Young African Leaders Journal of Development

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YOUNG AFRICA LEADERS JOURNAL OF DEVELOPMENT

THE STATE OF AFRICA **ECONOMY** AND A WAY FORWARD

DEVELOPMENTAL NATIONALISM: **THE ROLE OF THE AFRICAN YOUTH**

PAN-AFRICANISM, LEADERSHIP **PROSPECT AND THE AGENDA 2063**

AFRICA INTER-CITY RAILWAY CONNECTION **SYSTEM**

EDUCATION: A PATHWAY TO AFRICA'S **DEVELOPMENT** (THE SCRUTINY)

PAN AFRICAN NETWORK SYSTEM

The Young African Leaders Forum works with a pan-African network system called INFONO. Infono is a Search Engine, Social Media Directory, Business to Business Network, Web Communication Hub, Marketing Portal and many more. With Infono, the Young African Leaders Forum hopes to connect Africa electronically per country, organisations, businesses, governments to nations.

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Young African Leaders Journal of Development

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To become a world-class organisation and the solution to Africa's underdevelopment.

Mission Statement

To move Africa to the First World by creating workable solutions to its developmental problems and strategically executing them.

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EXCERPT 1

The year, 2017, will focus on "Harnessing the Demographic Dividend through Investments in Youth". There is thus a need for Africa to rely on the potential of its youth through the implementation of basic Human Rights such as quality education and the creation of jobs. The African youth must remain a source of hope, and AU Member States must continue engaging young people to help overcome poverty in Africa. Youth Engagement Strategies should be invested in to encourage youth participation in a Pan African environment. The inclusion of African Youth in discussions on how to encourage Africa's growth will not only create a setting of acceptance but will also allow Africa's sustainable development to be youth-driven.

African Youth should also explore dates that celebrate them such as African Youth Day established in 2006 in Banjul to acknowledge that African youth have an important voice in Africa since they are significant stakeholders in the continent. The African Youth Day celebrated on 01 November in recognition of the African Youth Charter during the Summit in Banjul is, thus, an opportunity for young Africans to engage and contribute to the development of the continent in each region by addressing key issues regarding economic growth, social problems, and sustainable development in African societies. Article 26 of the African Youth Charter urges youth to partake fully in citizenship duties including, but not limited to voting, decision-making and governance. It also encourages youth to engage in peer-to-peer education in order to enhance the promotion of youth development in areas like literacy, use of information and communication technology, disease and violence prevention, and peace building.

Investment in African Youth is an opportunity to inspire future generations to emulate innovative and exciting approaches to making a difference in the promotion and protection of human and people's rights in Africa. Youths (and YALF) should therefore make maximum use of the opportunities given to them in order for Africa to achieve its goals as a collective entity.

Dr. Salah Hammad
Senior Human Rights Expert,
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EXCERPT 2

Two years ago, the Young African Leaders Forum embarked on the journey of mobilizing young people to support the African Union Agenda 2063. Agenda 2063 as a consensual document was borne out of a consultative process involving all segments of African society ranging from the Regional Economic Communities, Member States, Women and Youths to civil society organisations, including youths of YALF.

The Young African Leaders Forum is a very strategic youth-led organisation working systemically to foster the timely realisation of the African Union Agenda 2063 vision. The initiative and ambition of this organisation is to move African nations to the First World status. In order to achieve their vision, they have counted it necessary to gather, share information and develop ideas from African youth leaders through their journal of development. The Young African Leaders Journal of Development (YALJOD) will host ideas and viewpoints about the development of Africa. The journal is not merely a theoretical one. It will rather form the foundation for numerous implementable projects which will be executed by YALF, other development focused organisations in Africa, and even the governments.

There is no gainsaying that the attainment of Africa's long-term socio-economic development agenda is contingent on building strong institutions and strong current generation. The youth should be equipped to tackle the root causes of conflict such as poverty, strong oversight over governments to establish accountable state institutions that would provide the adequate and desired responses to the peace and security challenges that the continent is faced with, which have diverse impact on all generations but more especially youth, children and women. The youth leader, like any one of us, have the responsibility to ensure that the AU and member states deliver on their mandate of silencing the guns by 2020. Doing so would pave the way for a prosperous Africa, which will occupy its rightful place in the international arena. YALJOD provides the platform to exchange ideas on how all these can be achieved.

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EXCERPT 3

The future belongs to those who will inherit it. The responsibility for ensuring the future we want rests on all who have a stake in the future. Theoretically, we are all historical stakeholders in the future, whether as those who will inherit, or as those who create it as legacy. However, more meaningfully, the irst frontier stakeholders are the youth, whose decisions and actions on the most part are currently subject to decisions and actions of the older generation. For the youth to play their role as the irst frontier, they must begin to take up strategic positions as participants in the current decision making, action planning and implementation. If they wait for formal installation as leaders, it will be too late.

This participation begins with the young people acquiring the necessary knowledge, identifying the challenges and opportunities, determining the future they want, recognizing what needs to be done and making deliberate decisions to curve niches for their interventions at every level, in every sector, as far as is possible.

Fortunately, the future we all want as Africans has been well articulated in the AU Vision framework: Agenda 2063, the AU having made tremendous effort to capture the voices and perspectives of all constituencies of the African peoples, including youth and women. Furthermore, the AU also makes conscious effort to include young people in decision making processes whether the young people are already in formal leadership positions ot.no

It therefore behooves every African youth as far as is possible, to 'make a committee of one' and decide to be a leader in this matter. Leadership involves recognition of the challenge and opportunity, whether in part or in whole, and setting out to do something about it, and seeking to inluence others positively towards the common desired end.

It is with this in mind that the initiative undertaken by young people under YALF is particularly encouraging. There is hope for Africa when young people embrace their responsibility for Africa's future by seeking to appreciate the causative and incidental factors of why and where we are today, and recognize the implications of our collective vision, in order to understand and identify their roles for today and tomorrow.

The YALJOD initiative shifts the erstwhile pervasive charge of the ages against youth who may prefer to while away their creative talent and energy on rabble rousing in identifying faults in the system for the sole purpose of making demands on government and other structures. Rather, youth under YALF are taking the responsibility for shaping the future from wherever they are. They are calling on themselves to be part of the Africa-led solution, through scholarly discourse, nurturing creative intellectual tensions through which the most fertile ideas will emerge to influence action at various levels in society.

I therefore highly commend and recommend YALJOD for every possible encouragement, support and resourcing, that the effort may reach the widest participation and audience and have the greatest possible impact.

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FOREWORD

Greetings and welcome as we celebrate the launch of the irst youth-led pan-African journal of development, Young African Leaders Journal of Development (YALJOD). YALF's vision is that this new African journal dedicated to youth "will serve as a platform for suggesting and implementing community development ideas that will promote the living standards of Africans." As the title indicates, the journal will publish original research, scholarly analysis and viewpoints about the continent's development. Submissions for this first issue focused on challenges confronting various countries, with an emphasis on the impact on youth.

This inaugural publication comprises 22 original research and diverse review articles from authors based in Cameroon, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. It relects the voices of African youths who are confronting concerns from several vantage points as students, workers and activists.

Original research comprises a small but broad spectrum of topics: natural resources (oil sector) governance; the role of entrepreneurship; the impact of conflict on the availability of selected timber forest products; and understanding and addressing the "democracy-development" nexus. The other articles examine a myriad of signfiicant issues namely: curbing terrorism among youth; democracy and development; illicit financial lows; integrating mental health interventions; developmental nationalism; education as a pathway to development; a Black theology response to sexual violence; the impact of culture, patriarchy and the law; workplace violence; ethnicity as a deterrent to development; multilingual radio as a communication tool in agriculture; an inter-railway system: a development and uniication mechanism for Africa; promoting and solidifying African unity through Pan-Africanism, and "Black" colonialism.

My wish, consistent with YALF's goals, is that this journal becomes an important resource for all youths as well as policy makers. The intent is that future issues, in addition to the publication of articles and original research, will also publish expert opinions, book reviews and letters to the editor.

I would like to personally congratulate the members of YALF and the youth editors of YALJOD for taking such a bold step in preparing this critical and timely publication. Much success at the launching of this first edition at the African Union Headquarters, Addis Ababa scheduled for October 21, 2016.

Dr. Patricia Rodney
(Widow of Pan-African Historian, Walter Rodney)
CEO, The Walter Rodney Foundation, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia, USA.

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PREFACE

"One Day, Africa will write its own story … and it will be a story of glory and dignity   ",
- Patrice Lumumba

The Young African Leaders Journal of Development (YALJOD) has been conceptualised with the aim of highlighting ideas and issues that would help realise the aspirations of the African Union's Agenda 2063 and the United Nations Global Goals for Sustainable Development (SDGs), as well as other continental, regional and national development initiatives in Africa.

This Journal brings together some of Africa's top young minds and thought leaders, from different parts of the Continent, who have come together to highlight and share their views, perspectives and proposed solutions on some of the pressing developmental issues facing Africa today, from the threats of terrorism and conflict; to democracy and good governance; gender equality; education and healthcare provision; entrepreneurship; science and technology; and all other spheres of life.

As we proceed in the 21st Century, we need to recognise that Africa is at a new transition in its development, needing a new type of leadership in the political, economic, social and all other sectors of the global agenda. Indeed, Africa is rising, and at the centre of this growing Continent are Africa's youth, who are ready to make a difference. With Africa's youth population pegged at approximately 70%, and the Continent's population poised to double to two billion in the next generation, it is clear that the Continent's future lies in the hands of its youth.

What then are Africa's hopes for the next 50 years, and the next one hundred years and beyond? What are our hopes of realising the United Nations Global Goals for Sustainable Development? And indeed, what are Africa's hopes of realising our very ambitious Agenda 2063, if we cannot adequately embrace the vision, knowledge and creativity of our youth? And if we cannot inspire them to confidently and assertively face a globalised and competitive world?

I believe that taking into account the perspective of young people is critical to social change, political and economic progress. It is also important to include the perspective of our youth in the political and economic decision-making process in Africa. This is because young people hold the key to change, innovation, and action in all areas of development. It therefore, falls upon us that for Africa's political, economic and social decisions and declarations to result in effective action for sustainable development, the youths need to be effectively engaged, because the concerns of young people top today's global agenda - from education, to employment, access to healthcare facilities, as well as information and communication technologies, and all other areas of life. If Africa does not integrate the knowledge, vision, creativity and experience of its youth, Africa's young people will remain an untapped powerful resource and Africa would be losing out on its major resource.

The Indian philosopher, Mahatma Gandhi once said *"First they ignore, then they laugh at you, then they ight you, then you win"*. As expressed by Mahatma Gandhi, Africa was first ignored and considered a dark continent. When the explorers from the western world came they laughed at us as being primitive and laughed at everything we did from our cultural beliefs and our food, right through to our religious beliefs. Then they fought with us during colonization and during our struggle for political independence. Eventually, we won and Africa is still winning as the rest

of the world keeps coming back to Africa and are dependent on Africa's wealth.

I believe that the future can be found in the past. Africa is the birthplace of mankind and is also the birthplace of civilization with great early empires, a great tradition of trade; a great history; a wealth of diversity of peoples, tongues, and traditions; and a full spectrum of skin tones, hair textures, rich religions, rich cultures and a rich heritage.

However, because we allow other people to write our history, Africa's good and inspiring stories of our rich heritage are never told. Positive stories about Africa, such as those of strong wise men and women, rulers of great empires such as Shaka Zulu of South Africa, and strong assertive women like Yaa Asaantwe of Ghana are never told. Even the founding fathers of modern Africa who have not been gone too long like Haile Selasie; Jomo Kenyatta; Julius Nyerere; Kwame Nkrumah have already been pushed out of the history books of our children. Those who are still alive like Dr Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia are not given as much credit as is due to them. This is because we let other people write our stories. And because we let other people write our stories, all the great history of Africa is largely ignored and unknown, as most of it is not written at all.

I always get the impression that we underrate ourselves as Africans and underestimate Africa's real potential. From the history that I know, much of the modern world was built on Africa's resources. From the history that I know, the modern western world was built on Africa's labour, on Africa's sweat and toil, using Africa's manpower, Africa's wealth and Africa's intellect- initially as slaves, followed by colonization, right through to the pilferage of our wealth and resources via privatisation, foreign investment and tax evasion, from raw materials right through to brain drain.

It is no secret that Africa is a continent that is rich in natural resources from oil and gas, to gold, diamonds, copper, precious stones and virgin arable land. Africa is also rich in rare earths with bio-diversity and the enormous carbon-sink that are the rain forests, who play a major role in tackling global warming and climate change. Just like Africa gave birth to humanity and built the world in the past, Africa is still building the world in the present and the world is dependent on Africa to build and save its future and that of the entire planet. The rich natural resources of Africa have once again prompted a 21st century scramble for the Continent, with the East and the West fighting for a piece of Africa. Africa still has untapped resources such as mineral deposits and virgin arable land. All these blessings make Africa a continent of opportunity and an emerging investment frontier. This positions Africa as a continent that is signalling impending economic migration from the East and the West in the name of foreign investment and international development.

As the birthplace of civilization, there is every opportunity that Africa can now become the birthplace of a new form of politics that goes beyond the Western model of liberal democracy. As Africa inally emerges from the twin shadows of the Colonial Era and the Cold War, there is a new vibrancy to African politics and the true spread of democracy in the wake of globalisation. Most African countries now have multi-party democracy, where competition among the political parties is more spread out and fierce, giving the electorate a wider choice to select from, and putting the government of the day to be accountable and to uphold good governance. Africa's new assertive politics rejects the belief of the 'one policy or one solution its all' as imposed in the past.

As is evident now, the Continent has now risen above the initial setbacks of HIV/AIDS with

some of our African countries being among the fastest growing economies in the world. Africa has survived slavery, colonialisation, brain drain, resource and wealth pilferage. Surely, Africa can survive disease, poverty, corruption and conflict!

Africa is a hub of professional and intellectual resource with its own intellectual, cultural, inancial, human, political and social capital to rise to excellence. With the continued increase in the number of African universities, Africa is educating its young people to be future leaders with a higher percentage of Africa's youth being educated in most African countries. In its pursuit for excellence, Africa requires a new development strategy that invests in the potential of Africa by Africans to improve governance and to achieve sustainable, equitable economic growth in order to put Africa on a path to meet its developmental goals, to eradicate poverty and achieve prosperity.

Africa needs to believe in itself, in its power and its influence through its vibrant youth populations. Africa needs to reassert itself as the provider of the world's resources and the custodian of the well-being of the planet. Africa is once again being seen as a continent of opportunity, and the last emerging investment frontier. Africa needs to claim ownership of Africa's destiny, take ownership of our continent and our resources; ownership of our policies, politics, economic and social development. We also need to take ownership of our problems and ownership of our solutions. While International Relations scholars talk about the "Asian Century", I feel confident to claim the 21st Century as the African Century because of our vibrant youth population.

Africa has the potential to be a major player in world affairs. But Africa cannot do this without its youth making a full contribution. The development strategy for Africa must be premised on the youth as key and indispensable actors and leaders in accelerating economic growth and in achieving politically, socially and environmentally sustainable development. The talents of Africa's youth is exhibited in the way the various authors have articulated the issues that they have chosen to highlight in this inaugural issue of the Young African Leaders Journal of Development.

Her Excellency Ambassador Dr. Justina Mutale,
Founder & CEO, Justina Mutale Foundation for Leadership

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THE REVIVAL OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA AND ITS IMPACT ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

Nigeria was under military rule for near to 30 years out of her 55 years of existence after independence. During this period, corruption reached peak levels causing societal retrogression. The dawn of the Fourth Republic in 1999 heralded the revival of elections in the country. It is against this background that this study investigates the extent to which democracy has advanced and improved the living standards of citizens and increased per capita income among others. A total of 642 people, 393 males, 236 women and 13 respondents took part in the case study. The study underscores the need for a policy road-map while hinting at a strategic framework for understanding and addressing the 'democracy-development nexus' in the Nigerian political system.

Key Words: Democracy, development, elections, military, socio-economic transformation.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Nigeria is a federal republic located at the eastern end of the Gulf of Guinea, with an estimated population of about 182,200,000 (UN, 2015), earning the country the title of the most populous nation in Africa and the seventh most populous nation in the world. Nigeria shares territorial boundaries with the Republic of Benin in the West, Chad and Cameroon in the East, the Niger Republic in the North and Atlantic Ocean in (Gulf of Guinea) the South. The country measures approximately 923,769 square kilometres, made up of 909,890 square kilometres of land and 13,876 square kilometres of water (National Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

1.1   STRUCTURE OF THE STATE AND GOVERNANCE

There is a consensus among scholars that Nigeria is a Federal State (Ijalaiye, 1979; Osuntokun, 1979; Osadolor, 1998; Tanumo, 1998; Anifowose and Babawale, 2010; Idahosa and Aghahowa, 2010). Nigeria, as a Federal State, is unofficially divided into six (6) geopolitical zones which include North West, North East, North Central, South West, South East and South-South. The country is officially delineated into thirty-six (36) states and a federal capital territory.

Nigeria's federal system consists of three tiers of governance; federal, state and local governments. There is a clear-cut separation of power between the arms of government. The executive head at the federal level is the president, governors head the states and chairpersons for local councils. With regard to the law making process, the state and local government practice unicameralism while bicameralism functions at the federal level.

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A SYNOPSIS OF NIGERIA UNDER MILITARY REGIME

Nigeria became a republic in 1963, three years after gaining independence from Great Britain. And no sooner had the colonialists left the shore of the country than topsy-turvy of the political scene, tomfoolery of the political gladiators and entrenched regional disharmony became the order of the day (Ademoyega, 1981; Onovo, 1997; Iroanusi, 2000; Onah, 2000; Tonye, 2010).

On 15 January 1966, the military struck and overthrew a democratic government. There were seven successful military takeovers and four unsuccessful coups between 1966 and 1999 when the army handed over power to an elected government. The long spell of military rule was a great setback for Nigeria and its negative effects are still felt.

1.2   ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA SINCE 1999

One of the cardinal characteristics of democracy is free, fair and credible elections. Olurode (1987) and Akinboye (2004) allude that democracy is the pivot around which election revolves. Elections have become an integral part of Nigeria's democratic governance. Anifowose (2004) notes that 'a contentious political issue in Nigeria since independence on 1st October 1960, has been the politics of power shift'. Still, unlike earlier democratic experiments truncated through coup d'état due to succession crises, in the current dispensation, Nigeria has had four successful political transitions.

2.0   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Nigerian political landscape reeks of unfulfilled electoral promises and the death of 'dividends of democracy'. There is a primordial accumulation of the commonwealth of our beloved country depleted by political office bearers and their allies to the detriment of the helpless poor masses. As a consequence, the negative effects of this are enormous and they include the shortage of infrastructural facilities, youth restiveness, a high crime rate, brain drain, low life expectancy and irregular migration through Sahara or Mediterranean routes among others. Thus, this study investigates and illustrates the extent to which democracy has affected the quality of life of Nigerian citizens.

3.0   THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The main aim of this study was to collect enough data to help in examining the extent to which democratic institutions speed up or decelerate developmental process in Sub-Saharan Africa with specific reference to Nigeria. It also seeks to investigate why the Nigerian leadership at the federal, state and local levels has been incapable of addressing the problems connecting corruption, systemic failure, institutional decay and political inertia leading to the underdevelopment of the country.

Core research question: Does democracy accelerate or decelerate the developmental stride of Nigeria?

Sub-questions:
1.   Is every ethnic, religious or social group free and able to exercise their right to take part in national politics?

2. Has any household gone without the life's necessities including access to clean water, healthcare and energy since 1999?
3. Since the return of democratic governance, has corruption declined, the condition of social amenities together with the security situation improved? And has the condition of the medium, and small-scale enterprises and the value of national currency improved since the return to democratic governance?
4. Do elected officials have the requisite qualifications to do their job in an effective and eficient manner?
5. To what extent are the elected officials accessible before and after elections in Nigeria to guarantee political accountability?
6. Do incumbent politicians embark on projects on the eve of elections to enhance their chances of victory in the elections?
7. Are election results reflective of the wishes of the majority of the electorates?
8. Should Nigeria's electoral system prohibit potential candidates with a shady character or previous/current involvement in corrupt practices from contesting for federal, state or local government seats?
9. Are those elected officials able to improve the quality of service in government and ease the poor's suffering while in office?
10. Has the economic condition of Nigeria improved or deteriorated since the return to civil rule?
11. Are Nigerians satisfied with the way democracy works and the way elections in the country get conducted?
12. Do Nigerian citizens have confidence in their elected leaders?

4.0   SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study intends to provide a better understanding of how viable democratic institutions can help in fostering human development and the actualisation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS) in Nigeria as well as the African region.

5.0   METHODOLOGY

This study adopts a blend of data from both primary and secondary sources.

5.1   RESEARCH DESIGN

The study employs a survey research design.

5.2   STUDY POPULATION

The population includes a reasonable range of actors such as scholars, policy makers, opinion leaders, members of civil society, members of women groups, security sector personnel, youth groups and very importantly, the poor and near-poor individuals in rural areas.

5.3   STUDY LOCATION AND SITE

The primary data was obtained from the six geo-political zones of the federation viz., Northeast (Yobe State), North West (Kebbi State), North Central (Abuja FCT and Niger State), South West (Lagos State), South East (Enugu State) and South-South (Edo State).

5.4   SAMPLE SIZE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

Six hundred and forty-two individuals were selected to be part of the study using probability sampling with the intent that every Nigerian has a chance of taking part. The six geo-political zones got just representation in the study; from the North West 116 respondents, 137 from North East, 56 from North Central, 109 from South West, 122 from South East and 77 from South-South. More so, an additional 25 respondents who did not state their geo-political zones.

5.5   RESEARCH INSTRUMENT AND INSTRUMENTATION

Only one questionnaire was used for this study, consisting of six parts. The questionnaire elicited relevant information from the respondents. Part A consisted of items on respondent's socio-demographic profile. Part B, C, D, E and F consisted of 40 items that sought for respondent's perceptions on main concerns affecting Nigerians on a daily basis using Rensis Likert ive-level scale Strongly Agree, Agree Somewhat, Disagree, Strongly Disagree and Have not Formed an Opinion.

5.6   DATA COLLECTION

The researcher sent out questionnaires to Nigerians in the selected states of the federation. Data was generated from the responses of 642 respondents.

5.7   ANALYSIS OF DATA

Portions of the data collected got further analysed in details using analytical tools such as the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) and Microsoft Excel.

6.0   RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The results of the study are presented and discussed in order of the research questions.

7.0   A SYNTHESIS OF THE STUDY

Through the study it was discovered that:
1.   Democracy has not engendered sustainable development in Nigeria. The quality of life of a larger percentage of the Nigerian population, in particular, the rural poor has not improved as expected. Election winners have neither done much to improve the quality of government service nor helped to ease the poor's affliction while in office.

2.   Since the return to democracy, Nigeria's state of national security has been in shambles and misuse of office and corruption has worsened.

3.   The value of Naira (the Nigeria's national currency) has continued to depreciate despite assurances for its stabilisation.

4.   Although most people seeking for elective offices in Nigeria are academically qualified, the study showed that majority of them lack the integrity to handle public funds; and adequate knowledge with regards to the problems faced by their constituencies.

5.   Most of the elected officials are accessible during electioneering campaign. But once elections are over and they are sworn in, accessing them becomes nearly impossible.

6.   Political Business Cycle (PBC) is a norm in Nigeria's political system. Politicians often embark on projects on the eve of elections to boost their chances of victory and abandon them soon as election season comes to an end.

7.   Nigeria's electoral system will be more transparent and apt if it restricts people with questionable character vying for political offices.

8.   The Economic condition of Nigeria has improved, though not significantly, since the return to civil rule.

9.   The way democracy works and the way Nigeria conducts its elections is in general, acceptable.

10.   While the majority of Nigerians have confidence in the current president to move the nation closer to the 'promised land' considering his antecedent; the confidence they have in their state governors, senators, members of House of Representative and State Houses of Assembly is at zero level.

8.0   CONCLUSION

Democracy is essential to development if its fundamental principles are well articulated and holistically harnessed. The type of democracy practised in Nigeria for the past sixteen (16) years leaves nothing to be desired and is not at par with other nations. This is the raison d'etre that, in spite of Nigeria's diverse resources, democratic governance has failed to produce meaningful economic growth and sustainable development. Results and the findings from the analysed data gathered have been jurisprudentially dissected to establish this fact. Afterwards, panaceas on how democracy can stimulate sustainable development in Nigeria were proffered. It is envisioned that if the current government discards the terrible burden bequeathed on this country by past government and embraces a new policy roadmap as buttressed below, the country will be the better for it.

9.0   RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the above findings the following recommendations are made:
1.   Nigerians should not go without the necessities of life such as water, food, clothing, shelter and energy.

2.   A conducive business environment should be created for both local entrepreneurs and foreign investors. Necessary start-up capital should be provided for genuine small and medium scale entrepreneurs at a reasonable interest rate.

3.   A strategic framework for tackling corruption should be developed. Anti-graft agencies such as Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) among others should be rejuvenated and empowered to 'bark' and 'bite'.

4.   Enticing the electorates with infrastructural facilities and economic resurgence on the eve of elections intending to win their votes should be discouraged through an enabling law. Fulfilment of electoral promises should start from week one (1) when a political office holder assumes office.

5.   Nigeria's electoral system must take guidance from a legal framework that complies with global best practices.

6.   Political accountability should be encouraged. As such, any individual, regardless of how highly placed, that is implicated in electoral fraud should not only be disqualified but also prevented from vying for any elected office in the country.

7.   Since elections are crucial for the future of Nigeria, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) must be an independent executive arm of government in the truest sense, with the funds for meeting the financial needs of the body drawn from a consolidated account.

8.   The major cause of the problems bedevilling Nigeria such as violence, terrorism, crime, illegal migration, rural-urban drift to mention a few, is poverty. Thus government at the federal, state and local government levels should adopt a practical and sustainable strategy to reduce abject poverty in Nigeria.

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Young African
Leaders Forum

PAN-AFRICANISM, LEADERSHIP PROSPECT AND THE AGENDA 2063

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ABSTRACT

The idea of development has always been nurtured. It is as old as the history of Africa itself. Even though the continent is believed to host the starting point of development, man has struggled to continue doing so there. Shying away from reality will not be the solution, but facing reality with all its encumbrances. Perhaps, many people are ignorant of what pan-Africanism can offer; hence, they relegate pan-Africanism and the African development prospect to mere academic studies. Against this backdrop, the paper seeks to substantiate the signiiance and role of pan-Africanism in the development of Africa.

INTRODUCTION

The African Union (AU) Agenda 2063 project is aimed at achieving a united and prosperous Africa. To realise our vision of a united and prosperous Africa, there is the need to adopt a paradigm – a practicable theory about how things should be rightly said and done. Our people, especially the youth, must understand the importance of pan-Africanism and work sellessly towards promoting it. Africa has found it difficult to evolve a consistent ideology. The cultural multifarious nature of African nations occasioned by the arbitrary partitioning by their erstwhile colonial masters is not helping matters. Change is only possible when the people are united. Stalling attitudes have threatened the development of our continent.

African development has been stunted by crises of ideologies. The struggles by different ethnic groups indigenous to nations for political and social domination of others have also created fear, emotional attachment and resistance to rational synthesis of the diversity which could promote the nation's development. The Biafran emancipation struggle in Nigeria stemmed from this same perceived political domination; whereas this ethnic group would have held onto unity and contributed from a strategic position to the country's development. This diversity has cost us so much. Nelson Mandela understood it and revealed his dream of an African continent that is at peace with itself. For him, the realisation of a united Africa where leaders work in synergy is the surest way to the continent's development. Perhaps, Kwame Nkrumah had better words to pass the necessary message. He opined:*"It is clear that we must ind an African solution to our problems, and this can only be found in African unity. Divided we are weak; united, Africa could become one of the greatest forces for good in the world."[1]* I beg to rephrase Nkrumah's 'could' to 'would'. This is rather a statement of fact applicable to any part of the globe. How can a united and multitalented people not prove formidable? Even God had to dispel such threatening unity at the Tower of Babel. I wish to state the fact that it is the ideology and values of a people that direct their development.

What has been the case before now? Africa's underdevelopment has been largely blamed on colonialism. Walter Rodney's "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" also lent credence to the

truth of this claim. But whilst we may yet ponder, what has been the impact of our self-governance over the last ive decades? Professor Kwasi Agyeman tells us more: " If we were to be honest with ourselves, we surely would not ind it too difficult to be convinced of the fact that Africans have been irresponsible and harmful to Africa in terms of self-governance. I would like to stake out the case that we have failed ourselves." [2]

Intently, anyone would agree with Professor Agyeman. Governance in Africa has suffered several hangovers. This governance, however, does not only refer to political governance. Our actions as lead individuals at different levels of the African society have also contributed to this failure which Professor Agyeman emphasized. Now that we have gotten to the point of introspection, we realise that the continent's development can best be geared by its people. Instinctively and in a timely fashion, the African Union (AU) took to its pedestal and initiated a vision plan which provides a general platform for everyone to foster our collective development. Africa has now set a target for itself for 2063. Our aim is to propel an African continent which will be rightly seated amongst other continents in the First World status. This paper urges all Africans, especially the youth, to work more unitedly and exude utmost believe in themselves (and Africa) as having the ability to manage their problems and chart a course for their development using African resources.

PAN-AFRICANISM: ITS TRUE MEANING

It is not surprising that the idea of pan-Africanism thrives mainly in the context of political alienation. But when we look at its etymology, the term "pan-Africanism" originally depicts an all-inclusive Africa. It is the idea that people of African descent have common interests and should be united. This unity, however, should not be limited to the political space. It ought to reflect in other spheres of our society as Africans. The slogan 'Africa for the Africans', popularized by Marcus Garvey, lays more emphasis on the fact that pan-Africanism is rather a movement for cooperation between all people of the African descent. This cooperation aims at strengthening the bonds of solidarity and fostering the collective progress and development of the people. Pan-Africanism is a shared positive feeling amongst Africans. It arouses the consciousness that one is an African and his allegiance lies with Africa. It is the sense of unity and oneness people of the African descent exude, when they meet, interact and work together. Pan-Africanism transcends the realm of ideology, it is practicable and ought to reflect in all our dealings as a people.

