice

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this paper is to compare the theories of Rawls and Nozick on Social Justice with a view to showing that normative and first-order judgments are still possible in political philosophy despite the dominance of analytic philosophy and logical positivism in the 20th and 21st century philosophy. Social justice is: 'Who ought to get what?' The word 'ought' should be noticed because no matter how the answers to this question are wrapped up in a scientific outlook and complex mathematical formulations, the ethical component of this socio-political problem cannot be made to disappear. The basic aim of this paper therefore is that of establishing the potency and urgency of the idea of social justice in the face of the current libertarian and capitalist order. The basic question is: How can social justice be achieved in the present order? Following the above, it is the contention of the present engagement that Rawls' discussion of social justice can be seen as a revolt against the tradition of the practice of social justice of which the entitlement theory is a typical and prominent cotemporary representative of the question of justice and this makes Rawls' discourse is more abiding than that of Nozick despite their seeming points of convergence.

**Keywords:** Political Philosophy, social justice, human society, libertarianism and capitalism

## Introduction

One of the puzzling facts of life has been the attitude of religion to the poor. Both Christianity and Islam, as world religions, have alms-giving as one of the cardinal virtues of their faiths. At a point Jesus talks about the poor 'always' being in our midst. The use of the adverb of frequency - 'always' here suggests that there isn't much we will be able to do about ending the continued existence of the poor in our midst. In Islam the mentality is even stronger. The idea of 'sadaqat' (alms-giving) which is so pivotal in Islam is a clear indication of this fact. In the Northern part of this country one will observe that begging is almost like an occupation. It is what some people do for a living and it thrives because the dominant religion in the region allows it. The rich must give alms as a religious duty and the poor must be there to receive these alms as a religious obligation. In this kind of setting, talks about social justice and the elimination of poverty will obviously be superfluous. The reason is apparent enough- to do this is tantamount to infringing on religious ordinances. This disposition seems to favour the ideas that the concept of social justice is a mirage.

The fact that the moral question that social justice raises affects everybody in society makes it an imperative that attracts attention despite the prevalent religious attitude described above. The debates on the issue have generally been divided between the rightists and the leftists. Both praise their own form of society while at the same time they condemn their counterpart as unethical. This is quite understandable because the rightists stress the importance of liberty or freedom, and point out that no socialist country on earth nowadays respects the full rights of their citizens. The leftists, in turn, remind the rightists that their so-called liberties are, in most cases, merely formal. This tension demands a balanced and reasonable solution. The urgency of finding a reasonable solution to this problem and one of the deepest conflicts of mankind prompts this research. In the 1970s, two scholars made their names known by their writings on the topic. They are John Rawls and Robert Nozick. The paper is devoted to their different and competing theories. The purpose of the study is to compare the theories of Rawls and Nozick

on Social Justice with a view to showing that normative and first-order judgments are still possible in political philosophy despite the dominance of analytic philosophy and logical positivism in the 20th and 21st century philosophy.

### **Rawls Theory of Social Justice**

Rawls' political theory of social justice is commonly called 'justice as fairness', the name derives its origin from the fact that all final agreements on distributive principles are made in a situation which is fair to everybody who is a party to the agreement. However, a basic understanding of the need and of the structure of Rawls' moral theory is a necessary key to his political theory.

The moral force in this regard can be captured in two basic sentences: (1) If a society is to function, there must be a relatively stable scheme of basic structure; (2) But this scheme must not be set up by using either force or appeal to any allegedly objective or metaphysical moral truths. In his opinion, a moral theory is the study of the structures or the possible structural relations of our fundamental moral conceptions like right, the good, and moral worth. Hence, the main purport of moral theory is: "a comparative study of moral conceptions. And each person work towards choosing a coherent set of moral postulates. But to be sure, it is practically difficult for a person to be certain that he has actually reached such a perfect equilibrium state.

If my understanding of Rawls above is correct, it will not be out of place to hold that Norman Daniels has expounded the method of wide reflective equilibrium wrongly. According to Daniels, a wide reflective equilibrium has three parts: (a) a set of considered moral judgments, (b) a set of moral principles, (c) a set of background theories. In achieving a wide reflective equilibrium, we do not, Daniels continues, just strive for a good fit between (a) and (b). This sort of equilibrium is only a narrow reflective equilibrium. Instead (c) is needed to assess the strength and weaknesses of (b). This self imposed limitation on the kind of support given to a set of moral principles is named by Daniels the independence constraint. The background theories that Rawls has used to justify his two principles of justice are at least two. (1) A theory of the persons and (2) a theory of the rule of morality in society.<sup>2</sup>

Under Daniels' interpretation, Rawls is actually attempting a very profound undertaking, viz to derive notions like rights, entitlements, which usually appear at levels (a) and (b), from entirely different notions that appear in the theory of persons and in the theory of the role of morality in society. This is successful for two reasons. Rawls by so doing has achieved a reductive task in moral philosophy and he has also propounded a real solution to the problem of conflicting moral principles.

#### **a. Ideals and the Original Position**

The strength of Rawls over Daniels subsists in his ideas of 'the ideal of the person'. The potency of this point resides in the fact that a resolution of conflicting moral principles can only be possible when those choosing from a range of moral principles are properly understood as persons. Only at this point can their preferences be predictable and this is of great value.

For Rawls this conception of the person has to be sufficiently informative and relevant, this common political conception of the person is an empirical matter, these ideal must be one which is accepted by the people in the political aspect, this concept of the person must not derive from human rationality alone; Based on these, Rawls avers that there is a common political conception of the person and of society in constitutional democratic states. This resides in the act that, society as a system of fair social cooperation between free and equal persons. In these kind of societies, principles for the actualization of justice has to be chosen.<sup>3</sup>

The analytic construction which Rawls has used to choose the principles of justice is called the original position.<sup>4</sup>This position is 'a device of representation' which Rawls adopted as far back



as 1963. Since in this light, if the choice of the parties in the original position has any justificatory force on the selection of principles of justice, it is derived not from this artificial construction per se but from the common fundamental political belief or set of ideals of the people living in democratic states.

In summary therefore, the binding power of the hypothetical construction is a direct result of the common political ideals. Real people and governments in democratic states would like to or ought to follow whatever choices are selected. As such, they have to submit to the principles of majority rule directly and thereby have to submit to these ideals indirectly. Thus, common political ideals are the ultimate justification of the whole project. In view of this striking feature, Rawls classifies his political theory as an 'ideal-based' or a 'conception-based view.

#### **b. The Theory of Primary Goods and the Two Principles**

With the above in place, Rawls begins to construct a set of general social conditions and goods in a democratic society which can serve as 'all-purpose means normally necessary for developing and exercising them. This collection of generally needed goods is called the primary goods. One also notices that the set of primary goods is selected only to fit the needs of those three interests of a moral person, it is not set up after an empirical survey of the goods that are needed to satisfy every want of the people living in a democratic states.<sup>5</sup>

The set of primary goods thus identified can be classified into the following items: the basic liberties, freedom of movement and choice of occupation, powers and positions, income and wealth, the social basis of self-respect which enable us to regard their own determinate conception of the good as worthy. The two principles accompanying these are: each person has an equal right to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic liberties which is compatible with a similar scheme of liberties for all. Secondly, social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions. First, they must be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality for opportunity; and secondly, they must be to the greatest benefit of least advantaged members of society (the difference principle). These principles are prior because they guarantee the security of the basic liberties for every individual so that no utility calculations can override them<sup>6</sup>This constitutes the care of Rawls' understanding of justice for Nozick. It must guarantee equality of opportunity and must be of advantage to less privileged society. This is what makes justice fair.

#### **Nozick's Concept of Social Justice**

In this section, we consider Nozick's claim that a more extensive state is justified, become necessary (or the best instrument) to achieve distributive justice. The term 'distributive justice' is not a neutral one. Hearing the term 'distribution,' most people presume that something or mechanism uses some principle or criterion to give out a supply of things. Into this process of distributing shares some error may have crept. So it is an open question, at least, whether redistribution should take place; whether we should do again what has already been done once, though poorly. However, we are not in the position of children who have been given portions of pie by someone who now makes last minute adjustments to rectify careless cutting. There is no central distribution, no person or group entitled to control all the resources, jointly deciding how they are to be doled out. What each person gets, he gets from others who give to him in exchange for something, or as a gift. In a free society, diverse persons control different resources, and new holdings arise out of the voluntary exchanges and actions of persons. There is no more a distributing or distribution of shares than there is a distributing of mates in a society in which persons choose whom they shall marry. The total result is the product of many individual decisions which the different individuals involved are entitled to make.

Some uses of the term 'distribution,' it is true, do not imply a previous distributing appropriately judged by some criterion (for example, 'probability distribution'); nevertheless, despite the title of this chapter, it would be best to use a terminology that clearly is neutral. We shall speak of people's holdings; a principle of justice in holdings describes (part of) what justice tells us (requires) about holdings.