Unfortunately, the essence of pan-Africanism has been devalued by Africans. Disunity has proven to be the worst barrier for the continent. The absence of unity, even amongst African leaders and the youths, shows the lack of understanding of the power and significance of pan-Africanism. Real leaders must be willing to sacrifice all for the welfare of their people; hence any leader who places self-aggrandisement above the citizenry debases the essence of pan-Africanism. It is not enough to originate from Africa, we must do so much together in order to promote the status of our continent and improve its perception. The future of pan-Africanism lies in the strength of our society and our ability to bring together young people, social workers, political organisers, trade unionists, activists, scholars and women's right promoters behind a common vision of moving Africa to the First World status. Our history as a people is history that needs to be told, that needs to be learned and that needs to be recorded; as such we must selflessly work together so as to fulil the goals of the Agenda 2063 and create the Africa we want. Every African, including the reader, must show responsibility towards the continent by doing as little as can be done in order to promote its status. Pan-Africanism is faith in Africa. It does not deny the fact that Africa has

its numerous problems and leadership challenges, rather it proffers solutions and denies the fact the ability to lord it permanently over Africa. We can work out the Africa we want if we believe, work and stay together.

IDEA OF DEVELOPMENT

It is the social will of the African people that their standard of living be improved. Our struggle as a continent is geared towards achieving a prosperous Africa conducive for Africans and for our visitors. Our collective wish is to enjoy the dividends of development, but this can only be realised when we experience a great range of development on different spheres. Development is an unavoidable datum of life. It was defined by Michael Todaro as involving: *"The reorganisation and reorientation of entire economic and social systems. In addition to improvements in incomes and output, it typically involves radical changes in institution, social and administrative structures as well as in popular attitudes and sometimes even beliefs and customs."* [3] This deinition of development hinted on the need for 'radical changes' even in the attitudes, beliefs and customs of a people. The essence of pan-Africanism is to raise the belief of the average African about the prosperity of the continent whilst inculcating inherently values of responsibility towards this prosperity. Thus, pan-Africanism remains the vital ingredient needed to successfully achieve the development of Africa and the agenda 2063 vision plan.

As soon as Africans start exuding the spirit of pan-Africanism, there would be a massive unfolding of inner potentialities which will undoubtedly promote our development. In this line, the African Philosopher, Pantaleon Iroegbu explained development to be: *"...the progressive unfolding of the inner potentialities of a given reality. It is to de-envelop, that is to bring out to light, the existential, functional and epistemic, which was enveloped, folded or hidden. As it applies to a people, development is the integration of different givens: national, physical, acquired and human, of a people towards the full working out, permanently and cumulatively, of their being as persons of their community and of their real productivity."* [4]

Four major types of development affects a continent positively. They invariably boost a people's standard of living and protect their freedoms, rights. These developments are: economic development, social development, political development and individual development. Let us attempt brief explanations:

Economic Development

This type of development is greatly influenced by the industrial advancement of that society. It refers to the sustained, concerted actions of societies and policymakers that improve the standards of living and economic health of a people. It improves the quality of life by creating or retaining jobs and supporting or growing incomes. For B. Ohiani, economic development is *"the qualitative and quantitative increase of factors of production and goods and services produced with these factors, equitable distribution of wealth produced by a given population of an area and increase in the standard of living of a given population over a measurable period of time."* [5] This type of development adopts new technologies, transits from local agriculture-based to industry-based economy and improves living standards.

Social Development

This type of development places people at the centre of development. It is defined as prioritizing

human needs in the growth and progression of the society. Again, Ohiani explains social development to be *"the continuous increase in the consciousness of the people about their environmental and human factors, promote their wellbeing and their ability to control these factors so as to control their standards of living."* [6] The focus of social development is to improve the lives of regular citizens, especially the poor, to make the society a better place for everyone. To a large extent, it involves listening to poor people and promoting their voices in development.

Political Development

This is best described as political modernisation. It may be defined in terms of the capacity of the political system to satisfy the changing needs of the members of the society[7]. This type of development involves the moral maturity and discipline of the operators of politics. It is important because there must be political order for progress to exist in any society. For a nation to experience order, it must have an agent of order which is the government in power. This agent of order controls or determines the economic and social development of the society, thus, any development without political development is no development at all.

Individual Development

This type of development is also known as personal development. It is paramount as it provides the foundation for development. Man is the bedrock of the society, and without first solving the problem of the individual, it is impossible for any nation to develop. Individual development covers activities that improve awareness and identity, develops talents and potential, builds human capital, enhances the quality of life and contributes to the realisation of dreams and aspirations. This type of development involves both the moral courage and intellectual adroitness of an individual. Its nature determines the nature of the society as man is the measure of all things.

Since the economic, social and political types of development all rest on individual development, it suffices for Africa to lay more emphasis and give more primacy to individual development. There is need for our continent to invest more in the development of its people, especially the youth and future leaders, who will in turn promote the economic, social, political and other types of development.

PAN-AFRICAN LEADERSHIP

The foundation of a nation's development is individual development. The extent to which an individual can affect a nation or continent depends on the position occupied by such individual. A leadership that is personally developed has the moral courage to live up to expectation and understands the dynamics of a changing world. Such a leadership will place the interest of the people above that of the self, and exude competence in the face of technical challenges. Whilst describing the challenges faced by Nigeria, the prominent African scholar, Chinua Achebe, had asserted that *"the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership."* [8] This failure which Achebe talked about was and is still traceable to the lack of personal development. Our goals and visions as nations within Africa can be best achieved when our leaderships are anchored by individuals, with character and competence, who are committed to promoting the social will of the people they serve. Since we have now unanimously agreed to project ourselves to the First World status by 2063, there is the need to institutionalise what is called pan-African leadership if sustainable development is to be indeed sustained in Africa. By pan-African leadership, I mean unified and codified continental governance and leadership system, modus

operandi which will help spread the dividends of development throughout all African nations in record time. From different fronts, this kind of system would undoubtedly promote the living standards of Africans and help project the continent to the First World status. When taken into serious consideration, the following points and activities will help us realise that Africa we want. Firstly, the rate of citizenry living below poverty line is a barrier to our legacy as a people; but since political development is the determining factor for both economic and social developments, it suffices to pay detailed attention to the emergence of successive and progressive African politics. This kind of politics can come to stay when Africa indoctrinates the principle of personal development by systemically establishing a firm political institution which will be headquartered in any African nation and supervised by the African Union. The most important task will be to establish efficient governments and effective spirited leaders – with competence and character – who are devoted to development, and have the ability to promote it. Genuine development cannot afford to sacrifice the well-being of the majority; hence without first strengthening good governance in Africa, it is impossible for the continent to achieve our Agenda 2063 vision plan.

Secondly, education remains the best legacy and it is necessary we make huge investments ahead of 2063. In order to automatically install personally developed individuals into strategic leadership positions in the continent, the AUC, ECOWAS, AFDB and the likes must invest thoroughly in the education of youths, especially those showing thorough understanding of the rudiments of pan-Africanism and the Agenda 2063. Already, the African Union's Pan African University scheme and the ECOWAS Fellowship Programme, amongst others, serve as platforms for the preparation of Africa's future leaders, but more can be done in the educational sector, and swiftly, to meet up with our target in 47 years.

Thirdly, because we live in an age of sophisticated orchestrated designs by nations, companies and individuals to position themselves in such a way as to become colossal and powerful with myriads of tentacles of domination, our integration, which is an expression of pan-Africanism, is highly necessary. Civil societies, companies, government agencies, development organisations; NGOs and NPOs alike are required to work together to build up sustainable development projects from the grassroots all over Africa. The agenda 2063 is an open call for all Africans to lend a helping hand to lifting Africa; thus it is needful for all Africans (even the diaspora) to support motions which are geared towards improving the standards of living on African soil. If we are to be a bit cynical, we would realise that the spate at which NGOs, civil societies struggle to survive in Africa has somewhat contributed to some of the internal crises within our borders. For instance, when indigenous youths come up with a fantastic development idea and approach a prominent, powerful body in the continent and are turned down, they eventually seek support for their ideas from outside the shores of the continent. Such experiences often build negative momentum and the belief that these foreigners are more dedicated to the development of their communities. This could possibly spur the naive ones into rebelling against their own leaders, governments in the name of "fighting for the development of their country". Inasmuch as I agree that somethings are not right with African leaderships, I do not believe in violent resolutions. Rather, I believe in diplomacy, negotiation and the sharing of that feeling of belonging which could peacefully pave ways in even the most difficult matters against the government. However, many young people do not think the same way but believe in violent outbursts. Not looking too far to the death of Muammar Gaddafi, a recent case study was the #SHUTDOWNZIM and #THISFLAG campaigns in Zimbabwe which was reportedly claimed to be sponsored by some foreign influence. Whether sponsored or not, African big bodies, governments, companies and organisations need to show full support to the youth and carry them along if we are to raise young

people with pan-African consciousness who would not be used like pawns in a chess game. Several 'African' NGOs, NPOs partook in the #SHUTDOWNZIM exercise and were ready to create chaos which would have thrown negative spotlight on Africa, whereas we should be more united in the spirit of pan-Africanism and seek better ways to project the agenda 2063.

Fourthly, the common idiom, "as you make your bed, so you must lie on it", reminds us of the fact that the future has its foundation in today. To prepare a more formidable ground for Africa's future leaders, our present leaders (presidents, heads of state) ought to exude the spirit of oneness and speak from one voice. How do we expect the globe to take our concerns into serious consideration when we don't speak as one authentic voice? Of course, pan-African leadership is a nitty-gritty for Africa's development; and this is why one of the foremost goals of the agenda 2063 vision plan is to build the much needed unity in the continent. Imagine that Africa seeks permanent representation on the UN Security Council so as to effectively tackle our problems of peace and security issues, but only few of our leaders have been passionate enough to declare our collective aspiration before the globe. Yet, we are classified as one of the world's most populated continents and every year our leaders attend the UN General Assembly. One is tempted to ask, where does the allegiance lie?

Finally, the outgoing AUC Chairperson, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma's email dated January 24, 2063 must continue to serve as an encourager when we lose the zeal to individually carry on the torch of development in our diverse communities. Not only did it reveal that the agenda 2063 plan became successful when pan-Africanism had its root amongst the early generations, it also appraised the roles played by successive generations of African youth. This goes to show that the togetherness of African youth is key to the realisation of agenda 2063 and the eventual development of Africa. We ought to be overwhelmed by communal jingoism as our development as a people can only be bolstered when we stop acting as fifty-ive fragmented individual countries; and start acting as one powerful group.

CONCLUSION

Pan-Africanism is key to our development as a people. Our abundant natural resources are sufficient to place our nations on the forefront of global development, but good governance enshrined in the ideals of pan-Africanism is essential to carry all African nations along. In buttressing this point, Professor Obi Oguejiofor rightly asserted that: *"From whatever angle the solution to the problems of the continent may come, it is evident that proper governance or management of the available resources of all kinds is essential in moving the continent forward and in ensuring that the proper atmosphere exist to enable what could be done to be done in order to advance on the way of progress".* [9]

Africa's present and future leaderships must reposition their various nations on the threshold of a new pan-African orientation which will recognise our collective future in the agenda 2063, call for changes in attitudes and mindsets as well as inculcate the right set of African values – like honesty, transparency, discipline, integrity and the love for Africa and its people. This is imperative because only pan-Africanism can synthesise different African cultures, ideologies and information, and help us build a formidable society.

God bless Africa!

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AFRICA RISING - ILLICIT FINANCIAL FLOWS TOO! THE NEED FOR RESOLUTE LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA'S RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

PHOTO: HTTP://STAR.WORLDBANK.ORG/STAR/CONTENT/GETTING-MEASURE-ASSET-RECOVERY

This paper seeks to understand the relationship between Africa's potential, the increase in illicit financial lows, and the leadership challenge in resource management. It looks at the resources that the continent possesses (human and natural), the serious challenge of illicit financial lows, and the need for deliberate and resolute leadership within and beyond the continent's borders. It makes an assertion that there is a need to effectively manage the resources of the continent and proposes the need for concerted efforts to fight the illicit lows of resources out of the continent - a trend that doesn't seem to slow down. It implores the need for active participation of all Africans in the management of resources as a sure way to maintain the rise. In and of itself, it is not an exhaustive analysis because the topic under discussion is broad and interlinked with important aspects like development.

INTRODUCTION

There is a shift in the global portrayal of Africa. From the dark continent ravaged with diseases and poverty to a sleeping giant now rising. This centre stage has been earned as a result of resources. Africa is the second largest continent after Asia and home to around 1.2 billion people 50 % of whom are younger than 19 years old. Africa has about 30.2 million km ^{2} land and that accounts for 20.4 % of the earth's total land area. The world's second largest rainforest is found in Africa. The largest proportion of natural resources - gold, diamonds, gemstones, oil, and copper-

are found in Africa. In the midst of this rise is the systemic corruption that needs more than pronouncements, but action, to fight. The continent's youthful population gives it the advantage of a large and cheap workforce that will be useful in the exploitation of its natural resources. This also entails that there will be a ready demand and market for products. More importantly, the youthful population will contribute to the various nations' tax base and bring development to the various countries.

AFRICA'S RESOURCES

Africa is synonymous with natural resources from minerals, natural gas, oil and woodlands. Minerals are found in various parts of the continent and have been used to bring about economic development in some cases while others, the source of conflict. Wherever you look in Africa, there are mineral resources. In the south, Botswana has about 35 % of Africa's diamonds and produces copper, nickel and soda ash while South Africa is the largest producer of gold diamonds and is the world's largest producer of chrome, manganese, platinum, vanadium and vermiculite. It is also the second largest producer of ilmenite, palladium, rutile and zirconium. Zambia has over 75% of the continents copper and is the world's largest producer of emeralds from one single mine found in the impoverished district of Lufwanyama on the outskirts of the Copperbelt province. Mozambique has about 32 % of aluminum and there has been recent discoveries of huge reserves of natural gas. In the east, Tanzania is the fourth largest producer of gold on the continent and has deposits of iron ore, nickel, copper, cobalt, silver and more. In the west, Niger has 44 % of uranium while Guinea is responsible for 95 % of the continents bauxite production. With these resources, it would be expected that the continent would be developed. On the contrary, the mention of Africa's resources does not translate to a continent with cities well planned, a vibrant working class or hopeful youth soon to graduate from university and join the working class. Africa's resources have been plundered, will continue to be looted and a source of conflict if no deliberate actions are taken. The Democratic Republic of Congo is a good example of instability stemming from resources. With the largest world reserves of cottan, the most important metal in the production of laptops and smartphones, the DRC has known no peace. It is the largest producer of copper in Africa and has a significant share of the world's cobalt reserves. In 2009, it was estimated that the country had $24 trillion worth of untapped resources.

ILLICIT FINANCIAL FLOWS

It is estimated that more than 50 billion US dollars is lost from Africa annually through illicit financial lows. This is twice the amount that comes to Africa in form of aid. Illicit financial lows are facilitated by international tax havens and jurisdictions that enable the creating and operating of disguised corporations, shell companies, anonymous trust accounts and fake charitable foundations. Other techniques used are money laundering and transfer pricing. The plunder of the continent's resources makes news almost everyday. Corruption is rife in many African countries and according to Transparency International, the top most corrupt countries in the world are in Africa. It is probable that even more resources are lost from Africa in the absence of a clearly defined mechanism to ascertain the loss.

The recent increase of China's interest in Africa has brought with it, serious challenges in resource governance. This trend will continue if Africa does not collectively define the terms of engagement with the East. In looking at the resource outflows, it is important to keep in mind that there is a need for more accountability in the management of existing resources. And the primary custodian for accountability are the leaders.

LEADERSHIP IS KEY

The one important issue that needs attention and clearly stands in the way for Africa's turnaround is the leadership challenge. Most African countries are fairly stable and have embraced democracy as a form of government. It is also true that a number of countries with vast natural resources have seen and still experience a fair share of conflict. There is need to get the leadership right and this is closely connected to the level of education and awareness of the population. African leaders have facilitated the looting of resources from the continent by not taking responsibility in formulating policies and ensuring execution of the same for the development of the continent. There is need for African leaders to clearly denounce corruption and institute measures that will curb the vice. Leaders should not be assumed to be fighting corruption, they should be seen to be doing so and should act in the fight against corruption. This sends a clear message to those that have been involved and those that may wish to be involved. Nigeria's President Muhammadu Buhari is on record for stating categorically that his intention is to wipe out corruption. His demand for the return of money kept in British Banks should be supported by all those that are for the development of Africa. Notable, also, is the ferocious fight that has been put up by Tanzania's President John Magufuli who has adopted the reputation of a broom. Tanzania has endemic corruption and is placed at number 117 out of 168 countries globally. With resolute leadership, the illicit financial lows can be reduced significantly. The war against illicit financial lows is the single most important war that Africans should fight. Because if the resources do not low out and are kept within the continent, schools and universities can be financed, roads can be constructed, health care facilities and other social infrastructure can be built. There will be no need for African leaders to ly to Europe and Asia to access good medical services leaving the people that elected them to power to die in ill-equipped hospitals. The fight against illicit financial lows needs more than two committed leaders, it needs independent institutions like the Africa Union and the Africa Development Bank as champions.

It is gratifying to note that institutions like the African Development Bank are now taking centre stage in this discourse. There is a clear realisation that the continent is capable of rewriting its history and the time is now. The Bank's five point development plan is carefully crafted and inspired by the fact that yes, Africa does have the resources to make this a reality.

NEED FOR GLOBAL SUPPORT

In April, the world woke up to a shock of the Panama Papers - a revelation of how money is stored away and tax is evaded. In his address to the world, President Barack Obama called for joint global efforts to fight tax fraud. This call comes at the right time when Africa has been struggling with tax fraud by multinational corporations for years. Tax fraud and transfer pricing could account for major ways in which money lows out of Africa. African leaders through established institutions like the African Union and the African Development Bank should seek ways to work closely with the United States of America to fight illicit financial lows.

CONCLUSION

Africa will rise, Africa is rising! The time is now for Africa to rewrite history and change the fortunes of the continent. All the indicators for the rise are in favour of Africa and all that is needed is deliberate leadership and joint effort to make the narrative a reality.

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NATURAL RESOURCE GOVERNANCE, DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION: CASE STUDY OF THE OIL SECTOR IN UGANDA

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ABSTRACT

Discovery of significant oil resources in Uganda has been met with both optimism and skepticism. In as much as the country's government argues that the discovery and exploitation of the oil will be a boost to the country's development process, scholars, members of the political opposition and sections of the civil society contend that there is reason to fear for a possible oil resource curse. It is against this background that this study was undertaken; to scrutinize the content, process and implementation of the policies relating to exploitation of the oil and to determine whether these policies guarantee that the country will not suffer the resource curse. The study uses data generated from key informant interviews, which it augments with evidence culled from government publications, including policy documents and sector reports, and related literature. The study found that although the oil sector policies are comprehensive and were adopted through inclusive technical and political processes, the implementation of these policies is not transparent. Hence the country could become a victim of the resource curse. Recommendations towards redressing this problem are made.

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

Since attainment of political independence in the 1960s and 1970s, most of the countries in the Great Lakes Region have been stuck in a vicious cycle of conflict, including the genocide in Rwanda, the conflict in Burundi, the conflict in Southern Sudan, the ethnic clashes in Western Kenya, the protracted conflict in Somalia, the ethnic clashes in various parts of DRC and rebellions by the Uganda National Rescue Front, Allied Democratic Forces and West Nile Bank Front. Among other factors, the conflicts have been responsible for economic stagnation and retrogression, despite the region's enormous natural resources endowment (OSAA, 2006). Although the conflicts have revolved around political struggles for the control of the state, several studies have pointed to the significance of contested rights to access to natural resources in causing and sustaining the conflicts (Huggins et al, 2005; Muwanga, 2012; OSAA, 2006; Kameri-Mbote, 2005). However, over the last two decades, efforts at the national, regional and international levels have helped to mitigate majority of the conflicts and peace has slowly returned to most parts of the region.

Presently, a key concern the countries face pertains to the long-term sustainability of this peace. Evidence that the post-independence conflicts in the region were caused and sustained by contested rights to access natural resources lends credence to the hunch that accountable and visionary governance of the region's natural resources that is targeted at positive transformation of its political economy is pivotal to the sustainability of this peace. Accordingly, the discovery (and planned exploitation) of oil resources in various parts of the region does not only present an

opportunity for the socioeconomic transformation of the region; it also threatens the prospect of sustainable peace in the region.

Thus, a United Nations panel of experts on natural resources and conflict in Africa concludes that the countries need to mitigate the risk factors associated with the management of the oil sector—to maximize its potential for promoting transformation whilst restraining its potential for promoting conflicts (OSAA, 2006). To achieve this objective, the countries need quality information on these factors that is suited to their peculiarity—to adopt suitable policy options. Although policy alternatives could be drawn from the experiences of other countries, these must be tailored to the unique needs of the region. Customization of these policy alternatives to the region's peculiarity would benefit from rigorous examination of the alternatives and the way they may relate to this peculiarity. However, review of related literature (e.g. Kameri-Mbote, 2006) shows that this examination has not been conducted. Thus, this study is proposed to plug this gap through scrutinizing the risk factors in natural resource governance that are relevant to the region's oil sector and ways in which they could be mitigated--to promote equitable development and sustainable peace in the region. The research drew on the case of Uganda's nascent oil sector. It employed Process Tracing research method because it allows within-case analysis in the evaluation of causal processes. The other justification for using the method was that it does not solely rely on the comparison of variations across variables in each case, but also investigates and explains the decision process by which various initial conditions are translated into outcomes (George and McKeown, 1985).

Since attainment of political independence in the 1960s, the countries of the Great Lakes Region of Africa (GLRA) (i.e. Burundi, DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda) have struggled to achieve economic development. Notwithstanding, some progress that some of the countries have been able to realise is seen from their socioeconomic indicators, but most of them remain underdeveloped and majority of their citizens are trapped in extreme poverty (see, for example, UNDP, 2012).

Two explanations have been primarily advanced for the persistent underdevelopment of these countries. The first is that these countries lack the resources required to invest in infrastructural and human capital development, hence they are trapped in a vicious cycle of underdevelopment and poverty (Siggel, 2005). The second explanation is that the countries have failed to achieve development because they do not exploit their resources optimally for developmental purposes (Todaro & Smith, 2011)—because their leaders collude and make egocentric political settlements that result into plundering of the resources (cf. Eichstaedt, 2011). Meanwhile, groups that are excluded from such arrangements remain disgruntled and usually mobilize to cause political instability in a bid to compete over the right to control/ exploit the resources (Lindemann, 2010). For example, in Uganda, Golooba-Mutebi and Hickey (2013) observe that this kind of politics has closely shaped the character and performance of institutions and actors responsible for delivering development since the attainment of political independence in 1962. They note that successive political leaders and regimes sought to establish "dominant ruler" forms of political settlement, with a little sustained effort to depersonalize public institutions or build stable and inclusive political coalitions.

Over the last ten years, three of the GLRA countries (i.e. Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania) have discovered substantial oil deposits. For instance, in Uganda, potential revenues from the oil that has been explored are estimated at $148 billion (Lesedi 2010, NDP 2010). It is hoped that

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commercial exploitation of these oil resources could generate significant income that the countries could invest in infrastructure and human capital development (Collier, 2011; NDP 2010). Accordingly, discovery of the oil is seen as presenting enormous potential for the countries' economic development and poverty alleviation.

Nevertheless, the propositions of public choice theory give credence to the hunch that, in as much as discovery of oil in the region presents an opportunity for the socioeconomic transformation of the region, it also presents threats in terms of the so-called oil-curse (Thorp et al 2012; Jonathan Di John, 2007; Weisshaar, 2007; Bategeka & Matovu, 2011; Kiiza, Bategeka & Ssewanyana, 2011). This is especially so when the history of the countries' resource related conflicts and bad resource governance are taken into account. According to Lipsey and Crystal (1999), full blown public choice theory deals with three utility maximizing groups: 1) elected oficials, who seek to maximize the votes they can get at elections; 2) civil servants, who seek to maximize the salaries they draw from the public purse; and 3) voters, who seek to maximize utility from social services. Consequently, there may be nobody to attend to the general interest of society and the interests of others in the investment of public resources.

In the context of oil in the GLRA, the groups in society that public choice theory identiies can usefully be categorized into two: 1) the elites (political leaders, civil servants, individuals owning large businesses and opinion leaders etc.); and 2) the populace. It is anticipated that the elites will govern the development of the oil sector and the utilization of its proceeds within the constraints of the political settlements that they make among themselves. Authors like Di John and Putzel (2009) note that developmental political settlements could manifest in the structure of property rights and entitlements, which give some social actors more distributional advantages than others in the regulatory structure of the state. Conversely, other settlements are narrow and, from the theoretical point of view of public choice theory, there is reason to fear that the elite may look out for their egocentric beneits from the oil sector, with the consequence of promoting corruption and environmental degradation (see, for example, Ako, 2013). In turn, this could lead to socioeconomic disparities and political exclusion, conlict, political instability and, consequently, persistence of underdevelopment despite exploitation of the oil resources.

Attainment of political stability and, subsequently, inclusive development requires that the political settlements on the oil resources reached guarantee implementation of policies that attract the best returns from the oil sector and ensure that these returns are strategically invested in the promotion of economic development and poverty reduction (Bebbington 2013; Thorp et al 2012). Accordingly, there is need for up-to-date information about the political settlements relating to the oil sector that the political regimes in the region are making - to reach value judgments on the effectiveness with which the potential of the sector is being harnessed in favor of both political stability and economic development. Indeed, authors like Golooba-Mutebi and Hickey (2013) have highlighted need for rigorous studies on the way oil is being governed within the current political settlement; the way oil is reshaping the contours and functioning of the ruling coalitions; the ideas shaping the governance of oil and how the presence of oil is reshaping the political imaginary in countries of the region; the role transnational actors are playing and their impacts on the political settlement; the national–local and intra-local dynamics involved here, and the implications they have for the nature and functioning of the political settlement at different levels; and the implications oil has for inclusive development in the region.
However, a survey of the literature leads to the conclusion that, hitherto, few studies have delved

into these concerns. Currently, there are few comprehensive studies scrutinizing the oil sector related political settlements that the elites are making and implementing and the implications of these settlements for political stability, poverty alleviation and overall development of the GLRA. Moreover, even the few studies dealing with oil governance (e.g. ESID, 2011; Ako, 2013, etc.) that are available, focus on countries outside the GLRA.

This paper will report the findings of a study that was undertaken to plug this knowledge gap. Drawing on the case of Uganda's nascent oil sector, the study employed process tracing research methodology to respond to three research questions: What is the content of the political settlements relating to the oil sector policies that have been promulgated in Uganda? By what processes were these political settlements reached and to what extent were the processes politically inclusive? How are the oil-sector related political settlements in Uganda being implemented and how is this linked to the country's economic development? Accordingly, the paper discusses the extent to which the oil resources in the region are being governed in ways that secure development, poverty reduction and political inclusion after which it propounds recommendations for policy and further research.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The discovery, exploration and planned exploitation of oil resources in Uganda have attracted very significant optimism and pessimism for the country's prospects for stability and development. Different groups have different expectations and concerns and the country's policy makers and implementers; citizenry; civil society; and development partners are keen to ensuring that the country does not only avoid the oil curse but also that it uses the proceeds from the nascent oil sector to develop the country. The information that the proposed study hopes to generate will guide the aforementioned actors in the country's oil sector in their efforts to ensure that the country avoids the oil resource curse and uses the proceeds from the oil sector to transform the country. In particular, the significance of the study derives primarily from its intended empiricist/ diagnostic approach by which it hopes to ill gaps in past studies on the oil sector in the country (e.g. Kiiza, Bategeka&Ssewanyana, 2011), which mostly follow an idealist/ prescriptive approach. Through scrutinizing the processes of oil related legislations, policies and practices, the study will scrutinize how and why the different actors in the country's oil sector are acting out their roles as well as the implications of their actions for relevant policy and practice. The study will inform efforts to ill gaps in the oil and gas revenue management policy—to ensure keener attention to managing relevant oil-related expectations—thereby mitigating risk of the oil resource curse and the threat to stability and development that it presents. Hence, the ministries of energy and inance; relevant local and regional governments; non-governmental organisations; and oil exploration/ production companies will ind the study useful. Beyond Uganda, the study may be useful to other countries in the region, since legislation on the management of oil resources in all the countries in the Great Lakes region is only budding. Finally, the study will make reference and contribute, to discourse on the interplay between the management of natural resources, stability and sustainable development so future researchers in related fields may ind it useful.

GENERAL OBJECTIVE

The general objective of the study was to investigate the nature of the political coalitions responsible for the oil related policies and institutions in Uganda.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

1. To investigate the ways in which the discovery and planned exploitation of oil are influencing the functioning of the ruling coalitions in Uganda.
2. To investigate the ideas that are shaping the governance and development of the oil sector in Uganda.
3. To investigate the ways in which international actors are influencing the ideas shaping the governance and development of the oil sector in Uganda.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How is the discovery and planned exploitation of oil influencing the functioning of the ruling coalitions in Uganda?
2. What ideas are shaping the governance and development of the oil sector in Uganda?
3. How are international actors influencing the ideas shaping the governance and development of the oil sector in Uganda?

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study was carried out in Uganda. Focus was put on the processes, content and implementation of the legislations and policies relating to the oil sector in Uganda. Specific reference was made to the way pertinent political settlements have been reached and implemented, as well as the implications of these for the performance and contribution of the oil sector to the country's development. Accordingly, the study reached representatives of the key oil policy making and implementing organisations (including the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, Parliament of the Republic of Uganda, oil exploration and production companies, etc.); pertinent civil society organisations, the academia and oil policy think tanks. Uganda presents a particularly important case for study because it is just emerging out of a protracted insurgency that has been attributed, at least in part, to contest for the right to control natural resources, the inference being that it is extremely important to manage the newly found oil wealth in ways that will ensure that insurgency does not resurface in the region. Generating quality information on pertinent political coalitions and the ways in which these are inluencing the governance of the oil sector could guide efforts to ensure that the oil wealth is developed and used in ways that will ensure that insurgency does not resurface in the region. On the other hand, focus on the processes, content and implementation of the legislations and policies relating to the oil sector is justified by the realisation that although writing relating to the oil sector in Uganda is increasingly appearing, past authors on the subject have focused primarily on what the country should do rather than what it is doing and why it is doing it. And now that related legislations and policies are coming out and being implemented, the researcher is interested in extending the discussion to consider what the country is doing and how/why it is doing it.

RELATED LITERATURE AND KNOWLEDGE GAP

The oil sector in Uganda has attracted notable attention from the scholarly community, civil society, policy think tanks and development partners. Accordingly, writing on the sector has appeared in the form of scholarly articles (e.g. Kashambuzi, 2010; Henstridge and Page, 2012;

Collier, 2011, etcetera); reports from civil society organisations (e.g. International Alert, 2011); and development research policy papers (e.g. NDP, 2010; Modise, 2011; Vision 2040, 2012). Three other forms of writing relevant to the sector are: 1) legislations and policies on the oil sector in the country (i.e. Oil and Gas Revenue Management Policy, 2012; National Oil and Gas Policy 2008; Petroleum Exploration, Development and Production Bill, 2012); 2) mass media reports on the oil sector (e.g. Ssekikka, 2013; 2014); and 3) scholarly articles on highly valuable (natural) resources in general (e.g. ADB & AU, 2009; Guichaoua, 2012; Karl, 2007; Collier, 2010; Bebbington, 2013).