### Justice as Entitlement

The subject of justice in holdings consists of three major topics. The first is the *original acquisition of holdings*, the appropriation of unheld things. This includes the issues of how unheld things may come to be held, the process, or processes, by which unheld things may come to be held, the things that may come to be held by these processes, the extent of what comes to be held by a particular process, and so on.<sup>7</sup> We shall refer to the complicated truth about this topic, which we shall not formulate here, as the principle of justice in acquisition. The second topic concerns the *transfer of holdings* from one person to another.<sup>8</sup> By what processes may a person transfer holdings to another? How may a person acquire a holding from another who holds it? Under this topic come general descriptions of voluntary exchange, and gift and (on the other hand) fraud, as well as reference to particular conventional details fixed upon in a given society. The complicated truth about this subject (with placeholders for conventional details) we shall call the principle of justice in transfer. (And we shall suppose it also includes principles governing how a person may divest himself of a holding, passing it into an unheld state.)

If the world were wholly just, the following inductive definition would exhaustively cover the subject of justice in holdings: (i) A person who acquires a holding in accordance with the principle of justice in acquisition is entitled to that holding; (ii) A person who acquires a holding in accordance with the principle of justice in transfer, from someone else entitled to the holding, is entitled to the holding; (iii) No one is entitled to a holding except by (repeated) applications of i and ii.

The complete principle of distributive justice would say simply that a distribution is just if everyone is entitled to the holdings they possess under the distribution. A distribution is just if it arises from another just distribution by legitimate means. The legitimate means of moving from one distribution to another are specified by the principle of justice in transfer. The basis for all these is Locke's theory of acquisition<sup>9</sup>.

### Points of Convergence and Difference between both Positions

There are basically very minimal points of arrival between both positions on social justice. For this reason, the emphasis here will be on their points of difference. Under the current analysis of the two philosophers, their differences might be traced simply to their different attitudes towards the issue of objective ethics: Nozick has made use of the notion of moral truth freely; but Rawls believes that this move is both problematic and unnecessary for a theory of justice. For one thing, Rawls seems to have adopted some form of objective ethics also. In "Kantian Constructivism in Moral Theory", Rawls repeatedly stresses that his theory endorses objectivity in a Kantian sense.<sup>10</sup> Whether it is really Kantian or not, isn't the concern here. What is the concern is to argue is that the senses of objectivity in Rawls' and Nozick's theory are not the same. Moreover, Rawls' sense of objectivity does not have to be involved in either asserting or denying the existence of moral truths in the realist sense; which is highly problematic.

If the argument above is correct, then a deep source of their differences has now appeared: in fact, Nozick's and Rawls' theories have completely different aims. If Rawls is understood aright, he is actually trying to strive for a working agreement on the question of social justice, regardless of whether that agreement corresponds to the external objective moral order, if there is one. Nozick, on the other hand, tries to investigate what we ought to do and ought not to do under the correct moral order which he has partly assumed and described. In this light, we can now understand easily why Nozick pronounces his entitlement theory "the correct theory of justice": if the entitlement theory can reveal the external moral order which is the only correct one, logically speaking this theory is the correct theory. In contrast to Nozick, Rawls thinks of himself as addressing a "practical problem" rather than an "epistemological problem." Hence a "workable public agreement" is all that is needed.

It will be apparent by now that there is no simple solution to the question: Do Nozick's and Rawls's theories conflict with each other? It all depends on the level of the comparison. At the most general level, one thinks that they are simply attempting different projects although they have a common area of concern: how should property be allocated? This might sound very Kuhnian. But if this is the case, can we compare them in certain aspects so as to show that one is superior to the other? The answer to this question is a positive one. Nozick's theory is very controversial, because it could justify very unique distributions of property that may not respect what people deserve, nor what they need, nor give any kind of priority to people who are worse off. If he is right, redistribution cannot be justified except to rectify a previous injustice.

Rawls challenges Nozick's defence of property rights. Much of what people own is the result of people's social position and natural talents, both of which are morally arbitrary. Therefore, any inequalities in ownership are unjust. Furthermore, what rights people have to property can't be decided before deciding on the principles of justice. People don't have a right to earnings their talents bring them, only to that share which they keep according to the principles of distributive justice.