A major point of congruence in the aforementioned and other literature is that, although the discovery of oil in Uganda presents the country with an opportunity to develop, it also presents it with a threat of the oil-curse and Dutch disease. Thus, the authors contend that government, and other actors in the country's oil sector, should develop the oil resources innovatively, to ensure that the outcomes of the oil sector are positive and impact on the country's development and stability in significant and sustainable ways.

Two key variables relevant to the outcomes of the oil sector are: the way the sector is governed, and the way the proceeds are invested into the country's development processes. The way the oil sector is governed and proceeds from it are invested into the country's development processes are a function of pertinent legislations and policies and the way these are implemented. Subsequently, these have been the subject of very significant debate in its literature and there is very significant knowledge on what government should do and what it shouldn't do to avoid the oil resource curse. However, a key gap in the literature relates to the fact that very little research has been conducted on what might influence government's decisions and actions in the oil sector. Although notable attention has been paid to legislations and policies relating to the oil sector and how these are being implemented, sufficient attention has not been paid to the nesting nature of these laws and policies. An insightful analysis relating to this gap in the literature is by Poteete (2007). According to Poteete, behind policies, institutions, and state building lie political coalitions. He adds that politicians with narrow and unstable coalitions see rentier politics as an attractive coalition building strategy albeit these politicians' use of rentier politics as a political coalition building strategy hinders state building. On the other hand, politicians with broader and more stable coalitions are less likely to turn to rentier politics to bolster political support, in part because they are more apt to believe that they will reap the benefits from investments in state building.

In Uganda's case, it is particularly noteworthy that, at the time the country's oil resources are being discovered and their exploitation is being planned, the legitimacy of the ruling (NRM) government is significantly contested. After nearly 30 years in power, a growing political opposition and an increasingly critical cadre of civil society and diplomatic organisations are challenging the legitimacy of the ruling party more significantly by the day. From Poteete (2007)'s point of view, circumstances like these could dispose key policy makers to rentier politics—with the view to build political coalitions that will enhance their grip on power despite increasing perceived illegitimacy. In turn, such inclination towards rentier politics might result into failure to adopt sound macroeconomic policy options that regulate the low of the proceeds from the oil sector into the domestic economy and, subsequently, prevent the oil curse and Dutch disease. Thus, Poteete (2007) poses a pertinent question: "under what conditions are governments able to overcome political pressures to spend their new income now and adopt macroeconomic policies

that protect long-term economic growth?"

In the context of the proposed study, it is particularly noteworthy that this question is relevant to Uganda's nascent oil sector, especially considering that challenges to the ruling party's legitimacy could incline it towards rentier politics. This being the case, it is essential that quality information is generated in ways in which the discovery and planned exploitation of oil is inluencing the functioning of the ruling coalitions in Uganda; the ideas that are shaping the governance and development of the oil sector; and the ways in which international actors are influencing the ideas shaping the governance and development of the country's oil sector. However, information on these is generally nonexistent. An apparent reason for this knowledge gap is that scholars and commentators on the country's oil sector have focused primarily on what the government should do or should not do in developing the oil sector albeit they fail to take cognizance of the role of the overall ideas, political pressures and subsequent political coalitions that may determine what the government does or does not do. This study is proposed to ill this gap, by extending the debate on the development of the country's oil sector from asking what the government should do to avert the resource curse to why the government may or may not do what it needs to do to avert the curse.

DESIGN

The study was carried out following a case study design through which cross sectional data was collected on the political coalitions responsible for the oil sector policies and institutions that are being developed in Uganda. The design was well suited for the study because its specificity of focus which enables identification of key features of the political economy of natural resources in Uganda, thereby allowing the researcher to gain insight into pertinent political coalitions and the ways in which they relate to the impact of the oil sector on Uganda's political stability and development (Bell, 2005). The cross sectional nature of the study ensured that all the data necessitated was collected at one point in time (Amin, 2005), which was important considering that political coalitions are dynamic and could change over long periods of time. Implementation of the study involved the use of process tracing methods through which qualitative data was collected about the nature of the political coalitions responsible for the oil related policies and institutions in Uganda.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The population of the study included all the stakeholders in Uganda's oil sector. These include the government of Uganda, civil society organisations, oil related policy think tanks, opposition political organisations, oil companies and Uganda's citizenry. Data was collected from members of each of these categories of stakeholders. These were selected following snowball sampling techniques because it was hoped that the key actors in Uganda's oil sector and political discourse that were contacted initially might know other actors that would provide the information required for the study. The actual selection of respondents in the study was systematized and targeted at the attainment of saturation.

DATA SOURCES AND COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Data was collected primarily from the key actors in Uganda's oil sector and political discourse. This was done using individual and group interviews. Therefore, interview guides and recording equipment were used. The interview guides were unstructured, to ensure that the questions put

to each respondent or group of respondents are tailored to the peculiarity of the respondents' knowledge or/ and jurisdiction. Before using them to collect data, the interview guides were submitted to the research project supervisor for validation and revised in accordance with the feedback received on their quality. Secondary data was also culled from relevant reports and publications.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The study progressed through three major stages namely, preparation for data collection; data collection and analysis; and reporting. During the first stage, an initial sample of respondents was selected and data collection instruments developed and validated. Data collection assistants were also selected and trained. During the second stage, interviews were conducted. Lastly, during the third stage, the data collected was transcribed, analysed and compiled into a report. This stage also involved the preparation and submission of manuscripts and policy reports for publication.

DATA MANAGEMENT AND ANALYSIS

The interviews were recorded electronically. Thereafter, the records were transcribed and subjected to content analysis, to identify the key themes arising out of the respondents' responses. The content analysis was conducted using qualitative data miner (QDM). The themes on the nature of the political coalitions responsible for the oil related policies and institutions in Uganda that were identified were then cross-referenced to relevant secondary sources and literature to reach conclusions on the variables involved in the study.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Before data collection, the research proposal was submitted to the University's Research Review Board and Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) for ethical clearance. And all the respondents were kept confidential.

FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Content of the Political Settlements Relating to the Oil Sector Policies in Uganda

The national gas and oil policy for Uganda (2008) and Petroleum Exploration and Production Act (2000) embody the contents of the political settlements relating to the oil sector in the country. These include: 1) the country's goals and objectives for the oil sector; 2) the guiding principles for the development of instruments for the development and regulation of the sector; 3) the roles and privileges of stakeholders in the country's oil sector. According to the policy, the country's goals are to: ensure efficiency in licensing areas with the potential for oil and gas production in the country; establish and efficiently manage the country's oil and gas resource potential; efficiently produce the country's oil and gas resources; promote valuable utilization of the country's oil and gas resources; promote the development of suitable transport and storage solutions which give good value to the country's oil and gas resources; ensure collection of the right revenues and use them to create lasting value for the entire nation; ensure optimum national participation in oil and gas activities; support the development and maintenance of national skills and expertise; ensure that oil and gas activities are undertaken in a manner that conserves the environment and biodiversity; and ensure mutually beneficial relationships between all stakeholders in the

development of a desirable oil and gas sector for the country.

To promote attainment of these goals, the policy outlines seven guiding principles for the development of the country's oil sector: using the exhaustible oil and gas resources to create lasting benefits to society; manage resources efficiently; transparency and accountability; competitiveness and productivity; protection of the environment and conservation of biodiversity; co-operation with pertinent stakeholders; and capacity and institution building. The policy expounds on these guiding principles, demonstrating the keenness to ensure that the oil resources are democratically governed in an efficient way that will guarantee the best returns for the country while at the same time avoiding the resource curse. In fact, the oil and gas policy discusses the need to, and makes provisions for amendment of the Petroleum Exploration and Production Act (2000)—to ensure its adherence to the aforementioned guiding principles and, ultimately, realisation of the country's goals in the oil sector as cited above. The document goes ahead to specify the roles and responsibilities of the different actors in the oil sector. Relating to this, it is noteworthy that roles are specified for a diverse range of stakeholders (including legislators, technocrats, local leaders, representatives of oil exploration and production companies, cultural leaders and even members of the grassroots). The inference here is that the contents of the political settlements relating to Uganda's oil sector are all inclusive, taking cognizance of the claims of all the relevant stakeholders. After all, upon careful consideration, it is notable that adherence to these guiding principles would go a long way in securing the oil-sector goals cited above, which are in themselves notably inclusive, showing care for the current and future generations.

PROCESS OF THE POLITICAL SETTLEMENTS RELATING TO THE OIL SECTOR POLICIES IN UGANDA

Two key points discernible from the discussion on the content of the oil-sector related political settlements in Uganda are that: 1) the political settlements are forward-looking and focus on emulating best practices from around the world with the view to ensure efficiency, profitable production and environmental conservation (mindful of oil's nature as a non-renewable resource); and 2) the political settlement aspires to be all inclusive, reflecting the views and interests of a diverse range of stakeholders in the country's oil sector. These are invariably strong components of the discourse on the country's oil sector. However, beyond the issue of these plans and aspirations, are the even more important issues of whether/ how they are actually implemented. It is against this background that this study traced the processes of the oil-related political settlements—to generate answers to questions in this regard.

The findings were that the oil-sector related settlements were originated by the ruling coalition, albeit pertinent stakeholders were provided with an opportunity to influence their ultimate content at different stages and in a number of ways. Specifically, the oil policy was drafted by the Ministry of Energy with input from the international community, experts and political stakeholders. Subsequently, the policy was discussed and endorsed by cabinet—to form the background to oil-sector related legislations. The Ministry of Energy (2008) recounts this process thus: The National Oil and Gas Policy is a result of an intensive consultative process which started with the review of oil and gas policies from Algeria, Chad, Egypt, East Timor, Indonesia, Kenya, Libya, Malaysia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Russia, Sao Tome and Principe, South Africa, Tanzania, United Kingdom, USA and Venezuela. Three consultative meetings and workshops

were held with technical staff of various government institutions between 25th-28th April, 2006; 17th-18th July, 2006; and 31st July-1st August, 2006 after which a working document of the draft policy was formulated.

The draft policy was then forwarded to representatives of local and urban authorities, cultural institutions in the Albertine Graben, civil society organisations and academic institutions for their review before participating in a two-day stakeholder's consultative workshop held between 29th and 30th November, 2006. Many views received during the workshop were incorporated into the draft policy. It was presented and discussed at the Permanent Secretaries meeting held on 7th August, 2007.

Additional consultative meetings were held on 10th, 12th of August and 3rd December, 2007 in Hoima, Arua and Kasese respectively. The meetings were attended by area Members of Parliament, officials of the District Executive Committees and Council Members of the districts of Hoima, Masindi, Kibale, Bullisa, Arua, Nebbi, Moyo, Amuru, Gulu, Kabarole, Kyenjojo Bundibugyo, Kasese, Kamwenge, Bushenyi, Rukungiri and Kanungu.

Guidance was received from H.E. the President when he reviewed the draft policy with the Ministries of Energy and Mineral Development, Finance, Planning and Economic Development and Justice and Constitutional Affairs at State House, Nakasero on 25th September, 2007. A consultative workshop was held for Cabinet on 26th September 2007 in which the draft policy was presented for consideration before formal submission for approval. The comments received during these meetings enriched the policy immensely. The policy was approved by Cabinet on 30th January, 2008.

The foregoing shows that the process of formulating the oil and gas policy was technical, political and consultative. It was technical in a way that it drew on the expertise of a multidisciplinary of experts in the related areas of mining, oil resources management and natural resources economics. Then it was political in a way that it drew the input of political leaders across the entire political spectrum in the leadership of the country, including councilors at the local council level, cultural leaders in the oil-rich Albertine Graben, members of parliament, cabinet ministers and the president. Finally, the process was consultative in a way that it did not only invite and integrate the views of people at the grassroots, but it also integrated insights drawn from the experiences of other countries that are involved in oil exploration and production across the entire continent, including those that are more developed and those that are not.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLITICAL SETTLEMENTS RELATING TO THE OIL SECTOR POLICIES IN UGANDA

The Ministry of Energy is in charge of implementing the political settlements relating to the oil sector in Uganda. Implementation of the oil policy has been primarily through the passing of relevant legislation and conclusion of Production Sharing Agreements with international oil exploration and production companies. Review of the oil policy shows that it touches on both these items. Specifically, the policy articulated the need for amendment of the Petroleum Exploration and Production Act of 2000 to enable attainment of the goals the country is pursuing through the oil sector. It also articulates the need for and modalities for the consideration and determination of relevant production sharing agreements.

Two important achievements in the implementation of the oil-related political settlements are that the Petroleum Exploration, Development and Production Act 2013 has been passed and various production sharing agreements signed (Musoke 2013). However, interviews conducted with members of Uganda's parliament early this year show that there have been two shortfalls in the implementation of the otherwise good and inclusive oil related political settlements. First, the members of parliament noted that although a generally good piece of legislation, parts of the Oil and Gas Law of 2013 required more critical consideration albeit the bill was passed hurriedly. In an interview, a Honourable member of parliament said that, *"The controversial Clause 9, which gives control over exploration and production licensing to the minister in charge of petroleum."* Although respondents from the Ministry of Energy gave a counter argument that there was urgent need to pass the law to provide a legal framework within which the oil operations would be regulated, a counter argument was that the debate and passing of the law were marred by influence pedaling and intrigue, with the result that the law was passed only hurriedly. Of particular contention was the issue of the rights of the minister (of energy) in the conclusion of oil production sharing agreements, with skeptics fearing for the possibility of various forms and levels of corruption and their attendant consequences. One of the members of parliament talked to, said that, *"Retaining the controversial clause 9 in the act is only meant to advance the state's commercial interests in the oil sector."*

The second problem cited in the implementation of the oil sector related political settlements is that discussion and sharing of the production sharing agreements are strictly secret. A major point of contention here is that when the final component of the oil process, namely, concluding of the agreements is done secretly, moreover in a legal dispensation where the minister is given a proportionately large amount of authority over the oil resources, corrupt tendencies may not be checked and the country's best interests may not be served. It is noteworthy that, when interpreted concurrently, the findings on the content, process and implementation of the oil sector policies in Uganda, it becomes apparent that the problem is with the implementation of policies that are otherwise well reached and inclusive. This appears to explain the widespread skepticism, dissent and concern relating to oil witnessed in Uganda's media (see, for example, Musisi (2014), Nakayi (2013) and scholarship on the oil sector in general (see, for example, Mbabazi (2012), Hickey (2013).

RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study points to recommendations aimed at enhancing transparency in the implementation of the political settlements relating to the oil sector. The study appears to show that although Uganda has adopted very good policies and following an inclusive and consultative process, this is a necessary but insufficient condition for success in the oil sector and for preventing the oil curse. It is recommended that government gives itself to the transparent execution of the sector policies as the sufficient condition for success in the sector. At the present stage, it is recommended that government discloses the production sharing agreements that have been reached. After all, this is in line with the provisions of the access to information act. This will help to give contentment to those involved in the process of developing the policy that indeed, their views are being carried through and their interests catered for as promised in the policies. It may also help to ensure that rectifiable gaps are highlighted for redress. And now that the Petroleum Exploration, Development and Production Act 2013 is already in place, it is recommended that

the ministry of energy reconsiders some of the voices that may not have been given expression when the bill was debated. These might form part of future amendments that will be aimed at overcoming the shortfalls in the oil sector that this study highlights among others.

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DEVELOPMENTAL NATIONALISM:
THE ROLE OF THE AFRICAN YOUTH

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ABSTRACT

Nationalism has long been a subject of discussion in the literature of development. It helps facilitate development by creating a strong sense of national identity which allows the citizenry to commit to nation-building. This paper examines the role of the African youth in promoting the continent's development through developmental nationalism. Africa's young people are recognised as the continent's greatest assets and the most suited to play this role. The fact that the continent needs development suggests a compelling need for the potentials of youth to be harnessed to drive any development agenda. In the past, young people played historic roles in promoting development through nationalistic causes but today's youth are facing increasing difficulties in sustaining this legacy. This paper, therefore, makes a case for rebuilding this past legacy and for the empowerment of Africa's young people to drive the continent's development.

DEVELOPMENTAL NATIONALISM: THE ROLE OF THE AFRICAN YOUTH

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines nationalism as loyalty and devotion to a nation, a sense of national consciousness exalting one nation above all others and placing primary emphasis on promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations or supranational groups (Merriam-Webster, 2015).

In the same vein, the Encyclopaedia Britannica also defines nationalism as an ideology based on the premise that individual's loyalty and devotion to a nation-state surpass other individual or group interest (Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 2015). While nationalism does not connote disdain for other nations or other group interests, it represents patriotism, national pride and absolute loyalty to national interest before all other interests.

Nationalism has long been a subject of discussion in the literature on development. Musluk (2010) argues that nationalism came forth in many third World countries as an understanding which is thought to pave the way for development as it imagines a nation based on integrity (Musluk, C, 2010). This view is supported by Law (Law, C., 2010) who argues that in multi-cultural societies like Canada and the United States, nationalism has helped to facilitate development by creating a national identity based on shared political values. Where a strong sense of national identity exists, the citizenry commits to nation-building. The implication for multi-cultural societies like Africa is that nationalism could be paramount for the realisation of the social, economic and cultural aspirations of our people.

In what follows, an argument on why the youth are most suited to champion the cause of nationalism is presented. The different roles youth have played in promoting nationalism are also discussed citing examples from the global and African experience.

HISTORIC ROLE OF YOUTHS IN PROMOTING NATIONALISM

The world's greatest asset is the youth. Not only are they energetic, ebullient and boisterous, when they are meaningfully engaged, their productivity is higher than that of any other age group. Countries with a dominant youth population are considered as having an important advantage over countries with an ageing population. This is why countries like Japan with an ageing population are doing everything possible to reverse the trend. Japan's quest to reverse her current ageing population is explained by the productivity argument already adduced.

With this, it is clear that the youth have an important role to play in promoting nationalism. This is so because young people have the needed energy to champion nationalistic causes. Young people are very important stakeholders in society as the leaders and followers in the nearest future. As the trustees of posterity, the youth should, therefore, be concerned about playing important nationalistic roles to shape the future of their society. History shows that Africa's youth have not fallen short in playing this important role. At very critical moments in history, young people have played very prominent roles in fast-tracking development through nationalistic causes on a national and global scale. A few of these roles are highlighted below:

- Youths as Champions of a Freer, Fairer and Safer World

The Youths have made immense contributions towards promoting human freedom and dignity. In doing this, they sacrifice to help in achieving freedom for the human race. For example, the former Cuban leader, Fidel Castro was a young student at the University of Havana when he pushed for the Cuban revolution which culminated in the overthrow of Cuban President Fulgencio Batista's military junta. In the same vein, President Nelson Mandela's fight against the apartheid regime in South Africa was motivated by his experience as a young black South African student when he was expelled from the University College of Fort Hare for joining in a student protest. The acclaimed Arab Spring that has revolutionised freedom and governance in some Arab countries of North Africa and the Middle East was driven by young people, who felt dissatisfied with the state of their nations.

For Africa, many cases abound. People like W.E.B. Dubois and other Pan-Africanists were at the prime of their youth when they pushed for the decolonization of Africa and the West Indies through the Pan African Congress. In the same vein, Kwame Nkrumah, Herbert Macauley, H.O. Davies, Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo and others were young people when they founded organisations that fought for Africa's decolonization. It was also in the University that Wole Soyinka and some other young students founded organisations that fought corruption and injustice against black African students.

- The Youth and the Democratisation Process

The role young people have played in the democratisation process cannot be over-emphasized. Apart from confronting and even bringing down many military regimes across the world, youth movements have played very prominent roles in deepening democracy. Because the youth community is enlightened, they are wiser in their voting decisions and can easily mobilise to vote out a bad government.

- The Role of the Youth as a Pressure Group

Young people when well organised can serve as an important pressure group that can shape

governance and accountability. In 2010, when there was a leadership vacuum in the Nigerian Presidency, young Nigerians played prominent roles in supporting the Pastor Tunde Bakare-led Save Nigeria Group (SNG) through protests to bring pressure to bear on a so-called cabal to allow the then Vice-President, Goodluck Jonathan, to act as President. This was achieved through the invocation of the doctrine of necessity and a looming leadership crisis was avoided. In 2012, young people partnered with labour and civil society groups to protest against the sudden removal of fuel subsidy on January 1st, 2012 when most Nigerians got stuck in their hometowns after the Christmas holidays. The protests brought pressure on the government to reach a compromise with labour and civil society groups. The outcome was a better deal for the Nigerian masses. In the same vein, student unions have at different times fought for the interest of the student community and called ruling governments to order when necessary. One area this often plays out is when governments increase school fees without taking into account the impact this would have on family income and the standard of living in such families. Student movements have successfully resisted such arbitrary increases most times. The basis for resisting these hikes in school fees is that such increases, reduce access to education by the poor, a situation that perpetuates an elitist society while absolute poverty remains endemic. A recent case is the University fee protests led by South African Students which caused the country's president to agree to freeze fee increases across South African universities.

• Youth Groups and the Socialisation Process

Youth groups and organisations serve as a hotbed of socialisation. Such groups like clubs, societies and student unions have contributed in fast-tracking the socialisation process. This helps in preparing youth members to thrive and survive in the larger society. A key part of this process is the ideals of integrity, honesty and contentment which young people are encouraged to imbibe to make them responsible members of society.

• Youths as Tomorrow's National Manpower Stock

Youths make up tomorrow's national manpower stock. In literature, the role of human capital development has been widely discussed. The 1998 human development report was the irst to recognise the critical role of human development in national development. The report recognised human capital as the real wealth of nations and the ultimate driver of sustainable development.

In line with this, Awopegba (2003) posits that the development of human capital has been recognised by development planners as an essential pre-condition for a country's economic and socio-cultural transformation. As young people such as students mature and become professionals in their chosen endeavours, they join the labour force and become part of the country's stock of human capital. When they are engaged in their fields of speciality, they contribute to society's progress and development by offering their services with vigour and enthusiasm; and displaying quality leadership skills critical for the continent's development.

DEVELOPMENTAL NATIONALISM: CONCERNS WITH TODAY'S AFRICAN YOUTH

Is today's African youth active in promoting nationalism? Or are these examples more like reliving the good old days? A few young people are still very involved in acts of nationalism and nation-building. Many of Africa's young people are involved in the activities of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) where they are making

modest contributions to national development. Nigeria and Tanzania have also conducted a successful 2015 election that saw the youth play an active role, particularly through social media.

However, it is easy to see that more progress was made in the past than at present as far as youth contributing to the promotion of nationalism is concerned. For some reasons, there has been a rapid deterioration in the role young people played in promoting nationalism and national development on almost all fronts. More African youths are taking to crimes like armed robbery, kidnapping, rape, fraud, internet scam etc. both at home and abroad. Only on April 28th, 2015, four Nigerians were put to death in Indonesia for contravening that country's drug laws. The damage such events do to Nigeria's national image can only be imagined. More African youths are concerned with how to get rich and popular through shortcuts and only a few are ready to work hard and contribute positively to nation-building.

Unlike in the past, youth participation in politics has become a sorry tale. The youth wings of most African political parties have more or less become militant wings which unscrupulous politicians use to intimidate opponents and have their way. Even the educated youths are not spared. In a recent paper presentation titled "Good Governance: Sustainability of Democracy, the Role of Students in the Forthcoming General Elections" to mark the International Day of Students, Pastor Tunde Bakare lamented that "not only has students' unionism fallen from its pinnacle of intellectual doggedness and ideological astuteness, it had also lost its activist steam, become a mere appendage of ruling political parties and a tool in the hands of corrupt politicians,"   (The Punch, 2014).

REDEFINING THE ROLE OF THE AFRICAN YOUTH IN PROMOTING NATIONALISM

The prominent roles played by students in the past in promoting nationalism can be re-ignited. All that is to be done is to shape and redefine these roles where necessary. Some of the measures that could be taken to re-ignite the role of students in developmental nationalism might include:

• Establishing Youth-led Community Development Service (CDS) Groups in Communities and Schools

Youth-led Community Development Service (CDS) groups should be established in our schools so that young people can contribute to the building of communities around them. Such groups would be concerned with core development issues affecting communities including poverty reduction, HIV/AIDS prevention and management, family and community health, drug abuse and other salient community development issues. This will not only foster peer-to-peer interaction among young people and allow for the free low of innovative ideas, it will enable young people to be active in community development and instil a strong sense of responsibility in them. This could also help reduce crime and foster peace and stability in our communities. The impact of these community development service groups would be striking as it would help take development to the grassroots while making young people responsive to the needs of their communities. My experience with Project Change Initiative (PCI), a student-led community development action platform within the University was awesome. PCI helped not only to promote the ideals of good studentship in campuses but enabled members to have a sense of ownership of the campus community and be concerned about its well-being. If we could have such initiatives across all African campuses, it could indeed have a positive impact.

- Promoting Volunteerism in Communities and Schools

One way the role of the African youth in promoting developmental nationalism could be enhanced is by encouraging them to volunteer for just causes. Through volunteerism, young people would learn to do things that would benefit society while expecting no remuneration and by doing this, they would ill themselves and the continent with hope. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) should, therefore, put mechanisms in place to engage youth volunteers in facilitating their development work.

- Engaging Youths in Agenda Setting, Policymaking and Implementation

The African youth should be engaged in agenda setting, policy making and implementation primarily on issues that affect them. It is imperative that efforts should be made not only to engage the youth but to make them the fulcrum of public policy making and execution. Engaging young people like students in agenda setting and implementation will not only bring fresh ideas and greater energy to the delivery of good governance but also guarantee sustainability in the near future and the much-needed stability that every country needs to thrive and blossom.

- Encouraging Effective Partnership between Youth Groups and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

Since the youth community represents an enlightened populace, civil society organisations should be encouraged to improve on their partnership with youth groups including student bodies in their campaigns. This would add steam to the efforts of such organisations to get leaders to be responsible, accountable and deliver the much-needed dividends of democracy in Africa.

- Redefining Student Unionism

Student unionism must be redefined to allow students to contribute productively to national development. This redefinition must be in such a way that unionism would not be left to unserious, unintelligent and self-seeking charlatans who have dragged student unionism in their quest for self-glory. All efforts must be made to restore student unionism to its glorious days.

- Making Civics Part of Education Curriculum

Civics should be made part of our academic curriculum from the kindergarten level to the tertiary level. This should form part of a catch-them-young strategy aimed at inculcating in young people the practical aspects of citizenship, their rights and duties, the duties of citizens to each other as members of society and to the government. In the same vein, the relevant government agencies in each African country should embark on effective campaigns targeted at young people aimed at sensitising them on their rights, obligations, conduct and privileges to enhance their role in developmental nationalism. This will educate the youth that citizenship represents the ideals of integrity, selflessness, fearlessness and service and not the vices of corruption, selishness and personal aggrandisement.

- Promoting Good Governance and Accountability

Good governance and accountability is key to promoting developmental nationalism among the African youth. Government at all levels must be responsible and keep the social contract by ensuring that society provides an enabling society for its people to thrive and be responsible

citizens. A situation where political leaders and their cronies abdicate their obligations to the citizenry and instead steal the commonwealth and flaunt their affluence leaves nothing good for the young people to learn. Instead, it provokes the 'get-rich-quick or die trying' appetite in our youths which makes them resort to all forms of anti-social activities to survive or "belong". Our leaders should lead by example and focus on building strong institutions that will guarantee the effective delivery of good governance and accountability. The average African youth is talented and hardworking but faces a tough challenge from a society that offers limited opportunities and has allowed high youth unemployment to fester. If Africa can provide an enabling environment for her young people to thrive, then she can sit and watch her youth populace unleash their potentials and energy and make her an enviable continent.

CONCLUSION

That Africa direly needs development suggests a compelling need for the potentials of young people to be harnessed to drive developmental nationalism. Although this paper has suggested measures to achieve this, these measures would prove worthless if mechanisms are not put in place to bring them to fruition. We therefore need more actions than words to reposition the African youth to deliver on their potentials in creating the Africa we all desire: a new Africa.

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EDUCATION: A PATHWAY TO AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT (THE SCRUTINY)

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ABSTRACT

There have been many theories given on how Africa should develop, regardless, this paper argues on why it is important to focus on education as one of the major tools to move Africa forward. It scrutinises the current education systems in African countries and how they are not tailored to equip the African child with the mindset and skills required for leadership. Instead of waiting for aid and relief, this paper champions the need for Africans to arise and offer solutions to Africa's problems. The challenge calls for stock-taking of the "state" of the different African countries so that the proper education system can be targeted to them. For Africa's education system to respond to the needs of poor children and to contribute to wealth creation in communities and society at large, it needs to take poverty into special consideration when planning education services.

EDUCATION: A PATHWAY TO AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

Africa is the world's second-largest and second-most-populous continent with 1.1 billion people as of 2013 accounting for about 15% of the world's human population. The continent hosts a large diversity of ethnicities, cultures and languages, with its history dating back to the late 19th century when European countries colonised most of its territories. Colonisation of Africa is still a topic of contest to this day as many, like Prof Walter Rodney, believe it to have destroyed Africa. In his book "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa", Prof Rodney explains how colonialism enriched Europe and reduced Africa to abject poverty. He argues that the riches of Africa and her raw materials fuelled the economies of imperialist countries.

Decade after decade, politicians and international organisations are failing to reduce poverty in Africa, nor are they able to help generate growth or build basic infrastructure. Worse still between 1975 and 2000 Africa was the only place on earth where poverty intensiied. It's only recently that the situation has improved (Causes of Poverty in Africa, 2011).

Like Dr Martin Luther, I have a dream. A dream for Africa, like World Bank's mission carved in stone at Washington headquarters, the dream is "an Africa free of poverty". This is Africa with improved living standards and access to all basic needs. Africa where every person has enough food, water, shelter, health and education. Africa where all nations are democratic and citizens have a say in their own future. Africa that is independent of foreign aid, able to manage and handle herself without struggle. Africa that will not depend on imports but will rather be a net exporter of goods and services to other countries. Yes! Africa that has achieved gender equality with empowered women and girls, having its own resilient infrastructure, able to promote inclusive and sustainable industrialisation and foster innovation.

Is it possible or just one of those dreams that a beggar would ride if wishes were horses? Let

us ask countries that have experienced economic growth like China. Once among the poorest countries in the world, today China's poverty rate has fallen from 85% to 15.9% accounting for nearly all the worlds' reduction in poverty. The answer I get from them is, it is possible.

But where do we begin? There have been so many theories on how Africa should develop, stretching from economics to technology. Regardless, I concur with Nelson Mandela's saying that "*education is the most powerful weapon which can be used to change the world"*. Developing structures and increasing Africa's GDP is necessary, but that is not where it begins. The Genesis is you and me, just as the United Nations states: *"people are the real wealth of any nation"* . Development according to United Nations is thus about expanding the choices people have to lead the lives they value. It is much more than economic growth, a very important means of enlarging people's choices.

Africa's vicious cycle of poverty must be broken and human development should be the focus. The best form of human development that cannot be ignored is education. No country has succeeded if it has not educated its people. Education is important in not only reducing poverty but as a key to wealth creation. Education is pivotal in breaking the vicious cycle and this is why it is ranked number 4 in the sustainable development goals: *"Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all"* .

But why should education matter to Africa? The United Nations argues that education provides a direct path towards food security and out of poverty, citing that educated parents can earn an income, produce more food through agricultural initiatives, and feed their children. Children who complete primary education are more likely to achieve food security as adults and end the cycle of poverty in their generation. Education increases people's confidence, enabling them to become self-suficient and better able to contribute to their communities.

Education is thus an area of focus worth brooding over by developing countries because it further allows for gender equity, a huge struggle in many African communities. According to the United Nations girls and women who achieve higher levels of education are greater contributors to the overall economic development and to children's welfare within communities. Achieving educational equity for girls – including educating communities on the value of girls' education – is an essential factor in sustainable poverty alleviation (CFC, 2016).

As we focus on education, what is required under this umbrella is the quality of education by all African communities. According to Motsoko Pheko, "*quality education is the key to creating, owning and controlling Africa's wealth and mentally decolonizing her people's captured minds. Africa needs a diverse education tailored to the economic needs of her people. That education must be free for the poor. No African child must be without education, merely because of his or her condition of poverty. African children must be taught the true history of Africa, not the colonial history of Africa's invaders that is full of perfidy to protect their colonial interests"* (Motsoko, 2012).

Instead of waiting for aid, and a way out from our dire situations from developed countries, I believe it is time Africa owned its educational systems and curriculums. Obama hits the nail on the head when he said *"Change will not come if we rely on another person or another time to come and make those changes. We have to be that change, we are those people we've been waiting for, and we can achieve those changes we have been longing for"* (Obama, 2016). This

somewhat motivational speech can inspire Africa to take action and try more than it has.

The challenge calls for stock-taking of the "state" of the different African countries so that the appropriate educational system can be targeted to its people. For the education system to respond to the needs of poor children and to contribute to wealth creation in communities and society at large, there is need to take poverty into special consideration in the planning of education services.

In their paper, Mark J. Epstein & Kristi Yuthas highlight how educational programs adopt traditional Western models of education, with an emphasis on math, science, language, and social studies. These programs allocate scarce resources to topics like Greek mythology, prime numbers, or tectonic plate movement—topics that may provide intellectual stimulation, but have little relevance in the lives of impoverished children (Mark J. Epstein & Kristi Yuthas, 2012).

Poor children have many disadvantages compared to their better-off counterparts. They are less healthy, their language skills less developed, and they are less well equipped- socially, emotionally and physically to undertake school programs. If their disadvantaged position and different day-to-day experience are not taken into account by school education, it is no wonder they do not benefit from the school system.

For too long, governments and organisations investing in education in developing countries have operated under the unquestioned assumption that improved test scores were clear evidence that their investments have paid off. But if, as we argue here, according to Mark J. Epstein & Kristi Yuthas mastery of the basic primary school curriculum is not the best means for improving life's chances and reducing poverty in developing countries, that model is broken. Investing in interventions that produce the highest test scores is no longer a valid approach for allocating scarce educational dollars or the scarce time available to develop young minds. It is time to seek the interventions that lead to the greatest social and economic impact for the poor.

It is a necessity for the educational systems in Africa to prioritise preparing all children, rich or poor, to achieve at school, and empower them by heightening their awareness of their rights and responsibilities. Show them their abilities and enhance their self-confidence to enable them to improve their lives.

Mark J. Epstein & Kristi Yuthas further propose that what students in impoverished regions need is not more academic skills, but rather life skills that enable them to improve their financial prospects and well-being. These include financial literacy and entrepreneurial skills; health maintenance and management skills; and administrative capabilities, such as teamwork, problem solving, and project management. It is vital that education systems heed the lessons of successful and less successful initiatives implemented by NGOs, private individuals, religious bodies and government themselves and translate these initiatives into policies, strategies and specific action that can be taken to scale. We will never eradicate poverty without quality education.

The continent will have the potential to develop with little or no help from the developed countries if it has a skilled human resource, well equipped with the ability and knowledge of harnessing Africa's natural and human resources. Africa is not a poor continent, it has great potential that requires the right skill to cultivate it. That cultivation lies in its people, therefore developing them in knowledge and skill should be of vital necessity.

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MEANING, NATURE AND SCOPE OF CONFLICT IN NIGERIAN WORKPLACES

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ABSTRACT

Conflict is a pervasive reality which resonates and occurs globally in diverse forms. UNDP (2014) noted that conflict and a sense of personal insecurity have pervasive adverse impacts on human development and leave billions of people living in precarious conditions. Conflicts have short and long term impacts which affect both conflicting and non-conlicting parties in different ways. This is most poignant at work, where workplace conflicts can escalate, inflict enormous harm on firms, employers, managers, employees, unions etc and pose a great threat to societal as well as national stability and progress. Hence, it becomes expedient for stakeholders at work to promptly and amicably settle conflicts whenever it erupts. It is against this backdrop that this paper calls for synergy between workplace parties and institution in developing accessible and transparent mechanisms for resolving workplace conflicts in Nigeria, given the complexities of our economy and low industrial capacity utilization in private and public enterprises.

Keywords: Conflict Management, Workers, Employers, Workplace, Nigeria

CONFLICT

The world has become less peaceful every year since 2008, highlighting the importance of better understanding conflict and violence risk (GP1 2014). In affirming this, UNDP (2014) noted that more than 1.5 billion people live in countries affected by conflict— about a fifth of the world's population. Conflict has been said to be innate in human nature and a distinguishing feature of human socialization processes. It has also been identified as a vital ingredient in attaining development and highlighted as a permanent fixture in human interactions and existence. According to Withers and Wisinski, (2007), conflict is an inevitable part of our working lives, although it may not occur on a daily basis, when it happens it can be overwhelming. This is normal, natural and sometimes necessary for continued growth and development. Anywhere that there are more than two people, there is bound to be conflict. This is because people are inherently different, that is, in terms of interests, orientation and background. Conflict occurs when these differences come to light. Workplace conflicts are a clash of interests and resultant disputes of varying intensity between workplace actors such as trade unions and employers associations. It revolves around sharing the gains of work; incompatibility of goals, interests and values; and attempt to control or dictate the direction of things or policies in the workplace. It is of immense socio-economic and political import for workplace parties. This is in line with the stand of Coser (1956) that conflict too has to do with a struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aim of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals. Ingram (2016) opined that conflict is inevitable in workplace settings, and conflicts can arise between co-workers, supervisors and subordinates or between employees and external stakeholders, such as customers, suppliers and regulatory

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agencies. Conflicts may also take the form of disagreements that emerge when goals, interests or values of workplace parties are incompatible and parties try to thwart each other's efforts to achieve their objectives. Weber (1949) pointed out that conflict is part of social life, meaning that conflict is normal, essential and accepted as part of man's daily endeavors.

TYPES OF WORKPLACE CONFLICTS

Conflicts are a key element of human and organisational interactions at work. However, the two parties despite being partners in progress and joint key players in the workplace schema may have partly congruent and partly divergent interests. The interactions between , among and within these parties over employment and other work related matters could produce both agreements and disagreements, generate tensions, opposing viewpoints and contradictory stands which could set the stage for the eruption of conflicts. Conflicts are very frequent occurrences in Nigerian industries (Yesufu, 2000; Fagbemi, 2004; Obono, 2007; ILO, 2009; Onyejeli, 2011; Akinwale, 2011). In the Nigerian workplace, there are three major types of conflicts, management-union, union-union and management-worker conflicts respectively. These conflicts are caused by diverse factors. In connection with this, Ojeifo (2000) noted that in many organisations in Nigeria, internal (intrapersonal) and interpersonal conflicts are consuming so much organisational time and attention that organisations are starting to look as though conflict is their primary business.

Allowing conflict to fester in workplaces often creates net negative effects and lose-lose outcomes especially in a nation with low capacity utilization and productivity like Nigeria. A theoretical framework that can be utilized to expound on workplace conflicts is John Burton's human needs theory. Burton (1990) was of the opinion that in analyzing conflicts, one must be able to identify and separate interests, values and needs. For instance, workers' needs are quite different from the desires of employers, so also the values and interests of workplace parties are poles apart. Withers and Wisinki,(2007) expounded that we can divide most of what people fight over at work into three general categories. Two of these three categories are: not enough to go around and goals that workers want to reach. They claimed further that most often at work, conflicts seem to be about resources, turf boundaries, or conflicting goals. The definition by Tillett and French (2007) that conflicts occur when one or more employees or groups perceive their values or needs to be incompatible with others or the organisation is quite applicable in this sphere. The reward systems, management style and nature of work in Nigerian organisations are prone to manifest conflict.

The type of conflict that occurs between trade unions is commonly referred to as inter-union disputes. This occurs mostly as a result of overlapping jurisdictions, in which case two or more unions may make membership claims within the same organisation and sector. Also, the tussle for superiority in the workplace may enhance this kind of conflict. An example is what happens in the Nigerian Universities between the two key unions, the Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities (ASUU) and the Senior Staff Association of Nigerian Universities (SSANU). Another example can be found in Hospitals between the various professional groups.

The second type is intra-union conflicts. This basically occurs between and among members of the same union. For example, conflict between or among elected or appointed oficials and even ordinary members over the control of power, policy disagreements and utilization of funds. Ojeli (1977) stated that the causes of industrial conflict in Nigeria is the lukewarm attitude of employers and government in responding to the demands of the workers or treating their demand with levity; and also, non-recognition of the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) as an

organ for harmonizing possible conflicts between the employers of labor and employees. Non-implementation of valid agreements, impugning and/or abnegation of workers' rights could also lead to crisis in the workplace, especially when the employers have a pedigree of constantly violating workers' rights and denying them of their entitlements.

MEANING OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

People naturally approach the settlement of conflict in diverse ways depending on dynamics, peculiarities, abilities and skills of the representatives of each of the conflicting parties; past experiences of parties; willingness and commitment of parties to reach resolutions; the position of the law; and the expectations of all other stakeholders. In as much as conflicts in the workplace are natural occurrences and unavoidable phenomenon, Tillett and French (2007) noted that in managing conflict in organisations, it is important to identify the underlying cause(s) rather than accept events or issues at face value. This is because, conflicts mean very different things to different people. It is may also be hinged on the type of profession, sector or industry.

Withers and Wisinski, (2007) pointed out that when handled effectively, conflict can help people meet their goals and objectives within teams or departments in an organisation. However in order not to capsize the organisational ship, it is very important for unions and employers to deploy conflict management techniques that would reduce the tendencies to conflict, diminish the span of conflicts with crippling effects, divert the energies in conflict towards mutually beneficial outcomes and improve synergy between the parties to avoid preference for conflict. Conflict management connotes systematic, organized, orderly and methodical approach to stop or reduce the effect of conflicts.

Efficient handling of conflicts presupposes that the workplace relationship is naturally conflict prone. Workers and employers have different views on how the workplace relationship and issues should be handled. To many Nigerian workers and their representatives, management should improve the social, economic and political benefits workers derive from work. Workers desire enterprises where their emoluments are jointly decided, taking cognizance of the state of the economy, industry-wide benchmarks and principles of fairness and equity. Also, conflicts would occur less in organisations where employees are well paid, mentored, challenged, promoted, involved, appreciated, valued, empowered and trusted. Conflicts can be palliated by more understanding and empathy on the part of the workplace parties. McCabe and Rabil (2001) enthused that conflict management systems have been described as providing for workplace justice.

NATURE OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Conflict management is an ongoing, continuous and never ending exercise to cope with, and rein in conflict. Ingram (2016) pointed out that managing conflict is a key management competency and all small business owners should study and practice effective conflict management skills to maintain a positive workplace environment. Conflicting parties should be involved in all conflict management efforts for it to be effective. Others such as regulatory institutions or the appropriate agencies of the state may be peripherally involved. Relationships between owners and workers, owners and workers' groups, managers and the managed, state and workers and owners and state in Nigeria are prone to diverse forms of constant conflicts because of our peculiar nature, varied and dissimilar interests, values, perceptions, norms, desires, and ideologies.

On one side of the divide are the managers who are the representatives of the owners and are responsible for the day to day running of the enterprise , while on the other side are workers and their representatives who are legitimately elected members of the workers' unions. The Government is expected to be an unbiased umpire and impartial arbiter to guarantee that the rights and interests of the parties are negotiated in atmospheres devoid of intimidation and typified by freedom. Society gains most when conflicts in organisations are immediately addressed. In the Nigerian context, workers and their representatives feel that the state is usually on the side of the employers instead of being neutral. They have the mindset that the actions, statements and policy directions of Government does not portray it as the objective party that it should be. The tough economic terrain within which organisations in Nigeria operate creates a fertile ground for conflicts and strike actions which bode ill for the nation's nascent democracy and tottering economy. Iche (2016) asserted that Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) may cut jobs as part of cost-saving measures as a result of the prevailing economic situation in Nigeria. With this comes the inability to adequately pay off disengagement benefits leading to conflicts. This is a potential danger currently facing Nigerian firms.

Shagwert (2011) emphasized that the essence of labor movement is: workers organizing themselves and getting together with their communities to identify some real injustices that are systemic throughout the country. Hence, the rights of workers represented by unions to collectively bargain with employers' representatives in fulfillment of the workers' right to belong to groups that best protect their personal interest should be given effect at all levels of industry to promote peace and harmonious conditions that are germane for the purpose of advancing national development. According to Wright (2011), recent studies point to the positive role played by unions in helping to resolve workplace disputes. Autonomy from management and the availability of effective dispute resolution skills and expertise puts union representatives in pole position to peacefully resolve workplace conflicts. When workers unionize and are strengthened by laws and institutional frameworks for the purpose of furthering peace and enhancing conditions necessary for lasting prosperity for all, engagements between the independent representatives of the workers and employers to reach consensus for common growth and mutually beneficial improvements would increase commitment and enhance contributions needed for enhanced workplace performance for the common good of all parties. Nigeria's case is exacerbated by its low ranking of 5 on the 2015 ITUC Global Rights Index as one of the worst countries for workers rights. Countries with the rating of 5 are the worst countries in the world to work in. While the legislation may spell out certain rights, workers have effectively no access to these rights and are therefore exposed to autocratic regimes and unfair labour practices.

SCOPE OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

The scope of conflict management can be based also on analysis of the parties involved. Nigerian workplaces have their value system through which priorities are determined. When different priorities collide, conflict is often the result. How we engage these differences becomes critically important (Withers and Wisinki, 2007). Conflict management could entail engagement of parties at the bipartite or the tripartite level. The principle of tripartism which is the system of Industrial Relations in Nigeria specifies the equality of the three stakeholders, but conceptually and even in practice, the argument of engagement of equals does not hold water. This is because the Nigerian government as one of the biggest employers of labour in Nigeria, the manager of the national economy and the apex political institution, often calls the shots. Clarement and Davis (2005) advocated for collaborative conflict management which is concerned with conflict at the group or organisational level. It depends upon the willingness of employees at the workplace to

work collaboratively to resolve differences and can include a third party facilitator. Against the backdrop of pervasive and diverse conflicts in the world of work, responsive and strategic union leaders and employers/management are expected to be proactive advocates of cooperatism and conflict management in the workplace; optimum developers of workers and employers through entrenching positive work attitudes and skills that will reduce the propensity for conflicts to the barest minimum; willing users of positive conflict management steps and positive negotiators for union and organisational progress; and exemplary in values, results-driven, ethics-based proactive leaders with the continued existence of the organisation as their salient concern through partnership and cooperation with employers and workers respectively.

CONCLUSION

Inarguably, conflict is inevitable in Nigerian organisations, but its proper management for mutually beneficial outcomes can make it constructive. To achieve this, the Labour Movement, Nigerian Government and Nigerian Employers Consultative Association should seek to engage in result-oriented negotiations and dialogues that can guarantee win-win outcomes for all. Mutually formulated workplace conflict prevention strategies which are focal to increasing organisational performance should be the main agenda for trade unions and employers. In this era of heightened competitiveness among organisations, it has become essential for organized labour to work with the organized private sector to identify and inculcate values, attitudes and ideals that can evolve and sustain good work ethics and a culture of partnership to ameliorate workplace conlicts. The quest for organisational effectiveness in this present age and the unknown future begins with a personal commitment by workers, their employers and their representatives to display positive work attitudes and create an environment that can promote cordial labour-management relations and practices. Finally, with respect to the larger society, UNDP (2014) opined that the presence of responsive and accountable institutions of governance is critical to overcoming the sense of injustice, vulnerability and exclusion that can fuel social discontent. Hence, the Nigerian Government should create conflict resolution frameworks and mechanisms that can adequately deal with workplace conflicts and assuage the interests of the two workplace parties for the continued growth, peace and stability of Nigeria.

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WOMEN'S ROLE IN ENHANCING INNOVATION IN LIVESTOCK FARMING: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Livestock accrues benefits to women that include food, income and insurance against crop failure. This gives rise to the need for gender-friendly policies that promote and encourage women to own livestock. Women remain in the ranks of poor livestock keepers, although they make up two-thirds of the population of livestock keepers. Factors that influence livestock productivity among women range from rights to land, access to high yield breeds, application of new technologies and practices, access to education and extension services, and rigid cultural systems among others. These factors handled in a gender sensitive manner would go a long way to realise increase in livestock production and income.

INTRODUCTION

This paper draws from studies conducted in various parts of the world to identify challenges that women face in livestock farming. It seeks to influence women's capacity to participate in, and profit from animal husbandry. Addressing gender disparities in livestock production means understanding its relevance and addressing different issues such as needs, livelihoods, priorities, interests, age, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and ability. Gender is a critical issue that crosscuts livestock production. By understanding the various roles that gender plays in livestock production, we can improve their outcomes and effectiveness.

The paper posits that many countries, especially in Africa still face challenges with enacting legislation that relates to actionable access and control of resources at community and household levels for women. There is urgent need to support projects that serve as entry points for women and aim at capacity building, to augment women's knowledge and skills; with the desired end being improved livelihoods and economic growth for their communities and families. The study has further provided recommendations for possible solutions, best practices and initiatives for gender approach to support comprehensive, sustainable social and economic development.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The study uses the gender perspective to present livestock as a source of livelihood as developed by the International Livestock Research Institute. This point of view takes a livelihood approach that impinges importance on assets, markets and other institutions. The framework hypothesises three pathways out of poverty: securing current and future assets, improving and sustaining the agricultural systems' productivity important in livestock farming and facilitating greater participation of the poor in livestock-related markets. This framework has been used before to explore livestock as a source of women's livelihood (ILRI, 2010).

WOMEN AND ACCESS TO ASSETS

In most developing countries, rural populations are heavily dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. Livestock is also a key asset for rural livelihoods. (AGA, 2013). Rural women are major participants and play a crucial role in livestock farming and are responsible for many daily tasks. Rural women and men, depending on the region and livestock sub-sector, often have specific knowledge about different aspects of animal husbandry. But women's access to adequate knowledge, improved technologies, financial services, and other relevant social services remains a critical issue. The livestock sector has predominantly been trending upward, with the small-scale production systems experiencing growth thereby supporting livelihoods and subsidising the gross domestic product significantly (WCILD, 2016). The main users of the locally adapted livestock breeds are women. They play a central role in animal resource management, thereby conserving them. They are usually responsible for the breeding decisions with a preference for animals that are disease resistant and easy to manage thereby reducing their workload (Köhler-Rollefson, 2012).

Despite women's involvement in livestock farming, gender roles are customarily prejudiced against rural women who face many obstacles unlike men in obtaining the necessary tools that help them reach their full potential in the livestock sector. Women have limited access to resources, hardly any extension services and limited participation in decision-making. They enjoy a smaller share of the income derived from livestock farming compared to their male counterparts. Recognising and integrating these diverse roles and specific dynamics into projects and programs can improve their outcomes and effectiveness.

Gender disparities also have negative consequences on the women's ability to earn a stable income and have an adverse impact on the household income earned from livestock production. The nature and work of the women who operate within the livestock sector make them susceptible to various health and safety issues such as the heightened exposure to zoonotic diseases (Patel et al., 2016). Another challenge that women face in the livestock sub-sector is limited to access to natural resources and control. Despite women being crucial contributors to agriculture and food security, their management of biodiversity, energy, water and land remains way lower than the men. Ownership of livestock is particularly attractive to women in societies where, due to cultural norms, women's access to land and mobility is restricted. The land user's ability are hampered as they are unable to upgrade and develop livestock activities, since they often lack grazing land and also lack collateral for investments (AGA, 2013).

Women have limited access to technologies, training and extension services. Culture limits women's mobility and freedom to leave their homes. So, they are systematically challenged from taking part in extension meetings or group activities. Women are often left out of the male-dominated networks and training. The women's lower status and input to households restrict their control and decision-making power over assets and income. In many rural areas where cultural and social norms are unyielding, women are not engaged in the decision-making process.

Limited access to financial services is another challenge for women that results from many factors. SIDA (2015) notes the lack of collateral, customary rules and limited credit schemes designed for women as part of the challenge. These constraints narrow the business scope preventing women from hiring needed employees or forcing them to use obsolete technology. Ensuring women have control and access to resources such as land, livestock, markets, information and

credit strengthens their inluence and social empowerment. This paper attempts to encourage governments to design livestock policies with a targeted gender approach that will encourage poverty reduction and food security.

Despite their major role in the management of livestock assets, women have poor access to markets and play a limited role in the commercialisation of livestock and livestock products. This tendency often arises due to various factors including low levels of literacy, customary practices that prevent women from freely leaving the house, their marketing strategies and information inadequacy. Thus, a market imbalance exists between the sexes in the benefits accrued from livestock-related income (Patel et al., 2016).

EXPLORING WOMEN'S ROLE IN INCREASING AND SUSTAINING LIVESTOCK PRODUCTIVITY

The relationship between women and the productivity of livestock is a growing area of interest among scholars due to the different purposes for which women keep livestock. Some women keep livestock for non-productive cultural reasons, they have livestock because culture dictates. On the other hand, others have livestock for food, security and income; which are productive. However, the non-productive reasons usually outweigh the productive ones hence posing a challenge in improving livestock productivity. Other studies have also shown that livestock farms managed and operated by women for non-productive use do better than male-owned ones (ILRI, 2010). The lack of rights influences how these women engage in productive livestock activities such as investments and income generation, oscillating them towards non-productive livestock farming at the expense of productive farming. To address this phenomenon, various interventions need to be put in place such as encouraging the rearing of high yielding breeds, and applying of new technologies or practices (SIDA, 2015).

Köhler-Rollefson (2012) posits that three-quarters of Asian women's household responsibilities include managing livestock. Related studies show 90 percent of Nepal women as engaged in livestock production compared to 75 percent of the men (Herath, 2009). A study conducted in Central and Eastern Kenya by Njuki (2004) indicates that more women are responsible for the feeding of cattle while men concentrate on watering and disease management. Identifying the different roles undertaken by women in livestock farming is vital in recognising the various challenges they face; giving room for developing projects and programs tailored to their specific needs.

PROMOTION OF WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN LIVESTOCK MARKETS

Keeping of livestock has a myriad of benefits that accrue to it. The animals reared are a source of food and fibre and can also be sold to the market for their meat and other by-products. The income earned can be used to access other commodities needed by the livestock keepers. The same animals (livestock) act as insurance against crop failure; that is, considering that they also produce dairy products which contribute towards nutrition. With the exception of cattle that requires rangelands, most livestock require small spaces for rearing. Livestock also provides manure used to produce biogas and provides excellent means of transport as well. Some keep goats to control weeds, as well as for their meat and protein benefits. Empowered women can gain access to land and are able to make choices that grow the economy and enhance food security (International Animal Agriculture, 2016).

With small holding farmers accounting for 80% of Africa's agricultural output, women are the backbone of rural and national economies and by extension development. They constitute 75 percent of the world's agricultural labour force in some parts of the world. They also make up two-thirds of the 600 million poor livestock keepers (Kohler-Rollefson, 2012). It is imperative that policy makers appreciate the role that women play considering their sheer numbers. In as much as they make up the largest agricultural workforce, they still ill the ranks of the poorest among livestock keepers.

The notion of benefits-sharing would work well as it assumes that goods and services are resulting from the benefits the environment provides to its range of potential users (Uprety, 2006; Costenbader, 2011). Benefits-sharing in this context applies to proper sharing of environment benefits (like the grasslands) among farmers who benefit from its pastures, and the lands are likewise rejuvenated from organic manure from the livestock resulting in a win-win situation and also reducing conflict on reserve lands because of legitimate multiple land use. Promoting and supporting sustainable rangeland management can accomplish this result, enhancing nutrient recycling, soil fertility, preserving other forms of biodiversity and wildlife. Making specific political choices to design benefit sharing mechanisms that seek the most promise would be a win and no regrets solution (University of California, 2016).

More than half the world's lands are used for livestock related production (Stanford Report, 2010). Policy influences the consequences of livestock production, which varies with the policy context and institutions involved and the production systems. One challenge women have faced under livestock farming has to do with access to grasslands. Many of these lands have been placed under conservation which has resulted in conflict with authorities over the lands use. The lands teeming with wildlife have been encroached upon in a search for pasture for the livestock. However, encouraging the women to perform integrated livestock farming is a part of the solution. The women can utilise paddocks, or better yet zero-graze the livestock which is then fed from the wastes generated from the farm produce. Zero-gazing also reduces the need for expanses of land and more livestock can be kept in smaller spaces and are easier to take care of. This way, women are not constrained for land and can produce more with less.

COMMERCIAL LIVESTOCK FARMING: MARKETING AND EXPORTS

The Horn of Africa has benefited from donor programs that have made signiicant investments in livestock in pastoralist areas. Attention has since extended to live animal exports from the region. Commercialisation of agricultural outputs and by extension the export trade are a force in driving out poverty and at worst reducing its effects/levels. This hinges on the assumption that a linear relationship exists between access to superior export markets and poverty alleviation according to Aklilu & Cately (2009).

A study commissioned by the Inter-governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) Livestock Policy Initiative and instituted by FAO challenges the understanding that pastoralists are universally poor. The IGAD report states that the poverty indicators that are used in such studies have no bearing on the pastoral setting. Even so, they found livestock holdings to be a better poverty measure than household incomes. This calls for policy-makers to appreciate better this concept and its economics logic to be able to plan better (Ibid). This makes a case for encouraging women to get more involved in livestock farming and appreciating that livestock farming is not a sentence to abject poverty.

Most pastoral cultures keep livestock for reasons such as social status. The men under these settings have the final word on matters related to the animals and the women and in some cases, children are limited to providing labour. In the off-chance the women own any livestock; it is basically on a subsistence basis. A change in attitude among women would be easy to inculcate if they could collectively as a group be given animals to rear for commercial returns. Considering they already play the role of labour, this should not create a ripple in their social setting. The incomes generated would go a long way to collectively empower the women. In the event that women make any proxy sales, the proceeds are still handed to the men who are culturally entitled to the assets with women having a passive role.

The women's limited power and influence are in part contributed to by their lack of wealth or stock ownership. Limited access to markets and information, risk tolerance, their levels of vulnerability and low business acumen among others equally work against them. However, these factors can be worked on for the betterment of the women to reduce their passive response and reluctance to markets and exports. The strategy should employ poverty-focused approaches targeting pastoralist areas as this would support and explicitly encourage herd growth among the poorer families, empowering them in the process; developing secondary infrastructure like roads, mobile phone communications to levels similar to the non-pastoral areas and development of markets where none exists. Easier access to traders offers reduced transaction costs and would also render trade monopolies less likely, making the poorer herders more bankable. Financial facilities should be tailored to their aspirations, along with preventing avoidable animal deaths with clear policies and appropriate veterinary services (Aklilu & Cately, 2009).

CONCLUSION

For women to benefit from livestock farming, the nature of support should be well defined to appreciate their makeup as the largest livestock farming labour force who perform the bulk of the work. It thus stands to note that empowered women have generational benefits that tap into the household, not usually the case with men. As a result, there exists a saying that if you educate a woman, you educate the entire village, to support what several studies have established. That said whatever actions are taken have to consider the impediments to women's development without rocking cultural settings. It should also note the different needs women have. It calls for more involvement of women in the making and implementation of these solutions and policies to create practical resolutions with far reaching results.

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DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: WHAT AFRICANS REQUIRE

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ABSTRACT

According to the 2009 African Governance Report (AGR II), by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), many democracies in Africa are suffering from an authoritarian hangover. Many African countries adopted the system of democracy because it enjoys global endorsement as the best form of government and panacea for underdevelopment. But it is a truism that development in Africa remains impeded. This is because many African leaders are ignorant and negligent of the philosophical principles upon which democracy is formed. This paper seeks to discuss, within an African framework, the link between democracy and development. The clamour for democracy all over the globe is not accidental. Those who go about agitating for democracy are convinced that no society desirous of development can ignore democracy. The democratic experience of developed nations lends credence to the truth of this claim. There is a close link between democracy and development. This is not to say that a country cannot develop without democracy, but where both exist, the outcomes are better.

MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

Of Greek origin, the word 'democracy' is derived from two words, "demos" which means "the people" and "kratien" which connotes "to rule". Put together, it is "demokratia" which means "rule by the people".

Pericles - an Athenian Statesman in 431 BC provides an elaborate picture of this concept: *"Our Constitution is named a democracy because it is in the hands not of the few but in the hands of the many. But our laws secure equal justice for all in their private disputes and our public opinion welcomes and honours every branch of achievements..."* (Macridis, 1982).

In the modern era, democracy is defined as a system of government in which the whole eligible members of a state hold supreme power through their elected representatives. A better clarification can be derived from Abraham Lincoln's definition of democracy as a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Democracy has its fundamental principles, features or characteristics. Various definitions of democracy are formed from these fundamental features. The features include equality of men, individual rights, free existing political parties, consensus or majority rule, separation of power, checks and balances, the rule of law, freedom of the press and judicial autonomy.

Equality of men

This is the fundamental tenet of democracy. It stresses that all human beings are born equal. In this sense, equality simply means equal opportunity for all and a rejection of inherited political principles, elitism and classes.

Individual Rights

Democracy considers the dignity and integrity of every individual as sacred and inviolable. These rights are the rights that the law accords to all individuals. They include the right to life, private and family life, freedom of expression and fair hearing.