Nozick responds that each person's talent and ability belong to them. They therefore have a right to keep (or do whatever they want with) whatever these talents and abilities gain for them. To forcibly redistribute what they earn is to fail to respect their autonomy.

But even if people own themselves, we can argue that this doesn't entail that we have the right to do whatever we want to do with our property. A reinterpretation of 'justice in transfer' could place restrictions on property rights. Nozick supposes that any transfer, if it is freely consented to, is just. We can argue that rules governing transfer should be sensitive to many political values, not just liberty. The rules we currently have (regarding tax, inheritance, transfer between married couples, gifts and so on) are the products of balancing many considerations relating to patterns of production and work, family life and political institutions.

Furthermore, we can interpret individual liberty as a goal to be pursued, not a constant. If the value of justice rests on liberty, then surely we must ensure that everyone has sufficient property to be free. Redistribution of liberty. But this is a patterned principle of justice.

A final objection to Nozick is this: History shows that a great deal of initial acquisition of property was unjust based on theft, exploitation, slavery and colonization. All property that derives from unjustly held. You do not have a right to transfer property you stole, nor does the new owner have a right to do what they receive. But, of course, we cannot now rectify the injustice of the past. We have no way of establishing what belongs to whom. So Nozick's theory has no application if we do not start from a just beginning; we must therefore work out a different theory of justice that is not so sensitive to past injustices that we cannot correct. The historical nature of Nozick's theory turns out to be a weak spot.

### **Critique of Both Positions**

In the construction of the original position as a device of representation, the rules of representation seem to be quite arbitrary. For example, Rawls has never explained why the parties there are allowed to think only in terms of their own possible but unknown determinate conception of the good, but not from the desire to uphold the sense of justice. At some points, Rawls has produced some sloppy reasoning. For example, Rawls thinks that reciprocity supports the principle of the original positions (POPs) to assign a priority to the basic liberties. But even utilitarianism, a doctrine which is usually taken to be an ethical theory which allows the denial of the basic liberty to any citizen in certain circumstances, has a good fit with the notion of reciprocity. Thus, it will not be easy for one to think that it is so easy to argue from the

acceptance of reciprocity to the selection of the set of basic liberties, which the principle of the original positions (POPs) are supposed to choose to maintain at all costs.<sup>11</sup>

### **A Summary and Conclusion**

Are there any natural rights? The answer to this question will lead to a very clear and undeniable ranking of the two theories. To put it another way; there is at least one way of looking at the theories by which one of them will appear to be wiser than the other. In the light of this approach, it is Rawls who has got the upper hand. This is because to base the significant problem of social distribution on natural rights, as Nozick does, is like building a skyscraper upon mudflats. For one thing, it is highly doubtful whether there are any natural rights at all. This weakness is made worse by the fact that in modern societies a lot of people simply do not believe that there are any constant and unchanging natural rights. As a consequence, to impose laws made in the name of natural rights is bound to arouse a lot of reasonable as well as unreasonable opposition. This will result in a very unstable society. But this aside, it is also pertinent to note that Rawls' approach to political philosophy is far wiser than Nozick's from a theoretical point of view.

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## BOOK REVIEW

### **Echoes of Justice**

Author: Gloria Mabeiam Ballason, ESQ.

Publisher: Abuja: HOJ GLOBAL INTEGRATED LTD, 2019.

Price: #1000.00 paperback.

ISBN: 978-978-969-744-1

The author, Barr Gloria Ballason, employs the gift of words and style to articulate in the most beautiful fashion, the issues closest to her heart: the law, human rights, human dignity and our common humanity. Using poetry and journalistic skills, she is able to lucidly express herself and by presenting in the most simplest language possible, delicate legal terminologies to the comprehension of the average lay mind. The 336 page book is divided into seven (7) sections. Each of this section deals with topical and peculiar issues of interest.

Section one, discusses the question of the impotence of law and the need to have laws that reflect our cultural peculiarities. On page 9, she writes: 'We have become sound boards and replicators of foreign laws and therefore across African divides, the laws go one way while justice goes on the other. It is for that reason that law and justice in Africa are two streams whose waters do not mix'. Clearly, her first story, Law and beautiful nonsense, challenges her audience to evolve a thought process that provokes African scholars to expound on African jurisprudence rather than resigning to the skepticism and racism of African philosophy of law. Here, Barr. Mabeiam is of the opinion that for law to be meaningful, it must first be contextual. The author also, skillfully puts the question of the internally displaced persons (IDP's) on the front burner. She wonders how it is that the rights of the most vulnerable of our society get to be violated often times by the same people who should protect them. Section one is a clarion call for the strengthening of the law to be able to effectively serve as a shield to everyone especially the most vulnerable. Not done yet, she discusses issues of human rights as they relate to the military. Is the military able to respect human rights or violate them with impunity? Regrettably, she notes that abuse of human rights is widespread in the military and solicits for a constitution that is people oriented as opposed to the current lie we are operating as the ground norm.