Free Elections

This is another core feature of democracy. Free elections give the people the chance to choose good leaders of their choice. In line with democratic ideology, voting decisions are based on the rule of the majority. This implies that if only two contestants are involved in an election, the one who has more than half the number of votes cast becomes the winner. The principle of simple majority.

Existence of Political Parties

This is a necessary feature of democracy. This would enable voters to vote for the political parties they want in specific offices. In America, for instance, there are two main political parties, the Republican and Democratic parties.

Majority rule, Minority Rights

According to Irish and Prothro, "the majority and minority relations in a free election are, when you stop to think about it, the most valuable aspects..." (Routeledge, Kegan and Paul, 1967). This feature points that the majority rule holds, yet the minority rights are protected.

Separation of Power

According to Lord Acton, "all power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely". Separation of power means that power is shared among the three arms of government; the executive, the legislature and the judiciary.

Checks and Balances

Ensuring a separation of power means that the principle of checks and balances is provided for and prevents the abuse of enormous power by the various arms of government. Adhering to the principle of checks and balances is essential to ensuring that no arm of government dominates power.

The Rule of Law

Respect for the rule of law by both the leaderships and the citizenry is the basis and foundation of a prosperous democratic state. This would imply that no person is above the law.

Freedom of the Press

The press is described as the fourth estate of the realm of government behind the executive, legislature and the judiciary. Since the press is the means to a reliable "spotlight and microphone" in any government, there cannot be a true democracy without a free press.

Judicial Autonomy

This is referred to as "independence of the judiciary". It is the duty of the judiciary to protect the integrity of the law as enshrined in the constitution. The judiciary is the vital link and nexus in the uneasy but necessary relations between the executive arm and the legislature. Democracy therefore needs a judiciary that is courageous, impartial, resourceful, unbiased, reliable and above all, independent.
A democracy that does not have the above features is not a true democracy.

DEVELOPMENT

The term development has no universally accepted definition, yet it is an unavoidable datum of life. Many scholars have attempted to define the concept of development. For instance, Labret defines development as "the ascent of man, maturation, growth and creativity of all human potentials achieved at the lowest possible cost in sacrificed values and human sufferings" (Marcel Onyibor, 2003).

An African philosopher, Pantaleon Iroegbu, also attempted a working definition of development. For him " *development is the progressive unfolding of the inner potentials of a given reality. It is to de-envelop, that is, to bring out to light, the existential, functional and epistemic, which was enveloped, folded or hidden. As it applies to a people, development is the integration of different givens: national, physical acquired and human, of a people towards the full working out, permanently and cumulatively, of their being as persons of their community and of their real productivity*" (Owerri, 1994).

Be it as it may, development is the growth or formation and change of something over time. It is the gradual growth, increase and change of a particular phenomenon over time. It must be about man because he is the agent and purpose of development.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Rich continents tend to be more democratic than poor continents. Understanding the link between democracy and development could be more crucial for policy making at the national and continental levels. Besides giving citizens more political freedom, democracies are, on average, less likely to be at war with each other than dictatorships. A lack of democratic governance structure could prove an obstacle to sustainable development.

In the United Nations Secretary General's 1994 Agenda for Development, it is stated that: "*Democracy and development are linked in fundamental ways. Because democracy provides the only long-term basis for managing competing ethnic, religious and cultural interests in a way that minimises the risk of violent internal conflict. Because democracy is a fundamental human right, the advancing of which is itself an important measure of development"* (UN, 1994).

Democracy is an important way to reassure freedoms and is a vital requisite for the economic development of any continent. Thus, this paper posits that developing and strengthening a democratic system is an essential component of the process of development.

WHY DEMOCRACY HAS FAILED IN AFRICA

Democracy has failed in Africa because African leaderships lack the moral courage to live up to its expectations. Characterised by greed, ignorance and negligence, many African leaders do not practice democracy in the light of the foundational principles upon which democracy is formed. John Locke and other pro-democracy philosophers had based the ideals of democracy on the principles of discipline, tolerance, truth, nobility, restraint, justice, selflessness, self-control and equity.

These principles have helped Europe and America develop. African leaders lack the moral courage to live up to expectation; hence, they drift from the path of democracy without difficulty to satisfy their own whims and caprices, ending up practising pseudo-democracy.

WHAT AFRICA REQUIRES

Having studied the relationship between democracy and development, it will be pertinent to note that a democracy premised on the principles of selflessness, nobility, tolerance, truth, equality, justice, honesty, self-control and restraint, will promote the social, economic and political development of Africa.

Hence, Africa requires genuine operators of democracy. There is need for leaders with the moral courage to meet democratic expectations. Africa requires leaderships that will embrace true democracy and practise it in the light of the solid foundational principles upon which pro-democratic scholars had based the ideals of democracy.

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AFRICAN INTER-CITY RAILWAY CONNECTION SYSTEM

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INTRODUCTION

African countries are limited in unifying themselves due to the boundaries and various requirements which hinder their free and perfect mobility, manifested in visa requirement, multi-currencies, different leadership, insecurity, unemployment, poor resource utilisation and poor production. Leadership, perfect mobility and industrialisation are the major sectors to Africa's uniication and prosperity. There is always the thinking that perhaps the means used by the imperialists to exploit Africa's minerals and partitioning, that in return led to Europe's industrialisation, could be the very means to Africa's unification, industrialisation and becoming a first world continent.

The effort to find a possible means of providing sustainable development and unification in Africa informed the decision to write this article. It is about the history, uses, effects, benefits and description of the railway system.

Today, Africa is facing a lot of political leadership problems and corruption mainly because the resources which were abundantly endowed to Africa were plundered through the railway development. Partitioning of Africa was also another tool deployed to make it impossible for Africans to relate and defend what belonged to them. This article intends to show how the railway is Africa's greatest tool to radical development and unification.

HISTORY OF THE RAILWAY

According to Wikipedia, rolling stock in railway transport systems generally suffers lower frictional resistance than road vehicles, and the passenger and freight cars (carriages and wagons) can be coupled into longer trains. The operation is carried out by a railway company, providing transport between train stations or freight customer facilities. Power is provided by locomotives which either draw electric power from a railway electrification system or produce their own power, usually by diesel engines. Most tracks are accompanied by a signalling system. Railways are a safe land transport system when compared to other forms of transport. Railway transport is capable of high levels of passenger and cargo utilization and energy efficiency, but is often less flexible and more capital-intensive than road transport, when lower traffic levels are considered.

The oldest, man-hauled railways date back to the 6th century BC, with Periander, one of the Seven Sages of Greece, credited with its invention. Rail transport blossomed after the British development of the steam locomotive as a viable source of its power in the 18th and 19th centuries. With steam engines, one could construct mainline railways, which were a key component of the Industrial Revolution. Also, railways reduced the costs of shipping, and allowed for fewer lost goods, compared with water transport, which faced occasional sinking of ships. The change from canals to railways allowed for "national markets" in which prices varied very little from city to city. The invention and development of the railway in Europe was one of the most important

technological inventions of the 19th century. In the United States, it is estimated that without railway system, GDP would have been lower by 7% in 1890.

BACKGROUND OF RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

During the 1870s, Africa was under imperialism. A lot of tools were used such as health centres, railway, religion, gifts, guns and political arms to exploit Africa's minerals. When we analyse critically, they were used to facilitate the exploitation of minerals in the whole of Africa. And silently the railway played the major role since it was used to directly link the mines to the Africa's coasts.

Very little information is known about the impact of railway contributions during the exploitation of Africa's minerals by the western world. Except the slave commodity which was self-transporting, commodities like gold, copper, coffee, cotton, limestone, silver and many others were efficiently plundered by the use of the transportation means of a railway. Tonnes of minerals were delivered at different coasts by the railway and this led to the industrialisation of Europe, India and Britain. This is one of the major reasons behind their transformation into "irst world" relying on cheap transportation means and the presence of cheap raw materials from Africa. After the successful plunder of Africa's minerals, it was left and abandoned. It is believed in some quarters that some of the raw materials that were mined from Africa are still in treasuries and stores abroad. It is no wonder that Europe, Britain and America prefer and consume mostly pure and quality products up to date. They set high standards because they have pure inputs.

This railway had unique advantages over other forms of transport such as the cheapest transport fares, maintenance and breakdowns costs compared to cars, aircraft, and animals. In terms of haulage capacity, it was or is the best for moving bulky goods in large quantities. In terms of accidents they were not expected and in any case, few injuries or damages were experienced due to their low speed. They were secure and very reliable in terms of safety and deliveries. They were not hindered by stops, traffic or weather.

Most, if not all countries in Africa, are connected by roads which are affected by trafic and associated with robbery terror, accidents causing extra payments, delays, loss of loved ones and valuable belongings. Airfreight, which is safer compared to road transport and timely is very expensive to maintain and afford since Africa is still underdeveloped with a huge population that has a low income to spend even on basic needs. It is said that majority of the people in Africa spend less than a dollar each day.

USES AND EFFECTS OF AFRICAN INTER-CITY RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT

Currently in Africa, our rail system is facing low development and receiving inadequate attention in terms of improvements that can promote perfect mobility in Africa. Not enough attention is being paid to its possibilities and the outcomes of its deployment. This system should be developed so as to improve the lives and unity of people. This article will attempt to show how this system will assist people living in Africa in a number of ways. Fully developing the railway system will lead to efficiency and effectiveness which will increase resource utilisation and reduce unemployment on the African continent. The system will also stimulate specialisation and quality output since systems and sectors (countries) will be linked by railway.

Developing the railway system will improve the health of many people by connecting them to quality services. For instance, South Africa has one of the best health care services in Africa but accessing it by other nationalities is very expensive when the cost of transportation is factored into the total cost of treatment. If the transport cost were to be lower from the recipient nation to South Africa then the medication may be more affordable.

Africa has developing countries which suffer from poor services like health care, take the example of Uganda. In situations like health emergencies, childbirth, transplants and even snake bites, people lose their lives to poor medical attention. The public structure is limited with lack of equipment leading to the loss of very many lives. Doctors are not well paid and this hinders their efficiency and increases the occurrence of strike actions. The country's healthcare system also faces the problem of few technical personnel, so that even when equipment is available, there are only very few people skilled enough to operate them. In Uganda's case, people have a poor attitude towards work so trying to improve any system calls for the importation of skilled labour which is expensive. The development of railway will assist Ugandans and other nationalities to access quality health services in South Africa. This will reduce the death rate and gear development in Africa.

Besides health, another critical sector that will be improved is the agricultural sector. Still using Uganda as a case study, the country's GDP relies heavily on agriculture. The main products of subsistence agriculture in Uganda include maize, Irish potato, orange, coffee, tomato, banana. These products are perishable and sensitive to changes in weather. If the railway system is developed it would assist Uganda to profit greatly from easier sourced and cheaper inputs like fertilizer. Time will also be reduced to transport perishable crops to Sudan and other regions (it would normally take 1-2 weeks to reach the Sudanese market travelling by road, during which time many of the crops would have become damaged or rotten). The risk of accidents, breakdowns and insecurity inherent in road transport will also be reduced. Crops can be sold at their normal prices when they are not rotten, damaged, or adversely affected by weather conditions like extreme heat common with road transport. Sellers can thus make a decent profit and increase in GDP can be assured.

Unlike in Uganda, Sudan and other East African countries, the film and entertainment industry is enjoying faster development in West African countries like Nigeria and Ghana. The film and entertainment industry can be used to boost tourism. Developing a functional railway network across Africa will further promote this industry because its players would have easier and more affordable access to different locations, cultures and people. This will stimulate creativity, create jobs, as well as promote and market the different African cultures, trends and fashion. It will help to project Africa in a positive light and improve the amount and quality of information available on the continent's unique features and desires. It will also help to increase the appreciation for African civilisation, thereby reducing the influence of western civilisation on the lives of young Africans.

Education in Africa is another sector that will be positively affected by inter-city railway system in Africa. Uganda for example has one of the best educational systems but is faced with a number of issues such as strikes and delayed salaries of teachers. Once there is perfect mobility, teachers and other workers would be able to offer their services to countries where there is better remuneration and better working conditions. Students would have a broader choice of where to receive formal

education and academic materials will easily be delivered and accessed.

An inter-city railway system can serve as an instrument in the unification of African countries. Infrastructures like an interconnected railway network will be affordable, fast, reliable and sustainable, allowing Africans to move conveniently from one country to another. Unfortunately, such infrastructure is still underdeveloped, a major manifestation of poor governance, under-utilisation of resources, increased unemployment among others.

It is recommended that Africa develop an inter-country railway infrastructure. The system currently available on the continent was developed on a closed system basis, for example, nationally. Unifying all the African countries through railways would be quite hard if the system is not opened up through inter-country infrastructure development.

In addition to the above, insecurity and conflicts between and among Africans such as xenophobia in South Africa, recent conflicts between Zambians and Kenyans, terrorism in Kenya and Uganda by Africans are all due to boundaries and fear of insecurity as Africans.

In the developed countries of the Western world, infrastructural developments that can further propagate industrialisation are given first priority. For Africa, to be fully unified, a railway system connecting all the major cities and towns must be developed. This will reduce the bottlenecks created by national boundaries and it will promote industrialisation with resultant effects like increased resource utilisation, job creation and massive reduction in unemployment rate in the whole of Africa.

DESCRIPTION OF THE INTER-CITY RAILWAY SYSTEM

An inter-city railway system will aim at connecting all the major towns and cities in Africa. It will be developed with upgraded technology which will make it very fast and reliable, enabling quick access to different cities and nations. It will have fixed schedules and huge capacity, enabling it to transport large numbers of people per lift. The system's lanes will be designed to have 4x4 matrixes such that there is transport in different directions (West, East, South and North) simultaneously. This will assist the system to access and cover every part of Africa in a fraction of the time that other systems might take. It will also be operated in a way that allows it to be an effective and efficient transport system in Africa.

OBJECTIVES

1. To improve the transportation and movements of people on the African continent.
2. To increase resource utilisation on the continent.
3. To lead to industrialisation of the African continent.
4. To empower different sectors in Africa to interlink and expand.
5. To avail information to decision makers and other parties.

BENEFITS AND OUTCOMES OF RAILWAY SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

1. It is a cheap means of transport that can accommodate the movement of low income earners from one country to another.
2. It is easy to maintain.
3. It will interlink all the African countries which will lead to Africa's unification.

4. It will lead to increased resource utilisation which increases jobs, output and profits.
5. It will assist thousands to access quality services like healthcare, tourism and entertainment.
6. It will also help to improve governance in Africa.
7. Transportation in Africa will be enhanced.
8. Tourism and adventure will be promoted and improved.
9. It will lead to better utilization of time and resources in Africa.

In conclusion, the development of the African Inter-city Railway Connection System will be a big instrument to Africa's unification and prosperity.

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ADDRESSING SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHALLENGES TO CURB YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN TERRORISM IN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

The scourge of terrorism has become an international crisis after the 9/11 attacks in America. Terrorism has deeply encroached its claws in Africa on the premise of socio-economic challenges along the clash of civilizations. In countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, Central African Republic, Kenya and the Maghreb region, terrorism is a threat to peace and security, compounded by spiraling youth unemployment rates, the youth bulge, porous borders, poverty, arms proliferation, weak governments, economic problems among other challenges. It is yet to be seen how Africans will unite to deal with this threat to security on the continent given the above mentioned problems. At the same time, one will assess the ramifications, advantages, and pitfalls of the youth bulge and foreign intervention to curb the spread of terrorism towards obtaining sustainable peace and security on the continent.

INTRODUCTION

In this youth-dominated epoch, terrorism in Africa has become a vantage point to express disgruntlement and is a topical issue to the extent that scholars are attributing this phenomenon to a plethora of factors; yet terrorism is as old as mankind itself. Many conflict theories have been suggested to explain this crisis which has become an existential threat to humanity. However, the most earth-breaking theory which has tried to explain the salience of terrorism is the renowned 20th-century 'Clash of Civilizations' by Samuel Huntington. This theory seems more prescient and accurate showing how discord between civilizations is becoming the greatest threat to world security, stability and peace in light of the recent terrorist activities in Kenya, Nigeria, South Sudan, Mali and the Central African Republic and the possibility of emulation of such events in Malawi and Tanzania in the near future against which this theory is going to be tested. The author will also endeavour to prescribe solutions for this scourge.

Keywords: Clash of Civilizations, Youth, Terrorism, Religion, Violence, and Conflict

The 'Clash of Civilizations' is a theory that was formulated by Samuel Huntington (1993) ensuing the end of The Cold War and the triumph of Liberalism over Socialism. Neo-liberal scholars such as Francis Fukuyama traversed it as a moment marking the ultimate end of conflict in the world because liberal democracy had prevailed over dictatorship and tyranny in the world. Just about the same time, Huntington differed and proposed yet another theory that conflict was going to be complex and dynamic because it was going to be rooted in culture and not the conventional sources such as ideological fraternities. The end of the Cold War marked the beginning of yet another conflict. The thrust of Huntington's (1993) argument was that *'the great divisions among mankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. The principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The fault lines*

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between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future along ethnical, gender, racial and most importantly, religious differences. "

This quotation asserts that the aspect of 'civilizations rallying' is the central element in mobilisation for a common cause, being the impetus for conflict including terrorism as it will be shown in this paper. However, I argue that terrorism is perpetuated by socio-economic challenges faced by youths along cultural differences. The means justifies the ends.

There is not one unanimously agreed definition of terrorism. However, for the purposes of this study, Schmidt and Jongman (2005) are of the view that terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated or simultaneous violent actions employed by semi-clandestine individuals, groups or state actors mainly for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons whereby the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. This implies that the violent tactics employed by terrorists are meant to convey a message to the government which will be accused of different laws at different times. In the same vein, Crenshaw (1995) maintains that terrorism is *a conspirational type of violence calculated to alter the attitudes and behaviour of a particular multitude or audience, a government or a community, conveyed through the media so that the intended message is appropriately put across."* (Ignatius, 1992).

According to Lederach (1995) conflict is an intrinsic and inevitable disagreement between two or more parties that is perpetuated by incompatible interests or goals, dissatisfied human needs (poor service delivery), unequal and suppressive political-social structures (structural violence) than can be resolved or can lead to (direct) violence.

Perhaps the importance of the Clash of Civilizations is that its thrust is religion and ethnicity which are arguably at the epicentre of most terrorist movements and violence in Africa and abroad. It is interesting to note that religious clashes are the most obvious examples of the 'clash' traversed by Huntington (1993) and it is presenting the world with great challenges not in the fashion of those incurred in the past due to an ever increasing youth cohort. Coincidentally, terrorism illustrates or provides evidence of competition and conflict between contradicting social, economic, political and cultural ideals (Kristoff, 1997) to the extent of inciting senseless bloodshed and killings.

Thousands of people are dying on a daily basis and ironically, youths are at the forefront in the spread of terrorism traditionally in the Middle East and now Africa. This also shows how the state is losing its relevance in maintaining national security. In the face of globalization, identity politics is prevalent particularly between young Muslims and non-Muslims, especially Christians each becoming the other's "other". Although these elements have been the cause of conflict between humans throughout history, the radicalization of religious beliefs accompanied by an ever increasing youth bulge have since intensified the suspicion, hatred and animosity between Muslims and the rest, hence the term "Islamophobia".

The dynamism and intensification of youth Islamic fundamentalism are the drivers of many relative terrorist attacks, yet the causes are yet to be thoroughly explored. Youths as far as South Africa are fleeing their homes trying to go to Syria to join the Islamic State (ISIS). Terrorists tend also to be vicious and ruthless since fundamental issues of identity are at stake, however, this fanatism is salient among the youth. Although traditionally, relations between Christians and Muslims have been stormy, the current confrontation between them suggests that the 'clash' has apparently reached its peak on the basis of a rapidly growing, energetic, over-ambitious but

unemployed youthful populace. Esposito (1992) is of the view that their (Christianity and Islam) historical dynamics often ind the two communities in competition and locked in a deadly combat for power, land and souls. For example, the Al-Shabaab (which in literal translation means the youth) and Boko Haram want to establish theocracies based on fundamental Sharia law which they perceive to be able to address their socio-economic needs and which they perceive their governments to be failing to resolve, in Kenya, Somalia and Northern Nigeria respectively, bringing to the fore why they are committing atrocities in all the three countries.

I explore the theme that the 'needs' behind these terrorist movements can no longer be disregarded because they are far beyond the red line given the deplorable crimes against humanity they are committing. Hence, in the definitions of terrorism, the act is labelled as idiosyncratic, conspirational or a crime to convey a particular message to change the attitudes or behaviours of the one intended, in pursuit of (unrealistic) social, political and financial goals with the objective of instilling anarchy, fear and panic through violence in a bid to be noticed. Hence, the axiom 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter.' In my view, the string of terrorist rampages in Africa since 2010 has sparked pervasive condemnation amongst African populations with unequaled solutions to effectively deal with this scourge. The recurring attacks also show that over the years, Boko Haram has gained confidence, expanded to Chad and Cameroon and is adamant to continue making demands to these countries' governments.

Recurring abductions and violence have put terrorism in a position of strength. In my opinion, this renewed confidence has given more youths an attacking impetus that their ideals can no longer be confined to, for example Northern Nigeria alone, but to the rest of the country and in due course these terrorist attacks might spread to the rest of the region. The more they are not listened to, the more they spread. This possibility must not be undermined because unemployed youths are increasingly becoming disgruntled, expanding in numbers and governments are failing to contain them, let alone curb their violent activities. My view is that if more youths are empowered, the lesser they will see the need to join terrorist movements.

The terrorist scourge resonates that youth poverty is the cause in light of the exponential progress made by smaller terrorist groups in forging ties with the rich Al-Qaeda and ISIS which guarantee youths with both strategic and financial resources. The fight between the West and terrorists is compounded by the fact that the former does not want to relinquish its so-called 'war on terror' whilst the latter's growth is generated by large numbers of both educated but unemployed and disaffected youths who become recruits to fundamental Islamist causes. In my view, this statement implies that the West is actually playing into the hands of Al-Qaeda and ISIS which agitates the formation of an Islamic caliphate throughout the world so that the West, in its delusional objective to end terrorism by intervention, is actually deploying troops and conveying massive financial resources to different parts of the world until it bleeds to bankruptcy, is weakened and forced to withdraw from all regions, especially America, a country which Islamic youths blame for their problems. For example, deploying troops in Nigeria, Kenya, and the Maghreb is exactly what terrorists want so that youths ind a reason to join terrorist cells and fight. Upon joining, youths are promised financial gains so that they can take care of their families.

On the lip side of religious fundamentalism, terrorism is grounded in perpetuating fear. Barber (2001) is of the view that fear is terrorism's only weapon. He continues to argue that fear is a far more potent weapon against those who live in 'hope and prosperity' than those who live in

'despair with nothing to lose.' In this case, the victim becomes the perpetrator. Terrorists instill fear by instigating violence in its entirety which explains their unwavering presence on media platforms before and after attacks. Aziz (1993) raises the ante by arguing that battles for Islam are not won through the gun, but by striking fear into the heart of the (perceived) enemy; fear that youths are constantly living in, (imposed by socio-economic challenges) and the fear of the unknown, which 'justifies' striking fear back in the hearts of others.

The African Union must anticipate and proactively act against the emulation of similar incidences in Malawi, Ghana and Tanzania where there is a considerable concentration and rapidly growing number of young Muslims, Christians and poverty. There have already been some reports of youth violence along religious lines in Zanzibar. A larger segment of Africa's population is between the ages of twenty (20) to thirty five (35) amounting to 65%. This may, therefore, present a case in which alarming numbers of youths are vagabond and destitute (Peters, 2011). This increases the probability of contemplation by many youths to oust their governments by staging terrorist attacks. Annually, youths in this age group are increasingly taking part in violent protests and voluntarily joining terrorist movements, a cause for concern following the Arab Springs. Outstanding examples include the recent capture and interception by Kenyan authorities, of a university student who was allegedly radicalised because she was promised university tuition assistance and medical interns who were in the process of manufacturing biological bombs for anthrax attack in exchange for "good" jobs after completion of their attachments (Winsor, 2016).

To curb terrorism, youth energy has to be redirected to positive outcomes and their ideas and needs have to be taken into consideration. I am of the view that Islamic fundamentalism is the misdirection of energy and radicalisation of religion which is as old as mankind itself. Historically, both Christians and Muslims have been wrongfully massacred for one fundamental reason or the other, but ethical people have always condemned this. This presents the world with an opportunity to work hand-in-hand with peace loving Christian and Islamic people that have dissociated themselves from terrorist movements such as the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, and Boko Haram. Traditionally, all religions co-existed despite their challenges. In Tanzania and Malawi, there are millions of both Muslims and Christians. However, there has never been protracted religious violence since time immemorial.

For example, in December 2015 there was a cohort of Muslims during the Mandera bus attack in Kenya, who stood up for Christian bus passengers under siege and stopped a massacre by saying "kill us all or let them (Christians) go" (The Independent Reporter, 2016). The protagonist Salah Farah who sustained bullet wounds during an altercation with Al-Shabaab militants died in January 2016. He died because he refused to be separated from and tried to save, Christians. He is a true epitome of a 'brother's keeper.' This kind of attitude save lives and presents an opportunity for peace within the clash of civilisations. It must be borne in mind that most Muslims are not radical and they do not justify what terrorist novices are doing.

No religion celebrates the killing of people such as the beheading of twelve journalists in Libya by the ISIS (Al-jazeera, 2015) or killing of humanitarian workers by Al-Shabaab in Somalia. These are just overzealous youths who see no value in humanity and are pursuing self-interests. I vehemently argue that if fundamentalism can be created it can also be disintegrated through peace education in the same way draconian and incomprehensible ideologies such as Fascism and Nazism propounded by Mussolini and Hitler respectively, were condemned in the build-up

towards the infamous 2nd World War. War on terror and using gigantic military firepower is not the answer; it only pushes the world on the brink of a 3rd World War. Humanity will only be doing what terrorists expect of them when governments order and escalate bombings. This century has seen the world making positive strides in peace and human security which entails that terrorist violence has no place in this world. Farah's gesture should be an example to the world to co-exist as one community and promote religious harmony and tolerance. Humanity prevailed before, it will prevail again.

I argue that most learned youths know that violence is detrimental to infrastructure and the economy; hence they prefer to engage in dialogue, diplomacy and negotiations. I argue that many youths now believe in peaceful transitions than the primitive use of violence because it is retrogressive e.g in America, Nigeria, China, India and other States which extensively promote the civil society, infrastructural development, the music industry, sports, entrepreneurship, real estate, tourism, manufacturing, science and technology due to the increasingly shrinking space in the traditional industries. In the new millennium, high youth populations are now viewed as cheap and readily available labour that can be divided towards development (World Bank, 2006). Hence, if the State-youth relationship is carefully and strategically harnessed it can lead to positive than disastrous outcomes.

The world must know that it is battling with an idea that was born out of human disgruntlement and was formulated many centuries ago. This must also be countered by yet another powerful idea. In line with Agenda 2063 that by 2020 all guns must be silenced in Africa, terrorism must be curbed through a pervasive and well coordinated peace education, socio-economic development, and youth empowerment programmes. An idea cannot be defeated through the barrel of a gun. Guerrilla warfare employed by terrorists is some sort of attrition strategy that seeks to divide humanity. In the same vein, Rapoport (1984) argues that out of his study of what he terms 'holy terror', religion provides the only justification for terrorism and in my view it must be used to create opportunities for peace because it unites us all.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of the events characterizing Africa in this dispensation illuminates the reality of the threat of terrorism on the continent given the considerable concentration of unemployed youths, Muslims, and Christians. Therefore, African leaders, policy makers, and researchers need to be pragmatic and proactive by formulating interventions to create harmony between religious fanatism and to address youth challenges before the continent evolves into yet another Middle East. Given the fragile political and socio-economic problems in Africa, the continent cannot afford yet another cycle of violent conflicts spawned by religious differences as this threatens to divide it further. Africa needs to take advantage of the lessons it has obtained from the events in the Middle East, Kenya, and Nigeria. Negligence and ignorance are the last things that Africans need on the continent, but cooperation and pragmatism are the only way to tackle terrorism sooner rather than later.

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ETHNICITY AS A SYNOPSIS OF AFRICA'S UNDER-DEVELOPMENT; WAY FORWARD

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INTRODUCTION

Ethnicity has been differently defined but for the sake of our focus, it is a situation of internal instability of a person in which he/she manifests his/her inability to have a good relationship internally with himself/herself, others and God, which develops and snowballs into ethnic pandemonium[1]. Invariably, one of the ways of exhibiting this internal uncertainty is in common differences exhibited due to ethnic diversities; and because we so want to move into our safety zone, we begin to see our ethnic group as not just being superior but longing for protection and advancement of territory. It is at this point that conflict begins because different people possess incompatible values, needs and interests and have different ways of achieving them [2]. The ethnic nationalism that has being spotted in the above statements is summed in the definition which states that it is a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic group and another, or generally amongst ethnic groups in a multi polity (such as Guinea, Tanzania, Liberia, Nigeria and many African countries) is characterized by a lack of cordiality, heightened mutual suspicions and fears, by quarrelsomeness and a tendency towards violent confrontations[3].

In contemporary times, we hear pronouns like: I, mine, our, theirs, my tribal man, my language woman, my towns man, etc. forming the crux of describing the "we" versus the "them" which often make people to only get interested in things that affect the "we" group to which they belong while they often do not get bothered about whatever happens to the "them" group[4]

Interestingly, it is important to note that the original usage of the word ethnicity was not divisive but a way to celebrate the beauty in people's diverse cultures. It is meant to define the characters of ethnic groups to know more about each other and what each stands for but again as stated above, it's meaning has been basterdized to suit the aspiration of divisive politicians whose actions have given prominence to the newly metamorphosed word which reflects more of negativity. This new meaning of the word ethnicity is making many countries especially the developing ones to face internal instability from the processes of politicization of the issue of ethnicity and ethnicization of politics [5], stalling development as evident in Burudi, Rwanda, Liberia, Nigeria, Somali and of recent Sudan.

PREDISPOSING FACTORS TO ETHNICITY

As we move into understanding how ethnicity impacts on the development of nations especially the African society, it is important that we conduct a prognosis of factors that are said to influence individuals or groups in the society into promoting the concept. It has been acknowledged that social mobilization of people in a democratic society, existence of a pool of symbols connoting distinctiveness of a people, selection, standardization and transmission of such pool of symbols

in communities by leadership and a particular ethnic group being a reference point in relation to whom a sense of relative deprivation (real or imaginary) is aggregated [6] are all seen as promoting factors to ethnicity in communities especially those with weak social institutions. In Africa, these factors are majorly the means of identification, which either takes one close to common wealth or the contrary, which makes those at the advantage to promote it while those at the disadvantage with regards to population, to disregard it.

In a more explicit manner as stated above, elite contestation for political power to capture states which is characterized by cut-throat competition in a sort of zero-sum game manner on the altar of ethnic mobilization and ethno-religious and communal identities have created a lot of insecurity among ethnic nationals in the country [3] thereby calling for ethnic nationalism. People of a particular ethnic group feel the importance of mobilizing support for their ethnic group because they stand at risk of marginalization and extinction on the extreme when they do not do it. Also, mass poverty has been spotted as a pre-disposing factor closely linked to political mobilization. This often conditions the minds and attitudes of people thereby making them susceptible to elite manipulation and mobilization. The elites use differences in culture as a dividing line in other to achieve their vision tied to political aspiration.

Systemic failure is also one of the factors that have made ethnicity to thrive in most African societies. As states become unable to satisfy basic needs of the people due to bad leadership, the poor people in-turn withdraw from the collective goals of the state into ethnic and religious cocoons with high level sensitivity to the roles of those they regard as "them" in their perceived marginalization and immiseration [7]. This failure is used by the politicians as an entry point especially in states with weak institution as stated elsewhere in the paper.

Fear of ethnic imperialism is one of the major factors that have caused ethnicity. People have developed all manner of defense mechanisms in a way of protecting themselves from being annihilated by another ethnic group which may be drawn by past experiences. Explaining further, a professor at the University of Belgrade stated that, ethnic conflict is caused by the "*fear of the future*", lived through the past [8]. This is because ethnic champions through their vantage positions mortgage the state system to the benefit of their people which often goes a long way in re-enforcing ethnicity either by the benefitting communities or victimized communities.

These and many other factors have widened the scope of ethnicity in the country which are pointers to where we can all start from if we must get it right, otherwise, we continue to be a continent in perpetual antagonism of each other, tampering not just with interpersonal relationships but also leading to the loss of lives and property thereby promoting underdevelopment that hitherto characterises the African continent.

EFFECTS OF ETHNICITY ON DEVELOPMENT

Due to our different desire for ethnic interests as against national interest, people have become entangled in a fight of "all against all." They play the role of a parasite to the nation with each ethnic nationality taking a bite from the national cake rather than contributing to its growth. We have refused to align to the progressive life style where people work together to ensure that the center holds. Our societies have become common examples of instability, chaos and underdevelopment as a result of ethnic nationalism which is expressed through militancy, economic sabotage and political propaganda. Today, people are killed, properties are destroyed,

hate speeches are promoted against one another in other to show our disgust for the creativity of God who decided to make us either Berom, Tutsi, Hutu, Swali, Tiv, Idoma, Ntonkon, Fulani, Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa, etc. As a result of ethnicity, people have continued to promote homogenous settlements which again breed insecurity while stalling development. For instance, we have the "no go" areas syndrome in communities that have experienced one form of violent conflict or the other. Very important to development is the fact that sharing of ideas is limited and this can be seen in difference of development between rural areas were homogenous habitation exist and big cities where multiculturalism is prominent.

It is unfortunate that many government appointments are made based on religious or ethnic grounds, putting meritocracy in oblivion. This is affecting the development of states within the continent. People see occupying public space at whatever level as empowerment rather than service to the nation. Remarkably, the employment of a particular person from a certain ethnic or religious group is celebrated while the person is mandated to promote ethnicity in office. This makes it difficult to get the best of hands to manage the public sector because mundane practices have overtaken objectivity which is against global practice.

Ethnicity can lead to lingering suspicion among different groups which limits tendencies for trust and even corporation. Parties are hardly able to access new information for common good or be receptive to the ideas of perceived opposing groups in other not to place others at an advantage. Minds are so crowded with assumptions and prejudices that they are usually not willing to allow anything to change even if it is to their benefit. Any community with such an experience is at the verge of a violent eruption, perpetually insecure and unstable. Any minor disagreement may push things beyond precipice [3]. They will hardly be willing to join forces to discuss the progress of the society or a nation and if they are compelled, they will be more interested in protecting their interest as stated above.

We must come to a realisation that ethnicity and many other factor have actually undermined many states' capacity to discharge fundamental obligations of a modern state to its citizens such as socio-economic provisions, guarantee of fundamental rights and freedoms, ensuring law and order and facilitating peace and stability which are all pre-conditions for growth and development[3]. Leaders have failed to deliver and may not even be questioned because they are hiding under ethnic canopies for protection from accountability seekers. Governance has become a turn by turn syndrome with everyone waiting for his/her turn to perpetrate impunity rather than to deliver.

To round off this discussion, at this level, we must be reminded that multi-ethnicity has become a socio-political phenomenon in most civil societies with inter-ethnic cleavages, competition and conflict seemingly acquiring a higher intensity. We must be very conscious of our environment to avoid a situation where we will be deeply rooted in the war of all against all contrary to the tenants of development adopted by global nations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This paper will be incomplete if we discuss the nomenclature of the concept without proffering some recommendations which are expected to serve as a ladder upon which we can build a society of tolerance, love and sustainable development as Africans because we are Africans.

In the first instance, we must all be reminded that our diversities are conscious efforts of God, evident in the variety of liturgies and the spiritualties in the diverse theological expressions and even in the variety of expressions of the same doctrines. These doctrines complements one another showing that as a result of the communion with God Himself, diversity is not supposed to divide us but serves to bring glory to God for his gifts especially as Christians [9].

There should be the entrenchment of the rule of law as stipulated in the constitution where everyone is equal before it. This will fight group insecurity arising from fear of ethnic imperialism and unhealthy competition as stated above. To add to this, there is the need for government at all levels to fashion out a leadership that will reflect the interest of all based on everyone's needs and not a projection of the interest of another especially when it endangers others. This will go a long way to show that government is impartial [3].

Also, the extent and magnitude of poverty in the continent must be addressed so that the right attitudes will be entrenched among people to avoid instances where they are easily mobilized along such vices based on who can pay more.

We also have to cultivate the habit of interactional habitation in our communities. This will help us appreciate the beauty in each other's culture as a result of interaction and information sharing. This should also be backed by consistent inter-cultural dialogue in every community that is multicultural in nature so that conflict elements are discussed at that level to avoid misinformation. There is the need for value reorientation among people especially the too young and very elderly. This will become like an antidote to cure greedy and selfish disposition that has been built over a period or that is about to be built. It will guide people into becoming more accommodating, tolerant, and harmonious in their relationships and coexistence.

We are reminded today that the role religious bodies play is of great implication on not just their immediate environments but also the society as a whole. This is because, as Africans we are assumed to be religious and the religious leaders have great impact on their followers whether young or old.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, people are challenged to always see themselves as one single race regardless of accidents of births which are always inconsequential to who people later become in life from an objective point of view. This will help Africa grow from a continent of war to that of love and unity for sustainable development. It is necessary that we remind people that our differences are smaller than we expect and our hearts larger than we imagined. Only if we first admire each other without border, though tribe and tongue may differ, because in brotherhood and sisterhood we stand, will our society grow because variety is the spice of life. We must be able to reflect more on the advantages of collective living in-spite of our ethnicity rather than those things that have divided us thereby dehumanizing each other. In the words of pope John Paul II in Asia in 1986, " *if we fail to accept one another with love and as a common journey to a lofty destiny, if we realise other people are our brothers and sisters... it is either we learn to walk together in peace and harmony or we drift apart and ruin ourselves and others.* "

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SOCIAL INNOVATION AND SOCIAL ENTERPRISE: INTEGRATING MENTAL HEALTH INTERVENTIONS

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OVERVIEW

An estimated 450 million people suffer from a mental or behavioural disorder. According to WHO's Global Burden of Disease 2001, 3% of the years lived with disability (YLD) are due to neuropsychiatric disorders, a further 2.1% to intentional injuries (WHO, 2013). Only 1% of the medical doctors and 4% of the nurses were specialized in psychiatry. The last revision of the mental health legislation was in 1964. The legislation basically focused on the custodial care of the mentally ill persons and is an antiquated kind of law that has been overtaken by events. One percent (1%) of health care expenditures by the government health department was specifically directed towards mental health in primary care. Despite developing Uganda's mental health policy in 2000, it was still at draft level. The policy included the following components: (1) developing community mental health services, (2) downsizing large mental hospitals, (3) developing a mental health component in primary healthcare, (4) human resources, (5) involvement of users and their families, (6) advocacy and promotion, (7) human rights protection of users, (8) equity of access to mental health services across different groups, (9) Monitoring system. Of the overall expenditure on mental health, 55% was directed towards the National Mental Hospital. The whole population (100%) had free access (of at least 80%) to essential psychotropic medicines. This is based on the fact that medication is provided at no cost in all public health facilities. For those who pay out of pocket, 37% of the daily minimum wage was needed to pay for one day antipsychotic medication, while 7% of daily wage was needed to pay for one day dose of antidepressant medication. Mental disorders were not covered in the current social insurance schemes (WHO, 2013). Moreover, goal three (3) of the Sustainable Development Goals was good health and wellness.

IMI Background Information

Mental health was everyone's business –individuals, families, employers, educators, and all communities who all had to play their part. The idea of forming a multi-disciplinary, multi-ideological and interactive in union, using vital mental exercises and communicative human behavior to create healthy relationships that turn out to be sources of mental wellness emerged in 2005, was documented in 2006 and was registered in 2015 as a community-based organisation. Around this time, Integrated Mental-Health Initiative (IMI) focused on social and environmental advocacies. Eight (8) years later, IMI accelerated its work towards the realisation of its vision, mission and goal to most concrete levels with the "action now" drive amidst steadily rising cases of mental illness, breakdown of social fibre, ecological breakdown, and humanly induced elimination of life systems. It aimed at identifying and pooling together underutilized mental health professionals, allied practitioners, and stakeholders to foster the wellbeing of communities through the mindful use of ecological resources of every nature. It targeted graduating from a local initiative to a national and international non-government organisation in 3 to 6 years. In all

its operations, IMI followed system's perspective, in which multiplicity of ideals interact without bias for the benefit of each other and everything (or everybody) connected to it. It linked human-problem areas, communities, and their leadership through information gathering, evaluation and re-evaluation, diagnoses, and therapy design and administration using its established network of healthy corps, volunteers, interns and experiences from collaborating institutions. The initiative was and is still based in Jinja, Plot 15, Narambhai Road and it has had partnership arrangements with Makerere University, Restless Development, Uganda Buddhist Center, John Paul II Justice and Peace Center, National Association of Professional Environmentalists and individual consultants. IMI joined sister agencies and affected communities in realizing local beneits from their local environment that in many ways cause mental healing, beginning with its own staff who are our primary agents of change.

IMI GEOGRAPHY

Jinja District has an area of 767.7 sq km of which 701.9 sq km is land and the rest (65.8 Sq km) is covered by water bodies. The district is subdivided into 3 counties namely, Butembe, Kagoma and Jinja Municipality. There are 11 sub-counties, 46 parishes and 381 villages. Jinja Municipality has three sub-counties and 55 villages. It is the tourist capital of East Africa and the second largest city in Uganda, located in the East of the country, 80 Kilometers from Kampala, and with a population of 491,000. Its major hospital is the Jinja referral hospital. The IMI is located on Narambhai Road, Plot No. 15.

NEEDS STATEMENT

The predominantly clinical and institutional management of mental health problems addressed fully-grown symptoms that were comorbid in nature yet needed diagnosis. Rapid assessments were inadequate to arrive at the rightful case for management, which, like an onion, several layers had to be peeled off to arrive at the foundational concern for all others that are physically and behaviorally seen. There was a question of who informed who in the diagnosis of our professional biases and pre-professional beliefs, which interfered with the administration of psychotherapy. While many mental health practitioners suffered the temptations to regard their religions as the model element in therapy administration, healing too suffered along the course of trying to support recovery. Much of the professional-patient relationships were based on hypotheses development as the interactions with patient went on, which in instutionalised settings such as clinics, were not given time and attention. Some practices linked and harmonised well, the conscious and subconscious mind such as mindfulness are easier to engage patients with - collectively and individually. Even for respective traditions, experiences showed that over time, disconnections from one's background values and traditions explained later confusion while reconnecting to same traditions caused unity with the individual. Traditional healing was fundamentally concerned with interpersonal interaction extending beyond the dyadic patient-healer relationship to necessary inclusion of particular rather than human interactions e.g., drummers, dancers, music, family. It was an important characteristic of mediation between vulnerable individuals who suffered at the hands of powerful human beings. Traditional healing depended on the interpersonal rather than the mechanistic, on relation rather than technical, and typically reinforced cosmologies, in which instrumental manipulation of naturalistic mechanisms - interacting with all things - was largely unknown. Also, the strong link between poor governance and mental health was never an issue for discussion, and therefore, undermined efforts in comprehensive interventions for

sustainable mental well-being. Such dimensions were found interesting and eased psychotherapy administration and patient recovery away from self-defeating professional biases that gave limited singular approaches to interventions. And if approaches were integrated into healing as part of the professional service package, it would predict good sustainable mental well-being, where vulnerability is eradicated, recovery eased and mental well-being maintained. However, an increasingly evidence-based practice was promoted. Scientific evaluations in relation to expected outcomes were important for the sustainability of any integration effort.

IMI AIM

IMI aimed at establishing a pool of human and ecological resources to tackle emerging mental health complications, holistically, and specifically designed to meet mental health needs of individuals and communities so as to transform mental health challenges, reduce vulnerability, accelerate recovery and achieve sustainable mental well-being. Key objectives were: to reduce economic stress and depression and revitalize good functioning of the body and mind; to encourage human and ecological-based health diagnosis and administration of IMI approved medicinal herbs and alternative medicine(s); to lead formulation and application of humanly dignifying policies adoptable by leaders in life-threatening environments; and to inculcate rational understanding of spirituality, science, and philosophy – integrated studies to provide a better understanding of the world we live in by everyone.

In view of the above, the Integrated Mental Health Initiative (IMI) carried out research on current and persisting human life stressors or general health problems. Through making information found available to the studied communities (concerning human and ecological safety), IMI generates awareness around major factors for the development and persistence of mental disorders. IMI maintains a brainstorming and consensus-building forum that helps provide answers to the ever-emerging human problems related to mental health. By gaining input from local communities, government officials, and local and international health experts, the project finds appropriate solutions for the common good of the community. In that respect, the Integrated Mental Health Initiative (IMI) set out to undertake the following activities:

Current and on-going activities
• Regular studies and analyses on mental health related subjects.
• Home visits and home-based care.
• Psychotherapy sessions.
• Inculcating the discipline of mindfulness for mental development and peaceful states of the mind and the environment
• Caregiver training.
• Community sensitisation for mental health empowerment.
• Partnerships and collaborations for conducting interventions and resources mobilisation.
• Formation of community mental health clubs for self-help and self-suficiency .
• Capacity building for organisations, community leaders, teachers and parents.
• Strengthen development linkages and form affiliations for clients, supported communities and auxiliary mental health services reinforcers.
• Streamlining mental health practices among development agencies and grass root organisations.
• Monitoring and learning.

- Integration of best practices in programing.
- Competency and professional development for staff and updates on newly developed psychotherapeutic programmes.
- Advocacies and campaigns to promote public mental health.
- Concepts development and partnership for development.
- Outreaches, profiling, research and advocacy.
- Fund-raising activities – individual and institutional.
- Home-based care for clients.
- Participation in stakeholder fora.
- Organising professional seminars for knowledge and experience sharing.
- Speaking against injustices that are detrimental to well-being and peace.
- Offer consultancies for organisation development and collaboration platform.
- Support clientèle activities and businesses by buying off their products and recruiting other clients to sell them for a livelihood, and offer free psychotherapy sessions to the aggrieved and bereaved as a charity.
- Periodically offer representative as guest speaker at international conferences.
- Forming networks for future engagement within development work.

IMI Experience (Lessons)

The mind was the vehicle for achieving the highest of goals, including public health goals. However, mental illness from across the globe was increasingly evident and highly contagious. The sick and neglected environment set the stage for the trials and tribulations. Healing needed integration. The macro-level conditions provided trying moments for individuals to either be subdued or to subdue and prevail. It was those who failed to overcome the conditions that suffered and both preventive and healing medicines were rendered ineffective. Life after the chronic stage was not catered for, yet clinical conditions were insufficient without aspects of environment and spiritual diagnosis of mental illnesses. Without dealing with macro-level conditions, mental healthcare was no care at all. Stronger attention ought to focus on institutional networking and cooperation with related institutions and persons combining forces to realise the project's goal through carrying out annual nationwide conferences on conflict resolution, international relations and nurturing peace as gateways to human and ecological security as well as initiating community-led infrastructure development to reduce vulnerability to mental dysfunction and create prosperity for all. Such conferences formulate adoptable guidelines, legislative or legal structural designs and policies for local and international managers for use in decision-making processes. The project membership and affiliations were unlimited (consisting of its staff, hired experts, researchers, volunteers, interns, guest speakers, collaborating institutions, etc) in nature, since we all needed one another in the struggle for human and ecological rights and are entitled to them. In its intervention programmes, the project has interests and undertakings in spirituality (faiths, beliefs or religious sects); mental and general health, including socio-cultural, socio-environmental, ecological, socio-economical, and socio-political spheres for general well-being and functioning of the communities in their day-to-day lives. IMI project had a macro-vision of becoming a self-sustaining organisation in a period of ten (10) years, fully equipped to sustainably manage resources under its supervision and monitor settings supported by its central fund that funds and manages projects relevant to the aims and objectives of IMI. There was currently no mental health infrastructure to address the macro- psychosocial, economic, governmental, environmental and globalisation issues that trigger vulnerabilities or accelerate mental health

problems. Interventions were still on clinical or institutional basis that offered services in unreal life situations that caused vulnerabilities and mental cases.

GOVERNANCE AND MENTAL HEALTH

We have actively been involved in faith building among voters despite their distrust for government institutions like the electoral commission. We knew those who never voted affect any little change we would have. I pointed this through the opposition leadership and directly to the masses using social media, leadership and peace platforms in Uganda and around Africa, in light of local communities served. We have reached out to individuals and affected areas to develop reports I can share with colleagues around the country and world. We have subsequently held sessions to develop right development journeys for bright future. We have demystified fear for impending crisis and focused on building hope for development and peace. We have liaised with friends from Asia and Africa to form a pro-African platform for good governance, development and peace in Africa, which we are currently working on.

Through IMI, we demystified non-participation in governance, to ill the service gap in the mental health sector and support sufferers and their families to sustainable well-being, which was an abandoned and neglected sector. We reconstruct potentially victimising statements given by leaders and influential people to be shunned and justify struggles for good governance as reciprocal to community well-being; help the youth to rediscover their potential, to cope and exercise resilience in the face of adversity until a time when maladministrations and poor governance systems collapse unsupported. In other words, the youths recover and are able to exercise resilience by adopting private business ventures that detach them from the ill effects of poor governance as they denounce corrupt regime, rather than give in to subsistence abuse and hopelessness. This keeps the youth in endless struggles for better livelihoods and good governance, which constantly reflects their well-being. In the last general elections, we managed to encourage and model activities that promote participation in national elections as either voter or candidate. But even with the injustices and fraudulent elections that characterised the elections, we are helping to sustain the hope through actions that disassociate the people with anti-people ventures of government, recognise legitimacy, and keep the spirit of the struggle for legitimate leadership and better governance high. It is from here that Ugandans can be assured of peace, rather than employ repressive actions and oppression as the means to achieve it and consider the absence of counter physical violence as peace- as many believe. We continue to make it clear to the public that, there can be no peace under state repression, corruption, illegitimate rule, unjust justice systems, unemployment, famine, poor health of Ugandans, poor infrastructure, poor livelihoods, and alienation of the population. People are not peaceful in these states, whether there are bullet sounds and bullet deaths or not. That too, is a matter of time.

SUSTAINABILITY STRATEGY AND LESSONS

- Community ownership and mainstreaming mental health services in the main vessel of health care delivery.
- Representation of mental health concerns in key areas of health administration and policy formulation.
- Formation of mental health clubs and associations - with which to build capacity and help reduce pressure on existing manpower while helping to reduce adverse impact caused

by mental poor health - characterising violence, abuse and neglect of family and social responsibilities.

- Integrate major predisposing factors to mental illnesses such as human rights abuses, environmental degradation, ignorance and poor socio-economic environment, to lessen vulnerability and promote economic and general mental well-being.
- Beneficiaries will be grouped in viable economic forces to gain economic, social and participation power so as to recover fully from economic and psychological depression- in addition to strengthening mental abilities to adjust towards and forth from any degree of depression (Mental health empowerment).
- After working for the parent organisation, they are graduated to manage their own businesses with minimal supervision.
- The IMI continues to thrive from the shared resources to run organisations projects further ahead with remits from its internal investments built from the tapping of mighty talents and skills of its clients.
- We align them with the organisation report and share with stakeholders, design new projects based on the insights got, and conduct research or write papers to gain wider understanding and conclusions on those insights so that they can be used to help others or ill development gaps.

REPLICABILITY

- After three years of clients working with IMI, they are prepared to enter a one-year transition into gaining administrative independence so that they can run and thrive on their own using the proceeds gained from working for the parent organisation (IMI) plus a booster grant of 500USD - given to them.

- First by widening resource base through renewable resource strategy, direct engagement with potential funding, utilization of local engagement to raise resources for self-help, and investment in its accumulated assets for sustainable revenue and self-funding as well as maximize private consultations. In line with increased resource base, the organisation, which now operates at a district level, will initialize country-wide, regional, inter-regional, and global mental health facilities for it service and products utilization.

Best practices:
- Improve office infrastructure,
- Support sessions so that we do not have to charge fees to needy clients,
- Reach out to communities who cannot make it to our offices,
- Provide free food and clothing to beneficiaries,
- Support self-sustenance of our beneficiaries,
- Provide basic literacy training to children and youth,
- Support mental empowerment programme for our beneficiaries - including youths, parents and local leaders.

WAY FORWARD

Future IMI will provide the entrance for sustained healing and also empower affected individuals to cope with the wider worldly challenges, brave the test, ind mechanisms for problem solving

and overcoming them so that they emerge victorious, happy and mentally well. IMI in its response relishes multi-systemic and multi-ideological strategies to transform afflictions of individuals, groups, communities, nationals, and regions into drivers of mental and general well-being. Without such amount of leadership that rallies forces and professional responses towards social, economic, governmental and individual afflictions, communities like any other organism will endlessly be threatened by misery and extermination from life while adding more pressure to already vulnerable sections of society that are unable to cope with macro development pressures and overcome them in order to be mentally well. This is with established comprehensive mental healing infrastructure under IMI that, after chronic stages of mental illness, caregivers are supported, the community is prepared on how best to relate with vulnerable members, leadership is lobbied to allocate resources, vulnerable communities are supported with physical and spiritual needs with ties to mental illness as well as mental and skills training for vulnerable sections of the community.

A $200,000 USD budget will be needed as basic fund for IMI infrastructure. However, specific programmes and activities attract funding of between $1500.00 USD and $50000.00 USD from direct and indirect funding arrangements – to address current and priority community needs. Generally, the project is a multi-stake type that integrates the different societal forces capable of helping to create a change in people's lives. Account Number 6004667822 Barclay's Bank, Jinja Branch, Uganda.

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RADIO MICAH: A COMMUNICATION TOOL TO SERVE AGRICULTURE IN AFRICA

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Radio Micah was launched in Lomé on May 1, 2015 by its founder, Mr. Attivi, Okey to broadcast programmes to listeners online with the goal of transmitting content about Togolese agriculture on the airwaves and thereby increasing the visibility of the work performed by the community, various supervisory authorities, national and international organisations. The company MICAH FARM S.A.S recognized and responded to the need for a suitable communication medium, resulting in the birth of Radio Micah. The intentions behind the creation of Radio Micah can be summarised in the following statements:

• Radio Micah, the Farmer's Voice, is an initiative of the MICAH FARM S.A.S agricultural society, which works in the production, promotional and distribution sectors of agriculture, dealing with agricultural products, breeding, farms, and the importing and exporting of commodities.

• Radio Micah is the voice of the agriculturalist and a dynamic website containing both written and audio-visual information.

• Radio Micah, the Farmer's Voice, presents programming in French, English, and various indigenous languages of Togo, such as Ewé, Kabyè, etc. Broadcasting from our website, www. radiomicah.com, and from our Android app, we discuss issues of interest and importance to farmers, as well as matters pertaining to our organisation.

Conscious of the fact that our African homelands cannot experience development without particular emphasis being placed on agriculture, the Togolese people launched the National Agricultural Investment and Food Security Programme (Programme National d'Investissement Agricole et de Sécurité Alimentaire, or PNIASA) in 2011. Its areas of focus are threefold, namely the creation, distribution, and adaptation of technologies which could have a significant impact on three subsectors of the agricultural industry: plant, animal, and ish production. Enthusiastic and supportive towards this undertaking, and indeed Togolese agriculture in general, Radio Micah wishes to shine a spotlight on PNIASA and serve as a medium of communication for all participants therein. Specifically, our vision is to create a forum where all players in African agriculture can exchange their views, share their experiences, and suggest improvements. The vision of the Farmer's Voice, according to its founder, Mr. Attivi, Okey is thus: "We intend to impact the agricultural industry through our radio programmes. Our reporting is meant to vitalize this growing sector and involve African youth at the centre of it."   At present, Radio Micah has two studios. One, in Lomé, houses its production studio, where the network's content is created, while another in Canada hosts a team of dynamic, young anchors and correspondents on the North American continent.

Radio Micah, the Farmer's Voice seeks to be a leader in information technology and heighten public awareness on agricultural matters. Our ambition for the future is to expand the scope of our coverage, educating more and more people by reaching out on the FM airwaves and by satellite.

ON BEING AN ENTREPRENEUR: THE NIGERIAN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

It is common knowledge that the success of an economy rests on the strength of its entrepreneurs. Present-day challenges make it imperative for countries in the same bracket as Nigeria to de-emphasize reliance on oil and government for social crumbs, to embrace innovative activities and deepen small and medium-scale enterprises (SMEs). SMEs are important drivers of economic growth but they face significant challenges as obtained in Nigeria where infrastructures such as power, transportation and financing needed to make entrepreneurship work seldom exists. With a high unemployment rate, young Nigerians are required to embrace entrepreneurship. The aim of this paper is to present the Nigerian entrepreneur within the country's challenging business environment as a true definition of an entrepreneur despite the general definition. We presented a set of questions and gathered feedback through a set of questionnaires administered using purposive sampling on 6 trade associations in Iwo Town, Osun state, Nigeria.

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is the largest economy in Africa, a laudable feat going by its population of over 179 million people (WPR, 2016), not considering the country's lower per capita income and mono-economy dependent on importation.

The country has the resources necessary to make its economy great: a large expanse of arable land that supports agriculture, a large market from within and without and communities that team up with each other for communal economic development.

With its huge population, Nigeria boasts of huge human capital, accounting for 15 % of the continent's population, 11 % of its output and 16 % of the foreign reserves, with phenomenal dominance in West Africa to include half of the sub-region's population and 70 % of its output.

Nigeria's human and non-human resources help Africa and the greater world by providing economic aid to Africa, political resolution of crises across the continent, skills, and technical aid to countries in need in diverse sectors of the society. The nation's human resource endowment is such that one in ive Africans is a Nigerian.

The country is the largest economy on the continent with an annual gross domestic product (GDP) of $509.9 billion USD. It is the 13th largest oil producer in the world with 32 billion barrels of oil reserves, enough for 37 years (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2014). The country's gas reserves, going by the 2005 estimates, will last for 110 years at the current rates of usage (Oloja & Oretade, 2006). Some developed countries opposed debt relief for the country in 2005 citing the above.

Nigeria has abundant solid mineral deposits including coal, tin ore, gold, gemstones, marble, uranium, salt, soda, and sulphur (National Planning Commission, 2004). The country earned

N300 billion (Nigerian naira) from oil exports between 1970 and 2000. With these natural and other resource endowments, Nigeria has the potential to sustain its status as Africa's largest economy and a major player in the global economy, yet the country is wanting.

The economic development status of Nigeria in the midst of these resources perplexes many. For example, in the build-up to negotiations with the country's international creditors on pardoning the country's debt in 2005, many of the creditor countries opposed Nigeria receiving debt pardon citing its vast resources. Hence, the need for another golden nest away from oil, to be found in entrepreneurship and SMEs.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND ITS CONCEPTUALIZATION

An entrepreneur is a person who manages and takes business decisions. He/she innovates, comes up with ideas, identifies opportunities, seeks finance and strives to succeed. He/she decides what to produce, how to produce and for whom to produce, to make a profit.

Shane (2003) defines entrepreneurship as an act of being an entrepreneur, or someone who undertakes innovations, finance and business in an effort to transform innovations into economic goods. This can be internal expansion otherwise called intra-preneurship or new venturing altogether.

The setting of entrepreneurship is two-faced: the internal environment (psychological traits such as an entrepreneurial person being recognisable by his personal attributes) and the external environment (the platform and characteristics on which the activities of the entrepreneur takes place). Three major activities of entrepreneurship are discovery (of opportunities and ideas), investing (putting to use of any or all available resources) and taking decisions (the use of the resources including resource allocation and risk-taking). The entrepreneur is the heart and brain of the business. He has all the units and departments in him alone. He knows where he wants to be and decides when, how and sometimes, if he wants to get there.

The vast majority of developed and developing countries rely on dynamic, resourceful and risk-taking entrepreneurs to trigger and sustain economic growth. In economic development, SMEs play an important role. Characteristics such as endurance, competition and entrepreneurship, have external benefits to the economy besides efficiency and growth in productivity. Advocates of SMEs support claims that they are generally more productive than larger irms.

Another argument further states that SMEs' expansion boosts employment more than large firms' growth because SMEs are more labour-intensive. This may mean that subsidising SMEs can represent a poverty alleviation tools. By promoting SMEs, individual countries and the international community at large can make progress towards the main goal of reducing poverty. Entrepreneurial development is important to the Nigerian economy which is characterised by heavy dependence on oil, low agricultural production, high unemployment rate, low use of industrial capacity, high inflation rate and lack of industrial infrastructural base. These constraints can also limit the rate of growth of entrepreneurial activities in Nigeria.

ENTREPRENEURSHIP CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA

The challenges faced by entrepreneurs are the same faced by established Tier-2 businesses. Chief among the challenges is corruption, regulatory bottlenecks, access to credits or loans, power,

transportation problems, infrastructure and market access.

The 'Doing Business' report is based on the regulatory environment of business, measuring the economies of countries from many areas of the life of a business. The focus is on regulatory constraints for businesses. Creating a regulatory platform that allows entrepreneurship to blossom has huge positive impact on job creation and the economy.