In Section Two, the author painfully examines the question of gender and domestic violence as it affects both sexes, although females suffer more violence related crimes and suffer indignity. The author dispassionately treats the question of gender in a balanced way. For example, in her story, Widowhood: between a rock and a hard place, she cites heartbreaking examples of difficulties women go through. As a way out, she challenges us to address our thought process – the mind. From childhood, women are brought up to see themselves as subordinates to men, as persons whose relevance stem from the perceptions and dictates of men, as supporters and not major players in any sphere of life. The story of Mariam Aloma, the first female Justice appointed to the Supreme Court in 2012 inspires hope for the women. Justice Aloma succeeded in breaking the glass ceiling. Although a female, she was very courageous in the many dissenting judgments she gave in the Supreme Court. In drawing our attention to the question of gender imbalance, the author calls for a paradigm shift and the creation of level playing field for all sexes.

In section Three, Prose and Poetic Justice, the author discusses the thorny question of circumstantial evidence in adjudicating high profile cases ranging from paternity to the much talked about 'illegitimate children' particularly as it relates to inheritance. Citing some leading judgments to buttress her point, she posits that for a circumstantial evidence to be sufficient to support a conviction in a criminal trial, it must be cogent, complete, and unequivocal. It must be compelling and must lead to the irresistible conclusion that the accused and no one else is guilty. The facts must be incompatible with the innocence of the accused and incapable of explanation upon any other reasonable hypothesis than that of his guilt (Page 104). As far as circumstantial evidence is concerned, the *Lori v. State* judgment delivered in 1980 is enough light shed on the admissibility of circumstantial evidence. On the question of the often used derogatory term "illegitimate children", she avers: 'Considering that no child determined the circumstances of his/her birth, there is nothing legally or morally reprehensible in the equal share of estate by

both 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' children of a man. Sadly, the term 'illegitimate' has stuck with many as the dominant status paving the path to far too many needless social stigmas. The author recommends the effective social reengineering of law that is fair, just and humane (Pg 119).

Section Four is dedicated to the question of justice, democracy and judiciary. The author examines these concepts vis-à-vis existential realities in the country. She rhetorically wonders what form of government is operational in the country. Is it monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy, Theodicy or dictatorship? In her opinion, each of these strand is found in our nation space. Although we pretend to be a democracy, yet what obtains is merely a fusion of all of these elements. As a result of the absence of a truly democratic culture, today, Nigeria is gradually becoming failed state. Our educational systems don't work, thus the massive influx of Nigerian students into foreign universities. The cost of this influx to the families and to the nation is astronomical and naturally also tell on the nation's economy and image. So after nearly 20 years of practicing democracy, what do we have to show for it in terms of visible achievements and progress? Your guess is as good as the author's. Barr Gloria further discusses the nagging and sometimes embarrassing question of succession in the judiciary. The succession crisis is often mired in needless controversies that usually have political undertones. The author canvasses strict adherence to competence and professionalism as laid down by the national judicial council.

Section Five is a mixed grill. The author takes on the worrying question of violence arising from the activities of non state actors. Today we are grappling with all manners of vitriolic attacks perpetrated against very many innocent Nigerians and the state. Very many states today are under the onslaught of violent extremists. The North East is devastated by Boko Haram. The North Central is devastated by Fulani Herdsmen Militia. The North West is being ravaged by armed bandits. There is hardly any part of this country that has not yet been visited by one form of calamity or the other. The author takes her attention to children who are usually the worst hit. She asks the nagging question, 'what guarantee can we give our children that their safety and security will be catered for and that their dreams of becoming future leaders is not a ruse?' (p. 182). The author suggests that we need to work out measures that ensure that Nigerian child is insulated from radical ideologies. We can achieve this by making evil less convincing and less attractive or rewarding and demonstrating why it is so. We have to work hard at stopping the next recruits for insurgents and the next batch of victims seeking revenge (Pp 182-183). Barr Gloria tasks government to walk towards the frontlines of detection and prevention in order to identify the underlying issues as well as the radical rabble rousers and after they have made their findings, combine coercive measures with soft political approach that will undercut the ideas of those unleashing terror on the Nigerian state. She adds that protecting and preserving the nation is a shared responsibility and everyone needs to contribute their bit by securing their personal space (p 183).