Table 1: 2015 GDP and Doing Business Ranking, 2016

Country	Nigeria	South Africa	Egypt	Ghana	Libya	Angola	Kenya
GDP (billion US $)	594.3	341.2	275.7	50.0	67.6	129.8	56.3
Global Ease of Doing Business	169	73	131	114	188	181	108
Starting a Business	26	17	3	13	18	27	31
Dealing with Construction Permits	40	10	12	23	19	13	28
Getting Electricity	41	31	18	9	15	29	12
Registering Property	46	11	15	5	20	38	17
Getting Credit	7	7	1	4	18	45	3
Paying Taxes	41	2	18	15	19	23	11
Trading Across Borders	42	21	14	36	9	41	22
Enforcing Contracts	25	16	18	14	16	47	9

Source: World Bank Group (2016); Africaranking.com

Let us discuss the 'Doing Business 2016' data from the World Bank economic ranking. The data highlights the country's business environment defined as ease of doing business with key indices like starting a business, getting electricity, getting credit (loan), and trading across borders (international trade) as key focus (see Table 1). Nigeria has not fared better than a smaller country like Ghana.

Primary data was developed from modified 'Doing Business' indices and data collected using purposive sampling with questionnaires administered on members of 5 trading and business associations in Iwo Town of Osun state, Nigeria. Find the summary of key questions and responses in Table 2. The questions are based on the World Bank's Doing Business indices.

The indices by which data is collected from members of the trade associations is defined with reference to the World Bank's 'Doing Business' indices as follows.

1. Starting a business: Referring to the ease of starting a business by an entrepreneur. This also involves third-party (family, friends, public or government) support, the ease of business names registration or incorporation of new companies and access to business support services.

2. Obtaining business permits: This has to do with the ease of getting business licence, regulatory and professional permits. It also tends towards enforcing legality and quality of the products and services offered.

3. Access to electricity: This refers to reliability, adequacy, affordability and transparency.

4. Registering business property or obtaining a certificate of occupancy: This means getting a proper trading outlet. Access to credits is often predicated on collateral with both commercial and microfinance banks. With the clog created by the Land Use Act of 1978 and considering the expensive fees, registering of landed properties is complex and almost impossible.

5. Getting credit/loan: This has to do with access to financial supports for businesses from banks in particular.

6. Public economics and policies: This refers to the extent to which government agencies, their actions and policies affect business operations. Worthy of attention are levies, taxes and public finance which includes injection of funds into the local economy through regular and adequate payment of salaries, pensions, etc.

7. Trading across borders: Defined with regards to international trade-related policies like foreign trade, foreign exchange policies and processes issued by government agencies.

8. Enforcing the law and contracts: This refers to the strength of the rule of law in taking its course in the disposition of justice particularly on business transactions.

9. Access to knowledge and skills supports: This is explained with regard to access to knowledge and information as well as skills necessary to equip the entrepreneur for a successful start-up. This is about addressing skills' shortage.

10. Road and other infrastructure: This refers to the availability of good roads and proper transport systems that are efficient for business transactions. It also includes telecommunications and other social amenities that will aid business success.

Table 2 shows data collected in a survey of ive trading operators in Iwo Town, Osun state, Nigeria. Over 50 members of each association took part in the survey, giving group answers. Questions documented by each indicator are asked in the positive while respondents answer YES or NO. For example, question starts like "Is it easy...?" The percentage of YES responses to the total respondents appears on the table. The data collected is also presented in table 2.

Table 2: Survey of Associations on the Nigerian Environment of Business (in %)

Country	Mobile phone operators / sellers	Computer services operators	Motorbike operators	Cement sellers	Cold fish sellers	Agriculture (farming, poultry, etc.)	Average
Starting a business	17	12	25	5	23	32	19
Obtaining business permits	22	35	60	89	44	98	58
Access to electricity	15	7	n/r	n/r	2	9	8.25
Getting a business outlet / registering property / obtaining C of O	45	14	82	35	48	95	53.17
Getting credits / loans	14	9	2	73	51	49	33
Public economics and policies	46	66	71	11	16	82	48.67
Trading across borders	12	n/r	n/r	n/r	n/r	n/r	12
Enforcing the law and contracts	33	21	8	91	46	98	49.5
Access to knowledge & skills support	5	56	21	69	68	86	50.8
Road and other infrastructure	n/r	n/r	77	85	96	98	89

Source: Author; n/r – not required to operate the business

CONCLUSION

Considering the country's economy and the fact that the world is currently in regression, the Nigerian entrepreneur is a goal getter and risk-taker. And if entrepreneurs, amidst challenges become proactive, develop a sense of survival and seek deeper dimensions to the obstacles highlighted in Table 2, their success is a given.

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RELIGIOUS RESPONSE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE: A BLACK THEOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This paper looks at why it is necessary for churches to take part in the response to sexual and gender-based violence within the African context. As a starting point, it is necessary to discuss the nature of influence that religion has on the society. The discussion focuses on understanding religion as a coping mechanism for stress. Attention is then turned to the context of the Christian faith and available theological frameworks that can be a basis for response to sexual violence. The last part of this paper looks at the ability of the Christian church to mobilise communities and harness a wide geographic footprint to create a sustainable response to sexual violence within communities. The paper concludes with a few recommendations targeted at policy makers and church leadership on developing responses to sexual violence within communities.

RELIGIOUS RESPONSE TO SEXUAL VIOLENCE: A BLACK THEOLOGY

PERSPECTIVE

Before we delve deep into the above outline, let us first confine our discussion to a concise meaning of the term sexual violence. The concept of sexual violence is one that is often difficult to pin down to one definition and is often misunderstood (Bradford, 2006). One cause for this difficulty is that several schools of thought define the concept differently. Psychiatry and psychology look at it as a behavioural disorder and define it within that framework. In the field of law, it is viewed from a perspective of social norms and legal principles. The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines sexual violence as: "Any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work. Coercion can cover a whole spectrum of degrees" (WHO, 2002).

It is regarded as the broad range of violent sexual behaviours that ranges from minor sexual deviant behaviours to sexual homicides (Bradford, 2006). Sexual violence is regarded as a spectrum of non-consensual sexual experiences, the most common one being that of rape (Brown et al., 2006). The key elements of sexual violence include the absence of consent and the varying nature of the actions that can be fitted into this definition. This gives us a clearer understanding of the concept of sexual violence. Now we can look at the influence of religion and its uses as a way to cope with life stress.

Reports state that 796 million people in Sub-Saharan Africa, out of 822 million, claim association to some religious group, be it as an adherent or an active member within that group (Pew Research Center, 2015). Africa is, by no stretch of imagination, a highly religious society. It is interesting to note the influence that religion has within any society. In this paper, the area of focus will be to explore the effects of religion in relation to coping with life stress.

Religion serves as a framework by which life events are understood and interpreted within the African context (Mbiti, 1969). An individual's religious belief systems operate as the lens through which the realities of everyday life are perceived and interpreted (Silberman, 2005). What this suggests is that any explanation of events is supported by a certain worldview. According to this view, religion offers its congregants a coherent belief system that gives meaning to the world.

Silberman argues that, much like any other meaning-making system, religion can influence the formulation of goals for self-regulation, affect emotions and influence behaviour (Silberman, 2005). Religion is at the epicentre of an immense web of beliefs, attitudes and feelings that form a worldview (Cottingham, 2003). There are varieties in worldviews and the African context has its own worldview through which events are understood. The African view interprets reality as a closed system where everything hangs together, with changes affecting all aspects of the entire system (Van Der Merwe, 2008). Within the African worldview the metaphysical, as represented by God and the ancestors, has a direct link to the physical manifestation of life experienced by humanity and the rest of nature.

In the Western worldview, religion is also a means of interpretation of the experiences of life events. Within the western view, this is known as religious coping. Religious coping is understood as being the use of cognitive or behavioural techniques that emanate out of an individual's spirituality when an individual is confronted with life stress (Tix and Frazier, 1998). A characteristic of religious coping is that it provides a significant end and meaning to events that are stressful (Pargament et al., 1999). It is viewed as the quest for purpose, emotional comfort, personal control and intimacy with others using one's spirituality and religious beliefs relating to stressful life events. Pargament et. al. argued that the most common use of religious coping takes place within the most disenfranchised sectors of society.

There is an ever-increasing body of empirical studies that have looked at religious coping and its effects in mitigating life stress. Some studies have looked at the short-term effects of religious coping and others the long-term effects. In a 2005 study that looked at the how religious meaning can influence the coping process in bereaved college students in America, evidence showed that religion can serve as a framework through which the bereaved can reframe their loss, look for more non-threatening interpretations, find coping resources, and identify areas of personal growth (Park, 2005).

Research also suggests that sexual victimisation has negative effects on an individual's trust of others in society (Tamburello et. al., 2014). In this context, trust is used to mean a default expectation of others' goodwill. He further suggests that the regular attendance of religious services weakened the negative effects that sexual victimisation has on trust in individuals (Ibid, 592). There is a body of evidence that proves that religion has the capability of shaping the lens through which individuals view their world. In stressful life events, religion can also be an antidote.

The significance of religion is not only on individuals but also on society (Silberman, 2005). The centrality of religion in modern day society is one that cannot be underplayed. There is no doubt that within the Western worldview, Christianity is one of the most dominant religions. It then becomes important that we understand Christian texts and how their interpretation has implications on our experience of the world. These interpretations of Christian texts are used

to create various theological frameworks. The theological frameworks that result from various interpretations of Christian texts become the theological foundations upon which churches across the world anchor their actions.

Mosala argues that biblical appropriations and interpretations are always framed by the social and cultural locations and commitments of those who do them (Mosala, 1989). Inherent in that idea is the notion that there are always biblical appropriations and interpretations that are being made. Within the Christian tradition, there are many theological frameworks that exist but the one that will be our focus will be that of Black theology of liberation. Moreso, the focus is on the relevance of black theology of liberation as a theological framework within the Christian tradition that can serve as a foundational basis for action against sexual violence.

It is necessary to look at black theology within its proper context if we are to get a full understanding of what black theology is. The emerging of black theology came around the 1960s in America during the civil rights movement. Writings of James Cone such as "Black theology and black power", published in 1968, are amongst some of the most influential writings that popularised the prophetic voice of figures such as Martin Luther King Jnr and Malcolm X, critics of racism (Mtshiselwa, 2015).

Black theology arose out of the suffering of black people in the United States of America and is anchored on the idea that any exposition of the Gospel of Jesus Christ that omits God's liberation of the poor is not a true exposition (Cone, 2010). In South Africa, the idea took form during the same time that the philosophy of black consciousness was taking root in the country. One cannot talk of black theology without referring to the philosophy of black consciousness (Mtshiselwa, 2015). Within the South African context, black theology emerged from the oppression of the apartheid regime. What is evident is that the theology was born in the face of oppression.

Black theology is a cultural tool born out of the struggle of black people that seeks to break the silence of Christian theology on the oppression of black people (Mosala, 1989). Black, in this context referring to those people that Boaventura de Sousa Santos classifies as nonexistent. "Nonexistent is to exist without any relevant or comprehensible way of being " (Santos, 2007). Black theology is a theology of liberation which reflects upon the socio-economic, ecclesiastical and political realities of the people in the African context (Muzorewa, 1989). It is deemed to be an attempt at presenting the Christian gospel to the black man with all its liberating power (Gqubule, 1974). As a model of theology, black theology is entrenched in the actualities of oppression (Vellem, 2015). What sets apart this framework of theology from other forms of theology is that the interlocutor of black theology is the "nonexistent". It is a counter-cultural form of theology that brings to the fore the lived experiences of the marginalised people in the society and seeks to use its interpretation of the Bible as a tool of liberation for such classes of people.

The rise of black theology out of a context of suffering and oppression makes it, as a theological framework, much more sensitive to the struggles of people across the world irrespective of the type of struggle. The manner in which black theology has found root in different parts of the globe such as Latin America, North America, the Caribbean and Africa illustrates how people with different struggles have found a voice within this theological framework. Sexual violence is highly prevalent in the African contexts and those that are mainly at the receiving end are women and children (Kilonzo et al. 2013). It is within a theological framework such as black theology that voices of marginalised women and children can find edification.

Black theology's presence, therefore, suggests that within the Christian tradition there is a theological framework that can be a foundational basis to build upon a response to sexual violence within the African context. A theological framework upon which a response can be built is not the only reason to encourage churches to respond to sexual violence. Kilonzo et. al. suggest that if responses to sexual violence are to be effective, they need to be community driven (Ibid: 5). The responses need a multi-faceted approach along the prevention-treatment continuum (Magner et. al., 2015).

Churches are the best places to use education to arouse dialogue on sexual violence as a way of creating awareness of the issue within their local context. These religious institutions are nodal points that need to be harnessed to educate and transform social attitudes towards sexual violence. "The use of religious spaces, as a whole, has not been properly examined by policy makers and neglects the sheer influence that religious communities have within the African continent." (Tearfund, 2013). A unique vantage point that churches have is that they are present at the local level and command respect within the communities they serve (LeRoux, 2015). Another key consideration is that the church has an ability to mobilise local communities that cannot be matched. In 1986 the Free Methodist Church in Congo (DRC) embarked on mobilising the communities they operate from to build schools. Within less than four years the church mobilised 29 churches to build 15 schools across the Democratic Republic of Congo (Tearfund, 2010).

The response of the Ecumenical movement in South Africa and its resistance to apartheid illustrates the ability of the church to mobilise communities (Khumalo, 2009). It is evident that government and organisations cannot match the church's presence in communities. Coupled with that presence is the ability to mobilise people and devoted members making it fertile ground in which responses to sexual violence can be planted and rooted.

We have seen that religion has an ability to negate the effects of life's stress to its membership and acts a coping mechanism in the face of stress as a response to sexual violence. Further to that, within the Christian context, it is necessary to have a theological framework upon which responses to sexual violence can be anchored. Black theology of liberation can be such a theological framework. The church has a footprint in every community that enables it to reach grassroots level, yet it operates at varying levels. This footprint coupled with its ability to mobilise communities makes it well placed to respond to sexual violence. One may even stretch the argument to say that the church is located strategically to further the African development agenda. If the church is to be useful in responding to sexual violence, several things need to happen.

1. At policy formulation stage, policymakers need to ensure that faith-based organisations are an integral part of the policy-making. There is a need to ensure that faith-based organisations such as churches are also an integral part of policy implementation regarding sexual violence due to their access to communities.

2. Churches need to show more interest to capacitate their membership on sexual violence and train their leadership on the issues that face the African context and how best to respond to the challenges of the African context.

3. There is need for a multi-stakeholder approach towards responding to sexual violence that also takes into cognizance the value faith-based communities bring into that discussion.

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THE POSITION OF AFRICAN WOMEN WITHIN THE REALM OF CULTURE, PATRIARCHY AND THE LAW: A CASE OF KENYA

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ABSTRACT

The world is on a quest to achieve United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 (SDG5), which seeks to promote gender equality and empowerment of women and girls. Women have been oppressed overtime in most societies. Statistics continue to project increasing rates of various acts of gender based violence such as domestic violence, sexual violence, cultural and economic abuse and so on. These acts of abuse are accelerated by several factors pertinent to our social systems such as culture, patriarchy and the Law. Using Kenya as a case study, this paper examines how these three factors contribute to differential gender treatment. The purpose is to inform on the extent to which the welfare of African women has been compromised by the law, culture and patriarchy, to find relevant long-term solutions to curb further degradation of women in Africa and subsequently, achieve SDG5.

ISSUES

The following issues shall be discussed in this paper:
1. Culture
2. Women and politics
3. Family Law (marriage and divorce)
4. Property ownership
5. Domestic violence
6. Female genital mutilation (FGM)
7. Sexual inequality

INTRODUCTION

Culture largely defines behaviour and practices of any African society. The do's and don'ts of the female gender are to a large extent, dictated and directed by the practices of society during a particular period, either adopting what was done from time immemorial or the current norm. This has created stereotypes that are gendered in nature, such as to adversely affect the human, economic, civil and political rights of women. For instance, few women opt to vie for elective positions in government because of the misguided perception that such opportunities are reserved for their male counterparts, who were traditionally the chiefs and clan elders. Customs and practices of the people are subsequently considered as one of the sources of Law, which is created by enacting of statutes by the same male-dominated Parliament. Loopholes in legislation have in some cases, failed to protect women from gender based violence or provide adequate justice in family disputes.

However, progress has been witnessed by amendment of legislation and enactment of statutes that curb barbaric cultural practices and uphold the welfare of women in various situations that previously were gender discriminatory and oppressive.

1. CULTURE HAS CREATED A PRISON ENVIRONMENT FOR WOMEN

Culture and tradition greatly influence the family system in Kenya. Our society is patriarchal and is known for its history of oppressing women. Many women surrender their power and human rights and remain prisoners of the society (Engels, 1972).

Feminists and women empowerment activists have contested that women are yet to get the credit they deserve for their important role in the family and society. According to Cain, " *...the category 'woman' has not so much been wrongly defined by men, as it has been ignored and undervalued. Yes, women are nurturing. Yes, women value personal relationships. These attributes are to be valued*" (Cain, 1990, p.836).

An African saying goes, " *The place of a woman is in the Kitchen.*" This is the conventional role of the woman; to be a good wife, to take care of the children, to be caring, forgiving and sacrificing (Kabira & Muthoni, 1994). Most men will propose that good wives are the ones who hold families together, are not ambitious or interested in politics, are hardworking and submissive. They should stay at home to love, obey and care for their husbands. Even when husbands are unfaithful, it is because their wives have neglected them. At work, they refuse to apply for positions because it is not feminine to look ambitious. A woman should only be seen and not heard.(Kabira & Muthoni, 1994).

2. WOMEN AND POLITICS

All kinds of contradictory statements are given when a woman shows an interest in politics. We hear women being told:

•   "You are divorced. You cannot maintain a household, much less a Constituency."
•   "You are married, steer clear of politics."
•   "You have not gone to school; your opinion is not relevant."
•   "You are educated; you do not understand our women at the grassroots."

It is unfortunate that such cultural idiosyncrasies are assimilated into our mindsets so much as to influence how both men and women exercise their voting rights.

Radical feminists agree that women are subject to male political domination, as Catherine A. MacKinnon (1989) puts it, " *The state is male jurisprudentially: meaning that it adopts the standpoint of male power on the relation between law and society... those who have freedoms like equality, liberty, privacy and speech socially keep them legally free of government intrusion. No one who does not have them socially is granted them legally.*"

The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 attempts to tackle gender equality in politics. Article 81(b) provides that not more than two-thirds of the members of elective public bodies shall be of the same gender. To give effect to this, Article 97(1) (b) creates in the National Assembly, positions for forty-seven women, each elected by the registered voters of the counties, each county making up a single-member constituency.

However, the reality is that gender equality is far from being achieved in politics. A Gender Bill introduced to the National Assembly, to give effect to Article 27 of the Constitution, which seeks to promote affirmative action mechanisms that ensure that not more than two-thirds of the members in elective and appointive bodies shall be of the same gender, was rejected. The Gender Bill was debated upon in early May, 2016 at the National Assembly. Out of the 199 members present, 178 objected to it. The general feeling among male members of parliament was an interpretation that it was a move to give 'free' seats to women.

In the meantime, any issues pertaining to women that are raised are either ignored, debated and not acted upon, legislated but not implemented, given low priority, misinterpreted as destroying our traditions and culture and most often, they do not even pass to law as they are rejected by the majority of the Members of Parliament who are men.

3. FAMILY LAW (MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE)

Feminists propound that the structuring of the law itself is a reason for gender inequality. Family and matrimonial issues continue to be approached from a gendered perspective.

According to traditional African society, culture ruled that property should be owned by the husband in marriage. The place of women in society was to maintain a family and raise children. In divorce cases, the insistence on dividing property according to contribution has in many instances, failed to protect women who are housewives and whose contributions are not monetary yet who work so hard to keep their families intact while their husbands go to work.

Before the enactment of the Matrimonial Property of 2013, Section 17 of the Married Women's Property Act (MWPA) of 1882 (now repealed) was used to divide matrimonial property in divorce cases. It was first applied in Kenya in the case of I vs I   (1970), as a statute of general application. Such a statute can only be applied if there is no other written law to that effect and in so far as the circumstances of Kenya and its inhabitants permit, according to section 3 of the Judicature Act (Chapter 8, Laws of Kenya). It states: " In any dispute between husband and wife as to the title or possession of property, either of them may apply to the High Court... and the judge may make such order with respect to property in dispute... as he thinks it. " (ibid).

Kenyan courts have innovatively interpreted section 17 of the MWPA to develop jurispudence in the division of matrimonial property (Baraza, 2009). The problem is that section 17 was applied inconsistently by case law, often to the detriment of women. In the Kenyan case of Karanja vs Karanja (1976), the wife alleged she had contributed money to the purchase of their matrimonial property, which included a matrimonial home but the husband evicted her from their home. The court awarded her only a third of the property while the husband remained in the matrimonial home.

It is also important to note that housewives are not the only women vulnerable to economic domination and exploitation by their husbands. Elite women may also be oppressed in other non-cultural ways. For example, many working women take loans to purchase property to be registered in their husbands' names or buy cars for their husbands while they go to work by bus (Kabira and Muthoni, 1994). The reason is simply because of the cultural ideologies entrenched in our society that a man should be 'seen' as the one who is doing economically better than his wife. Neither education nor the law can fully erase this traditional mindset.

Article 45(3) of The Constitution of Kenya (2010) is a great milestone as it tries to cure the defect of section 17 of the MWPA. It states; " Parties to a marriage are entitled to equal rights at the time of the marriage, during the marriage and at the dissolution of the marriage." (COK, Art 45).

The Matrimonial Property Act however provides for the division of matrimonial property on the basis of contribution, which contradicts the constitutional right to equality in marriage. To remedy this, courts have construed the meaning of contribution to matrimonial property to include contribution in both monetary and non-monetary terms. For instance, the holding in Kivuitu vs Kivuitu (1997) suggests that participation of a wife in managing the famiy affairs is sufficient contribution (Baraza, 2009). However, strict evidence has to be adduced to convince the court to adopt such position, hence the assumption that neither party is an 'automatic asset' to the matrimonial property until the value of their contribution is proven.

4.   PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

Article 40 of the Constitution provides that every person has the right to own property. Under all customary law, property, land in particular, could only be possessed by men. Women could not own property as they were also considered property. The inequality has been reflected in divorce and succession disputes, many of which were settled by clan elders. Kenya's Constitution and the Law of Succession now protects women from customary deprivation of property rights.

The Law of Succession Act, which is the main legislation in succession matters, does not discriminate against children as any child of the deceased is entitled to inherit, whether male or female. This position has been upheld by the Constitution which invalidates any customary law inconsistent with the Constitution.

5.   DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic and family violence occurs when someone in an intimate or familial relationship attempts to gain and/or maintain power and control over another through a wide range of abusive behaviours. Abuse may be demonstrated by a single act as well as several acts that form a pattern, even though some or all of those acts, when viewed in isolation, may seem insignificant.

Many cases go unreported because the victims accept and condone the violence. In African Traditional society, a man had a right to chastise his wife, and she had a duty to apologise. The customary ideology was that the wife had wronged the husband and therefore deserved a beating.

In Kenya, as in many societies, women are socialised to accept, tolerate, and even rationalise domestic violence, and to remain silent about such experiences. One reason is because the family is said to be a private setting, whose issues are further considered private family matters. Families will often hide and dismiss blatant and frequent crimes, including murder, rape, and physical abuse of women in the home, in the name of defending the family honour. Subsequently, many victims of abuse in intimate relationships do not seek help or report for fear of stigmatisation. Others cover up for the perpetrators because they may be the bread winners and they think they cannot live without them.

6. FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION (FGM)

The barbaric practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is one of the ways which gross violence has manifested itself by way of customs. It is also a unique form of violence against

women because it is often perpetrated by women against other women, in the furtherance of culture and tradition.

The agony that accompanies FGM is intolerable and detrimental to human rights. It is a criminal offence and campaigns to eliminate this practice have been successful in many parts of the country.

7. SEXUAL INEQUALITY

Women's place in marriage has been held by culture to provide sex and consortium. One of the reasons given for polygamy in Traditional African society was to ensure that a man is satisied sexually at all times. The wife had no similar conjugal rights. Women have been looked upon as sex objects by men and the society.

Rape and defilement are criminal offences rampant in most African countries, including Kenya. Marital rape is not included in the Sexual Offences Act. Victims continue to suffer in silence with nowhere to run for help. Cases of rape and defilement are rampant within the family, the majority of victims being women and children.

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The Penal Code as read with the Sexual Offences Act criminalises all forms of sexual offences. However, other factors hinder justice to rape victims. Many victims have complained that Police officers are not cooperative in the investigation of cases and arrest of culprits while others have attributed delayed justice to the complicated evidence gathering process

The enactment of the Protection Against Domestic Violence Act in 2014 is a milestone that has shown the state's determination towards curbing family perpetrated gender violence. However, it only grants an interim protection order to the victim but does not initiate criminal proceedings, which are still instituted under the Penal Code, as normal assault.

Currently, the Prohibition against FGM Act seeks to protect women from this barbaric practice. It criminalises the practice of FGM of any kind in Kenya. Other than the statutes in place to deal with gender-based violence, such as the Sexual Offences Act, the Constitution of Kenya provides for the Bill of Rights (Chapter four of the Constitution), which provides for various fundamental rights and freedoms.

Article 27(4) outlaws discrimination on the basis of sex while Article 29(d) guarantees protection for all Kenyans from torture, inhuman or degrading punishment and other treatment whether physical or psychological. Rape, marital or otherwise is a demeaning and undigniied act. It therefore falls into the category of inhuman and degrading treatment as enshrined in the Constitution.

Equally, the protection of the right to life under Article 26 as well as the right to the security of the person is also evident and upholds the dignity of women. It states that no person shall be subjected to any form of violence from either public or private sources. The family is a 'private' setting and therefore is prohibited from perpetrating acts of violence.

Article 2(4) of the Constitution invalidates any law, including customary law, contrary to the Constitution. This automatically invalidates traditional and cultural practices contrary to the Bill of Rights or repugnant to justice and morality.

Article 2(5) of the Constitution, provides that the general rules of international law shall form part of the law of Kenya; and article 2(6) provides that any treaty or convention ratiied by Kenya shall form part of the law of Kenya. Whether the ratiied treaties and conventions will have the same force as laws enacted by the Kenyan legislature remains to be seen.

International treaties and conventions that continue to guide Kenya on the upholding of human rights and eradication of gender-based violence include:

1. Universal Declaration of Human Rights
2. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)
3. Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW)
4. The African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (Banjul Convention) Provisions on the Rights of Women
5. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)
6. Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.
7. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

CONCLUSION

Culture and patriarchy remain dominant in the African family system. Some cultural practices infringe on human rights pertinent to women, while some cultural stereotypes are a barrier to women empowerment. The law itself is male dominated, in its structure, interpretation and its practice. The majority of the lawmakers are men, therefore, making it dificult to pass laws that beneit women.

Judicial approach on gender issues is not impressive. Courts have a duty to interpret the constitution in a manner that upholds its dignity and supremacy. Several Judges have been accused of displaying ignorance on gender equality, notably in matters of divorce. Police oficers also relax on their role in maintaining law and order, in ensuring that the female gender is not vulnerable to gender-related abuse.

Women should also strive to promote their own empowerment. For instance, one wonders why women are the minority in Parliament despite being the majority of voters. Is it because they are jealous of their fellow women? The question remains rhetoric. Certain types of Gender Violence such as FGM, are perpetrated by women.

However, despite the setbacks, Kenya has witnessed remarkable improvement in the welfare of women. The Constitution itself has departed from harmful cultural practices and has upheld a deep regard for human rights and dignity. This is an indicator that there is progress in Africa towards achieving the Sustainable Development Goals, in particular, SDG5.

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'BLACK' COLONIALISM IS THE LEADING CAUSE OF ZIMBABWE'S COLLAPSE

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Black colonialism is the neo-oppression of black people by other black elite groups within a certain area according to the researcher. In this instance, some war veterans who fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe and other politicians seem to have fought in order to replace the white oppressive regime. Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980 from the Ian Smith colonial rule and for a while, independence meant enjoying self-black majority rule till the elected politicians began to ignore the needs of their masses. This article serves to explicitly express the effects of black colonialism in Zimbabwe and how the wrath of the elite elevated their divide and rule tactics. However, the researcher urges the youths to challenge the new type of oppression to guarantee a better future for their children and grandchildren.

Poverty, hopelessness and tremendous pain are traits marked on the faces of every person branded Zimbabwean. Questions of what tomorrow will be hover around the stressed skulls of the great Zimbabweans as not enough love is buried deep underneath the little overburdened hearts due to the incorrigible means of survival. Even these incorrigible means of survival have resulted in overnight mushrooming of Christian movements as a guise to poverty deliverance and hope restoration. In our Shona vernacular 'they' is a proverb that says "mudzimu wakupa chironda watinhunzi dzikudye," that is, the spirits that have wounded one has left them to be fed by lies. Just like the proverb, the researcher thinks that's what we have become as Zimbabweans, in relation to the very dry rain spell, pathetic politics and economics alas, we have become cursed as each day presents itself. Due to the hardship posed on by Black colonialism, Zimbabweans have entered into both the second and third stage of emotional depression which are anger and bargain respectively according to Kubler-Ross model (2005). This is why they have a lot of fault-inding questions in their minds. Is it God or the Ancestors or both who have placed this curse on us or have we self-inlicted the curse upon ourselves? What is wrong with being Zimbabwean? The questions remain unanswered but a solution to break this bad spell upon our beloved Zimbabwe is needed urgently.

Furthermore, describing Zimbabwe as the "land of Milk and Honey" according to the researcher is unmentionable, especially to the majority of Zimbabweans silently in agony with lat dry chests as well as honeyless bees that prohibit them from making ends meet as described in the previous paragraph. Perhaps the term "milk and honey" is relative to the elite politicians who have, over the years, amassed wealth for themselves by abusing their powers as public office holders, resulting in them having well-pronounced milk blossoms and honey bees to only feed their families. It is now difficult for an educated person to ind formal employment that suits their qualification. Instead, the people have resorted to survival means and according to The Standard (February 9, 2014), the streets have developed the phrase 'degreed vendor' reflecting how milkless the nation has become in accommodating graduates. Many University graduates have resorted to selling secondhand clothes or airtime to make ends meet since the few job openings

sometimes are filled with the well-connected elites. Most of these 'degreed vendors' occupy the pavements, at the present moment, in Harare and other cities which served as reference in The Herald of May 28, 2015 and Nehanda radio article of April 17, 2016.