Section Six focuses attention on those who, rather than provide healing for the sick, end up sending them to their early graves. The author dedicated this section to examining medical negligence and how health care providers give treatments that fall below the acceptable standard of practice in the medical community thereby hiking the death toll and plummeting life expectancy in Nigeria. She regrets that medical errors have become so common that they are now becoming the accepted standard of practice. The author here advocates for the strengthening of laws to be able to prosecute medical health care providers who have turned clinics and hospitals into killing fields and doctors who have killed due to negligence must face prosecution for homicide.

Barr Gloria makes a case for the disabled in Section Seven. She recounts the moving stories of people with disabilities who have become renowned and excelled in their chosen areas of endeavors. She advocates for laws that will protect those with disabilities in other to thrive and excel. She recommends as a starting point, that the same treatment be given them as able bodied and that the disabled need not be stigmatized on account of their disability. The author takes the challenge to the doorsteps of elected representatives who must review the constitution in order to factor in our brothers and sisters who through no fault of theirs, found themselves with disabilities. On the same section, the author allays the fears of those who may have morbid fears

for will writing. She strongly advocates that we all need to clearly write our Wills. In her words, our Wills become our speech when we die. Coming from an African background where controversies become second nature, especially as it pertains to women's rights, there is the need to have our will clearly written to avert possible controversies in the event of death. In this chapter still, she takes on the issue of abuses perpetrated against young women who throng to worship centers in search of waters from the living spring to quench their spiritual thirst. A phenomenon now widespread regrettably, has caught the fancy of the author who has dedicated a sub section to look at the question of God, the worshiper and the worshipped. Since I have seen that the author intends to discuss in greater detail in her presentation, I will skip this and move to the last section.

Section Eight, being the last, analyses the Nigerian state especially under the current administration. The author examines the case of the Senate President, Bukola Saraki and the many ordeals he went through in the court of conduct tribunal. She is worried at the needless distraction this trial may pose to the nation and also worries about its cost. While she ruminates on this debacle, she however sees in it a window of opportunity for which Nigerians can now have a fresh debate with regards to requirements for public office. The author ended her book with a cautious optimism where she imagined a crime free Nigeria and charged her audience to lead in the campaign for the actualization of the kind of change we want to see.

What I have done in my review is to tease out the salient issues by highlighting them. Of course, to have a better gist of the thought of the author, you will have to get a copy for yourselves and have them autographed by the author. At your quiet moment, I guarantee you, when you sink in your teeth in this book, chances are that you will never drop it until you get to the last sentence. As with every other book review, I have only succeeded in teasing out the salient points so that we can all interrogate the issues as they affect us and our society. How can we all extrapolate the ideas of Barr Gloria and export same into current happenings in the country? This for me is the most pertinent question and reason for which this book is reviewed. In reviewing a book, it is natural to point at the strengths and weaknesses inherent in the book under review. I will attempt to point at a few:

#### **Strengths:**

1. Style of writing is appealing as it comes in story form, stimulating the appetite to keep on reading. She didn't resort to verbose use of words and wrote in a manner that anyone with an average education can readily comprehend the argument.
2. The font is good and conforms to modern style of writing. The finishing is superb and the binding excellent.
3. The issues raised are germane and topical and the author helped to put to the front burner for discussion, matters as they affect us.

#### **Weaknesses:**

1. A few typographical errors are spotted in pages 150 & 155.
2. Some of the stories in earlier chapters are similar to others in later chapters. For example, the stories on pages 305-312 would have been accommodated in the first chapter.

The author, Barr Gloria deserves our commendation and praise. The book, *Echoes of Justice* is a must read and one that should be found on the shelves of those who seek knowledge. No better way to end my review than reading a quotation credited to Luther King Jnr: "We need leaders not in love with money but in love with Justice. Not in love with publicity but in love with humanity". This is the challenge Barr Gloria Ballason is throwing to all of us today.

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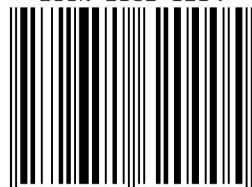


# *Albertine Journal of Philosophy*

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[www.albertinejournal.org](http://www.albertinejournal.org)

ISSN 2651-6209



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