In relation to the latter, it seems like yesterday, when our parents encouraged us to be educated in the belief that education holds the key to success. This belief was based on evident examples of family and friends who had made it. But today, here we are, with the highest educational qualification and yet refered to by society as educated loafers or educated vendors. How then does one console such parents whose hopes have dwindled and who have had poverty slammed them in their faces after educating their children for years? How does one motivate the little children whose dreams are as far reaching as their sleep can be, in a jobless society? How does one expect to receive a blessing from the creator where poverty, hopelessness and misery are inherited through the bellows of birth? No one wants to be born in poverty and shame despite how humble they will become later in life, that is if they escape the scourge and snares of being Zimbabwean by birth. Be that as it may, the effects of Black colonialism have destroyed our education sector to an extent that a university degree seems a worthless thing to attain.

We can go on to say that hard work does not pay in Zimbabwe. With the example of the current economic situation, such a statement can seem so valid. Zimbabwean children work so hard in their academics all through the years of acquiring knowledge and at the end, they become jobless in their own country where they are expected to have first preferences to opportunities. Perhaps some might have been caught up in a maze, like Dambudzo Marechera (1979) describes, "… smaller room: numb, dark, and also utterly empty. I could not bring myself to touch the walls to prove that they were there…." Some may finally escape the "House of Hunger" by skipping the borders for greener pastures, but in the end "..you travel to search and you come back home to ind yourself there " accentuates Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2002). Zimbabweans are scattered world over, not because they enjoy foreign nations but as a way to escape the depressing effects of Black colonialism. This unfortunate exile exposes Zimbabweans to xenophobia, human trafficking among other evils found in living far from home.

Black colonialism has oppressed the rights of those workers who are trying to serve the nation with their skills. Lest we forget, the civil servants as well as parastatal workers who have tirelessly served our country with services to develop the nation for many years lose their job for no reason and are not given any benefits as evidenced in Reuters of 16 august 2015. Correspondingly, The Herald of April 15, 2016, writes about the 15 months unpaid salaries of railway workers: The abuse of workers' rights in Zimbabwe has rife, thus the Chloe Mitchell (2010) mindset of ' … so much of everything how do we leave with nothing?' wrestle the workers' minds resulting in hampered progress. These workers have no choice but to remain working for no salary since finding another job in a jobless Zimbabwe (that has less than 11% employment rate) is equivalent to searching for a needle in a haystack. The elite politicians are suffocating the workers for their own benefit because there is no month that a minister or parliamentarian goes unpaid, therefore, for the reason that their stomachs are full they will not represent the workers even if they are the ones who made them get into those powerful positions.

However, Zimbabwe is proudly and loudly applauded for being a hardworking nation, our weakness is that moment we are pinned to accept substandard rewards for our work and that is when these powerful politicians step on us to reinforce their power. The researcher believes that what we consistently do becomes a habit. Let us break the habit of accepting substandard rewards

for our hardwork. This should also apply to the rest of the continent. We do not need to be irm to stand for the quality that we truly deserve; we only need to be more united in one voice, which is bold and authoritative, to alter the system of things and become valid as we truly are. We need to have the attitude of Dambudzo, "when all else fails, don't take it in silence: scream like hell…. " With the case study of Zimbabwe, Africa has become vulnerable to predators channeling Black colonialism within and outside the land that preys on the masses' weakness as they amass their wealth by abusing mass power.

More so, Zimbabwe as well as Africa at large needs to work towards developing the youths and harnessing their potential in various skills. The youths have so much energy to do a lot, plus they are technologically informed. It is evident that the youths in the 80's managed to change the face of Africa which was under colonial oppression. The likes of Kwame Nkrumah, Haile Selassie, Julius Nyerere, Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Sekou Toure amongst other pan-Africanist formed the Organisation of African Union (OAU) now African Union aiming "   to promote unity and solidarity of African states, safeguard sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states, coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the people of Africa. "

Nevertheless, as Zimbabwean youths of this generation, we do not only stand and complain but our voices are being thwarted and so are our actions. The playing field of activism is compromised. This is the same reason Zimbabwean youths have decided to be silent but continue gnashing their teeth, being unable to reach their pinnacle for reasons they know but fear to express. Zimbabwe has had a fair share of brave youths that tried to challenge the oppressive system but they were silenced. Itai Dzamara was made as an example to bring fear on the youth for being politically expressive. Ace Lumumba's reputation was destroyed as soon as he turned his back on the power that mentored him which also made sure that young youthful leaders follow and not criticize the system. Pastor Evan Mawarire with his #theflag movement gained mileage as youths found a brave man to rally behind in order to air their views but was criticized and described as displaying childish emotional outburst by Tafadzwa Musarara, a political analyst in a debate interview on the Platform of ZI FM. In the meantime, Pastor Evan Mawarire has been standing against the black to black oppression system in Zimbabwe by organizing citizens meeting with the Reserve bank Governor, Dr Mangudya, to denounce the introduction of bond notes which the elite politicians are trying to introduce to Zimbabweans.

To conclude, Zimbabwean youths, as well as other African youths, need to focus on preparing our future and that of our children. Despite the challenges we face, we need to focus on raising our voices and acting towards our goals by uniting and strengthening our voices together just like the OAU forefathers did in fighting against Black colonialism. Let us begin to write our own stories to develop our countries, continuing with the legacy of the OAU. This is not the time just to ask the question "what is wrong with being Zimbabwean or African ", it is the time to accept, ind solutions and the purpose of being Zimbabwean or African. Young African Leaders Forum (YALF) is now bridging the gap aiming to move African nations to the first world status and this begins by putting our voices out through such platforms. The pen is mightier than the sword let us speak out Zimbabweans, let us speak out young Africans! Black colonialism is the new oppression that has affected our education, industries and social setup. The researcher desires the youths to unite themselves to amplify their voices against this oppression, to regain Zimbabwe's status again.

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WHEN YOUR TEACHERS FAIL YOU: THE NECESSITY OF IMPROVING TEACHERS TRAINING FOR QUALITY EDUCATION IN CAMEROON

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ABSTRACT

With the underlying hypothesis that the quality of a teachers' training is directly proportional to the quality of education pupils eventually receive, this essay explores and critiques the basic education teacher training process in Cameroon, using two notable educational theories to assess the possibility of quality education resulting from Cameroonian government-trained basic education teachers. It was found that there is dire need to improve the quality of teachers we train to ensure that they can deliver the quality of education we seek. A brief outline of suggestions is made towards improving the flawed training system.

INTRODUCTION

Discourse on quality education is fairly recent. Though the international community has long prioritized education as a fundamental human right, until the year 2000, little had been said on the quality of the compulsory basic education (EFA: GMR 2005). Today however, there is a notable shift in both scholarly debate and international development advocacy, which now emphasizes on the quality of education achieved more than the rates of enrolment, years of schooling or gender parity (Barrett et al. 2006). Though these are worthy and necessary indicators, they are considered limited as evidence of impactful education for development.

But what is quality education? A review of literature suggests that quality has a different connotation depending on what lack in education is being addressed; whether lack in gender sensitivity, equality, pragmatism, relevance of content, pedagogic style or cultural relativity. However, 'Defining Quality in Education', a working paper presented by UNICEF at the meeting of The International Working Group on Education at Florence, Italy in June 2000, denotes ive 'dimensions' of quality; learners' well-being, environment, content, process, and outcome. A quality Cameroonian education would therefore entail holistically healthy learners, provided with the adequate resources, facilities, and environments that are safe, secure, gender-sensitive and inclusive (not barring the handicapped or those with different languages). Quality education as per this definition requires teaching content that is relevant and able to add value; involving processes through which trained teachers use child-centred teaching in well-managed classrooms to facilitate learning rather than dictate.

It is clear by this definition that teachers and educators have a long standing order of how and what to impart in the classroom as well as a responsibility in ensuring the right frame of mind and environment for quality education to be carried out. The production of the required "first-rate teachers" then is a vital part of ensuring quality education is delivered.

Young African Leaders Forum

In Cameroon, the "production" of the majority (the majority refers to those under government employ) of teachers is in the hands of certain government institutions. With the underlying hypothesis that the quality of a teacher's training is directly proportional to the quality of education pupils eventually receive, this essay shall outline the situation of training of basic education teachers in Cameroon, using two notable educational theories to assess the possibility of quality education resulting from such Cameroonian government trained teachers. These theories, the Social Reproduction theory and the Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, will be used interchangeably to forward arguments answering the question of if and how well the teachers (of basic education particularly) produced in Cameroon are equipped and up to the challenge of providing the quality of education sought after.

BASIC EDUCATION TEACHER TRAINING IN CAMEROON

Formal training of basic education teachers in Cameroon remains primarily in the hands of the government. This means that while there are a few private (mission) teacher training schools (Tchombe, 1998), the state does the greater share of teacher training with fifty-seven government owned teacher training institutions (almost one for each of the country's fifty-eight divisions). The state is also solely responsible for the provision of teachers to state schools, which are free- and subsequently the largest providers of education.

With the implementation of free basic education in 1999, the primary Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) increased from 87.7 percent in 2000 to 105.4 percent in 2002 (Kattan, 2006). New government policy limited basic teacher education to only courses for the Grade I teacher certificate based on law no. 98/004 of 14 April 1998 (Tchombe, 1998). The government intended to improve quality by revising student curricula, providing textbooks and teaching materials, improving school infrastructure, offering in-service training for existing teachers and hiring new teachers (Kattan,2006). Although government intentions are rarely ever followed by actions, there has been noted changes in teacher training syllabus as of 2012, the creation of an alternate route to teaching qualification via a university degree from the University of Buea, Cameroon and an increase in enrolment into teacher training colleges (MINESEC, 2012; Tchombe, 1998).

As of now, the teacher training procedure consists of selective admission into teachers' training institutions based on registration for and success in an entrance examination of written and oral parts (Tambo, 1995). The examination, which is limited to citizens between the ages of 18 and 32 years, is in two parts: a language paper and a maths paper, both set at secondary school comprehension level by the Ministry of Secondary Education (MINESEC, 2012). Candidates who make it through this written session then have to pass an oral test/interview. This concludes the entry process into the teachers training college.

As a student teacher, training generally focuses on educational theory, principles for practice and of course the academic disciplines they would teach (Tchombe, 1998). A more defined syllabus was drawn up by the Ministry of Secondary Education decree no. 2012/267 of 11 June 2012, (MINESEC, 2012).

This current syllabus is illustrated in the following tables.

Figure 1: Table Displaying Time Allocation in Teacher Training Courses

Levels \ Training domains	Three-year course: 1st year (in hours)	Three-year course: 2nd year (in hours)	Three-year course: 3rd year (in hours)	Two-year course: 1st year (in hours)	Two-year course: 2nd year (in hours)	One-year course: (in hours)
Teaching Practice	222	222	222	222	222	222
Didactics of Primary and Nursery School Activities	510	420	510	510	510	510
Science of Education Subjects	420	510	420	450	420	510
Bilingual Training	60	60	60	60	60	60
Total	1212	1212	1212	1242	1212	1302

Annual Duration: 36 weeks
Average number of weekly teaching hours: 34 hours

The specific subjects within the training domains outlined above (except for teaching practice) with the corresponding hours per subject for all three pathways can be seen below.

Figure 2: Time Allocation and Coefficients

SUBJECTS	Three-year course: 1st year	Three-year course: 2nd year	Three-year course: 3rd year	Two-year course: 1st year	Two-year course: 2nd year	One-year course	Coefi-cient
Educational Psychology	4	3	3	3	3	3	3
General Pedagogy	3	2	3	2	3	3	3
Educational Policies and Comparative Education	2	1	1	1	1	2	1
School Administration and Legislation	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pedagogic Supervision	//	1	1	1	1	1	1
Philosophy of Education	//	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sociology of Education	//	1	1	1	1	1	1

Deontology and Professional Ethics	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Introduction to Educational Statistics	//	1	1	1	1	1	1
Information and Communication Technologies	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
First Language	2	2	//	2	//	//	1
Second Language	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
French Didactics	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
English Didactics	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Didactics of Mathemetics	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Didactics of National Languages and Culture	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Didactics of Sports and Physical Education	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Didactics of Educational Technologies	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

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SUBJECTS	Three-year course: 1st year	Three-year course: 2nd year	Three-year course: 3rd year	Two-year course: 1st year	Two-year course: 2nd year	One-year course	Coefi-cient
Didactics of Song and Music	1	1	//	1	1	1	1
Didactics of History and Geography	//	1	1	1	1	1	1
Didactics of Citizenship Education	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Didactics of Practical Activities	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Didactics of Sciences and Environmental Education	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Initiation to Action research	//	1	1	1	1	1	2
Didactics of Nursery Activities	1	1	//	1	1	1	1
Total	34	35	32	35	35	35	31

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As seen above, the training program comprises of one part theory, two parts content acquisition (subjects to be taught) and one part teaching practice or tutorials in schools. Over the course of one, two or three years depending on the cycle, the candidates write a final examination. They are also observed and evaluated on practical teaching skills by their professors, government inspectors and selected classroom teachers in the schools in which the students did their practice. In addition, students are required to submit a long essay (supervised) on a topic related to their training (Tambo, 1995).

Upon successful completion candidates receive certification for teaching called the Teacher Grade I certificate or the Certiicat d'Aptitude Pédagogue de l'Enseignement Maternel et Primaire (Tchombe, 1998). Teachers are subsequently deployed as regional delegates as per the needs of the schools in the regions.

Despite certain changes in curriculum, several aspects have remained the same and issues persist with the "teacher production" process in Cameroon. According to the 2011 Transparency International Cameroon report, corruption pervades the educational process from the admission of students into teachers' training institutions through to the recruitment of teachers upon completion. As stated earlier, entrance into GTTC/ENIEG institutions is done through the passing of a competitive written examination followed by an oral test for the shortlisted candidates. While the content of the written exam is relatively transparent, the oral segment has been heavily criticized and is a medium for the passing of bribes to interviewers ensuring admission (Fokwang, 2003). This practice has been investigated and proven as common with national entrance examinations or concours.

Again, VSO (2013) has critiqued Cameroon's teachers' training process as 'ungendered'. Aside from the lack of policies to address the wide gender disparity in basic education (Lyonga, 2014; EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2013/14), VSO (2013) further states that there is no attempt at raising gender consciousness via teacher training and this results in a lack of gender sensitivity in the classroom.

The inadequacy of teaching practice has likewise been noted by Tchombe (1998) and more

recently by Lyonga (2014). The amount of time allocated for teaching practice is by far less than the focus given to the subject didactics. Issues related to class populations were also perceived: student teachers mostly practice in pairs or more, and as such, do not really experience what it would be like to handle the overpopulated classes they will be recruited to teach, particularly in rural areas.

Tambo (1995) equally criticizes the lack of diversity in teaching styles taught to teachers in training. He suggests that as a result of this inadequacy they eventually teach homogenously in classrooms, unable to cater to students with disabilities or ensure individualistic/student centred learning which considers differences in aptitudes.

Likewise, this weakness in teaching style is echoed by Lyonga (2014). In her research, student-teachers hinged their own intelligence and subsequently that of the students they taught on the amount of knowledge they could reproduce in examinations, this not only proves that they are trained to ignore different learning styles, but also illustrates what Freire (1970) refers to as a "banking system of knowledge".

The most common issue with the process of teacher production in Cameroon however, would be the low quality of candidates applying for training. Mingat (2002) found that teaching is mostly a last resort in African countries. In Cameroon for instance, prospective basic education teachers enter training institutions above the age of twenty having only secondary school qualifications of Advance and/or Ordinary level GCE certificates with below average scores (above average would be more than two papers in the Advance level and ive or more at Ordinary level).

Considering that the standard age for those qualifications are age eighteen and below, it can be concluded that becoming a primary school teacher was not their original plan but rather something they have resigned to do for sustainance. Tambo (1995) asserts that potential teachers ought to be required to demonstrate an interest in teaching and screened thoroughly to substantiate their academic qualifications in order to ascertain their motivation for and attitude toward teaching and working with children as this would affect their quality.

Finally, with inadequate libraries and ICT equipment in training schools, student-teachers are trained without necessary resources for their capacity building and professionalization (Tchombe, 1998). This results in the teachers produced being somewhat inept in this information age.

THEORETICALLY CRITIQUING THE SITUATION

It is clear that there are significant problems with Cameroon's basic education teacher training process. The subsequent part of this paper shall use two theories to assess the possibility of quality education resulting from the situation outlined above.

The idea of Social Reproduction first came to public attention through the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976), American Marxist theorists who argued against the idealistic belief that education and schooling was a means of equalizing disparities across social classes. Their work asserted that on the contrary, education was a means to a capitalist end of reproducing economic/social classifications (Nash, 1984). In summation the Social Reproduction theory asserts that formal education reproduces class structures either by who has priority access to the education or by what is taught and passed on in classroom.

The Capabilities Approach on the other hand is a multidisciplinary framework that was originally formulated by economist Amartya Sen in the 1980's (Sen, 1985). This framework is a normative one which proposes that the true indicator of well-being is what people are capable of doing/being/achieving (functioning) (Unterhalter, Vaughan and Walker, 2007). The Capabilities Approach asserts that education is an instrument of expanding people's capabilities and freedoms to achieve those functionings (Robeyns, 2006) which are important to them. Alkire (2005) also asserts that education is vital to agency as people need to be educated to participate politically and strive for change and the expansion of their valuable freedoms. Education is thus an achievement (functioning) on its own as well as a means enabling the individual to pursue subsequent freedoms (Robeyns, 2006). The Capabilities Approach is thus employed in educational research in evaluating and assessing the extent to which the education one receives offers the individual necessary freedoms and abilities to achieve valuable functionings.

It is these two theoretical lenses which shall be employed to assess the potential output of quality from teacher training in Cameroon. For one, the aspect of gender sensitivity in required quality education is impinged by the ungendered teacher training process. Due to the lack of gender sensitive training, teachers produced subsequently carry their traditionally patriarchal perceptions and stereotypes into the classrooms where, as the Social Reproduction theorist would have us understand, class/social structure specificaly in terms of gender construction is generated and passed on to the next generation.

Likewise, the absence of different learning styles in training student teachers ensures they caters to learners of certain cognitive styles over other children with different aptitudes or special needs, thus reproducing an unequal learning system. This teacher training therefore leaves teachers inept at providing learner centric education required of quality education.

Following the Capabilities Approach, the teacher training process equally falls short given that most applicants for teacher training institutions are below average students who venture into teaching resignedly as opposed to inspiringly. They can hardly deliver an education which enables functioning, when their teaching as a last resort expresses the limits of their own functioning.

Using the Capabilities Approach, we can equally question the prospective teachers' ability to deliver current, relevant content demanded of quality education, considering the inadequate resources, libraries, textbooks and ICT knowledge available for them to foster themselves with (Tchombe, 1998). It is worthy to note that a pertinent problem facing basic education in Cameroon is the lack of textbooks with a majority of primary school pupils lacking accompanying texts (Worldbank, 2014). This could be interpreted by social reproduction theorists as a result of teachers who have been trained without necessary resources and thus the absence of text-reading culture.

Both the Capabilities Approach and Social Reproduction theory, would suggest that the presence of corruption in the recruitment process of potential teachers inhibits the possibility of delivering quality education. On one hand, this brings the risk of reproducing corrupt attitudes and ensures that only a particular class (those able to bribe their way in) would serve as teachers, inlfuencing the next generation and stifling the agency of other groups from the classroom.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the international call for quality education - while an admirable one, is unlikely to be realised in Cameroon until teacher training enables prospective teachers with the capabilities to deliver quality and curbs the reproduction of certain socio-cultural inequalities.

It is recommended that in addition to current government effort in increasing enrolment rate towards universal basic education, the quality of teachers' training is focused upon. Increased and better investment in teacher training resources, gender sensitive curriculum, an inclusive pedagogy, a more rigorous recruitment process which would diminish routes of corruption and demand that candidates prove their motivation for this career field are some suggestions towards ensuring a more effective teacher training process.

Until better efforts and inputs are committed to training teachers, which Zumwalt (in Tambo, 1995) describes as the key to education, no considerable attempt would have been made towards achieving quality in education.

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IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON AVAILABILITY OF SELECTED NON-TIMBER FOREST PRODUCTS AROUND OMO FOREST RESERVES OF OGUN STATE, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed at assessing the impact of conflict on the level of availability of selected non-timber forest products around Omo forest reserve of Ogun State. Data was collected with the aid of well-structured questionnaire on one hundred and twenty marketing households using multistage sampling technique. The data was analyzed using descriptive statistics, categorization method and t-test. The data analysis targeted socio-economic characteristics, the level of availability of NTFP before/after the conflict in the study area. It was revealed that majority (69.2%) were farmers and (75%) had experienced conflict more than 3 times. It was discovered that the selected NTFPs were available in abundance with bitter kola and kola nut recording higher levels respectively before conflict, while wild mango and walnut were NTFPs that were still available in excess after conflict. The test of difference analysis result shows that there is a signiicant difference in the availability level before and after conflict.

INTRODUCTION

Forests can be simultaneously recognized as a 'daily net' and a 'safety net' for the rural dwellers that use forest resources (F.A.O 2005). Forests have sustained life on earth through the ages. They supply food, medicine, energy, shelter, fodder, wood and non-wood forest products and are a source of economic development for individuals and communities. They have cultural and spiritual values. It is estimated that 90% of the world's poor depend on forests for at least a portion of their income (World Bank, 2000; Scherl et al., 2004; USAID, 2006). In Nigeria, users of forest products include forest dwellers, nearby farmers, commercial users (including small traders, producers and employees) and the urban poor. Timber, non-timber forest products (NTFPs) and animal protein are all used by the rural poor for subsistence, and also as a source of income and employment. Nigeria NTFPs are a key resource for many poor communities. NTFPs are often open-access resources and require little processing or the use of low cost (often traditional) techniques. An overview of case studies indicates that forest products contribute between 20% and 40% of total household income in forest areas and that poor households tend to be disproportionately dependent on forest resources (especially fuel wood and fodder) (Vedeld et al., 2007). Based on this type of findings, investment in NTFPs use has often been proposed as a method of poverty alleviation (Brown & Williams, 2003). Conflicts have several times been related to poverty. Little wonder it is often said that a hungry man is an angry man. As stated by Draman (2003), with the end of the cold war, poverty and conflict have become the biggest challenges to sustainable development. Furthermore, he submitted that (even though debatable) poverty is continuously cited as one of the principal factors responsible for instability in many parts of Africa. Onigu (2001) in his view of conflict stated that what makes a society an ideal

polity is the extent to which the conflicting interests and needs in the society are constructively managed so that violence does not threaten its continued existence. In Omo forest reserve, the dwellers around the reserves depended on the NTFPs for their income and survival. The income generated from the NTFPs was being threatened by various forms of conflicts around the reserve. In 2009, there was a serious conflict between the dwellers and government which threatened the livelihood of the dwellers within the forest reserves. The Ogun state government forcefully displaced the dwellers in the enclaves resulting in the destruction of lives and properties. The displacement of people from the enclaves lasted for a period of two years before the government was ordered by the court of law to allow the people continue with their day to day activities. Against this background, the study intends to ascertain the effect of recent conflict on cost and return of NTFPs in the study area as well as level of availability of the identiied selected NTFPs before and after conflicts.

METHODOLOGY

The Study Area

The study was carried out in Omo Biosphere Reserve, the largest reserve in Ogun State, situated in Ijebu East and North Local Government areas located between latitude 06°35N to 7°05N and Longitude 04°19N to 4°40E in the South-West of Nigeria; about 135km North–East of Lagos, about 120km East of Abeokuta and about 80km East of Ijebu-Ode. The Reserve covers about 130,500 hectares in the area. There are more than 30 communities/enclaves within and around Omo Forest Reserve with a population of 59,100 (N.P.C, 2006). A 460 hectares forest block is found within the expanse of land to the south of the confluence of Omo river and has a tributary in Owena river. The population of the study is the rural households in the forest communities within the J4 enclaves of Omo forest reserve. Multistage random sampling method was used in carrying out this study.

First stage

There are four (4) zones (J1, J3, J4 and J6) in Omo forest reserve with 50 enclaves. J4 was purposively selected because of records of conflicts and excess availability of NTFP. The J4 comprises of 27 enclaves- Osoko, Abeku 1, Abeku 11, Temidere, Aba Baale (Ajebandele), Eseke, Etemi, Sojukodoro, Tamitami, Erin Camp, Queens Forest, Opepe, Esiri, Ori Apata, Ologuna, Imopa, Gbonpa, London village, Erinla, Eleyele, Owonifari, Oloji, Ejegun, pocket money village, Aba tutun, Adekanbi Abatutun, Eriin.

Second stage

Simple random sampling method was used to select eight (8) enclaves that are mostly affected by conlicts in J4 – Aba tutun, Oloji, Aba, Baale, Etemi, Tamitami, Temidere, Osoku, Erinla. In Aba tutun, 38 households were identiied, 32 in oloji, 30 in Aba Baale, 16 in Etemi, 20 in Tamitami, 38 in Temidere, 50 in Osoku and 16 in Erinla.

Third stage

Systematic random sampling techniques were used to select 19 in Aba tutun, 16 in Oloji, 15 in Aba Baale, 8 in Etemi, 10 in Tamitami, 19 in Temidere, 25 in Osoku and 8 in Erinla. The differences in the number of respondents selected per enclaves are due to the differences in the number of households in these enclaves. In all, a total of 120 respondents were selected for the

study. The heads of selected marketing households were interviewed by means of structured questionnaires.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The socio-economic characteristics from Table 1 shows that majority (60%) of the respondents belonged to age bracket of 50- 59 years and those in the active age of 30 and below were 5.8%. Those between the age group of 40- 49 years recorded 21.7% while age group above 60 years was 12.5%. This implies that the NTFPs marketing and collecting is less flexible and much easier for older people compared to real farming which requires energy. This is in agreement with F.A.O (2005) which stated that old people engaged in the collection of NTFPs. On marital status distribution of the respondents, the result showed that majority (65.8%) were married while 18.4 % were divorced, single and widow were 2.5% and 13.3% respectively. This revealed that marriage confines responsibilities. This is in agreement with the submission of Afolayan (1998) that majority of the married people were engaged in processing and marketing of NTFPs in the rural area.

It was revealed from the table below that females (55.8%) were into NTFPs collection and marketing than their male (44.2%) counterpart. This finding is in agreement with FAO (1991) report that women often dominate forest gathering activities for household production, consumption and income. On occupational distribution, the result revealed that majority (69.2%) were farmers while the remaining 30.8% were non-farmers. This implies that farmers in the study area combined gathering of NTFPs with farm work to assist them in generating more income to improving their standard of living. Furthermore, it was revealed from the table that majority (75.0%) of the respondents had experienced conflict in the area more than three times while 15% had experienced less than three cases of conflict. This implies that the respondents interviewed were aware of the effect of conflict on the gathering of non-timber forest products.

Table 1: Personal Characteristics of the Respondents

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Age		
<39	7	5.8
40 – 49	26	21.7
50 – 59	72	60.0
> 69	15	12.5
Total	120	100
Marital Status		
Single	3	2.5
Married	79	65.8
Divorced	22	18.4
Widow	16	13.3
Gender		
Male	53	44.2
Female	67	55.8

Total	120	100.0
Occupation		
Framers	83	69.2
Non-Farmers	37	30.8
Total	120	100.0
Conlict experienced		
Less than 3 times	18	15.0
Above 3 times	108	75.0
Total	120	100.0

SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY 2013

LEVEL OF AVAILABILITY OF NON-TIMBER FOREST PRODUCTS (NTFPS) BEFORE AND AFTER CONFLICT

Table 2 shows the level of availability before and after conflict. The level of the ive selected NTFPs was high before the conflict with all the mean values for each NTFPs higher than the calculated mean which is 4. The availability varies with Walnut having the higher mean value of 4.36 which was closely followed by mango with mean value of 4.30. Bitter kola which has cultural and traditional value had a mean value of 4.57 while kolanut and African star apple had the mean value of 4.53 and 4.30 respectively. This supported the finding of Aluko et al. (2013) who reported that livelihood activities of dwellers within and around forest reserves can only be sustained in the atmosphere of peace.

The table reveals that the availability of non-timber forest products dropped drastically after conflict. It was observed that the mean value of bitter kola (Garicinia kola), kolanut (Cola acumulata) and African star apple (Chrysophyiium conophorum) were 3.03, 3.50 and 3.50 respectively. Also, wild mango (Irvingia wombulu) and walnut (Tetracarpidium conophorus) were low compared to the value before conflict. In general, it was deduced that the level of availability of NTFP was low after conflict. This implies that conflicts led to destruction of NTFPs which in turn resulted in the reduction of products. This is in line with Aluko et al (2013) that NTFPs will be reduced when there is displacement and conflict within and around forest reserve.

Table 2: Availablity Level of NTFPs Before and After Conflict

Before conflict					After conflict			
Product	Yes	No	Mean	Level	Yes	No	Mean	Level
Bitter kola (Garicinia kola)	78 (65.0)	42 (35.0)	4.57	High	27 (22.5)	90 (75.0)	3.03	Low
Kolanut (Cola acumulata)	70 (58.3)	50 (41.7)	4.53	High	45 (37.5)	75 (62.5	3.50	Low

African Star apple (Chrysophyiium conophorum)	61 (55.0)	54 (45.0)	4.30	High	45 (37.5)	75 (62.5)	3.50	Low
Wild mango (Irvingia wombulu)	99 (82.5)	19 (15.8)	4.79	High	61 (55.0)	54 (45.0)	4.30	High
Walnut (Tetracarpidium conophorus)	90 (75.0)	30 (25.0)	4.72	High	69 (57.5)	51 (42.5)	4.36	High

Source: Field Survey 2013

Note – Calculated Mean = 4 , therefore < 4 = Low and > 4 = High

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

The availability of products was discovered to decrease except wild mango and walnut. The drastic reduction was as a result of conflict in the study area.

Conlfict can have great consequences on both forest products and non-forest products if not properly managed by the stakeholders in the forest environment. It is therefore recommended that efficient conflict management should be put in place to address the issue of conlict in the forest environment so as to reduce or solve completely the problem of conflict. Also, the dwellers should form a habit of tolerance with each other to prevent conflict. It is also recommended that proper policies should be put in place to discourage people from planting food crop in forest reserves but rather focus on NTFPs plantations.

Finally, government should provide funds for researchers to engage in the domestication of NTFPs in large quantity which in turn will be passed across the NTFPs farmers. This will reduce the pressure on the NTPFs in the wild.

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THE IMPACT OF OIL PRICE ON GHANA'S INFLATION

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ABSTRACT

World oil price is a momentous determinant of global economic performance. In most cases, when oil prices skyrockets, it leads to a transfer of income from importing countries to exporting countries through trade shifts. The link between oil and inflation is mostly seen as being correlational. The direct relationship between oil and inflation was evident in the 1970's nevertheless this relationship started to deteriorate after the 1980's. Quite a cornucopia of researchers have made relentless inquiry on the macroeconomics impact of world oil price shocks and hikes on economic growth and consumer price inflation on importing countries. Also, an infinitesimal analyses have tackled the impact of the world oil price on inflation. For many developing countries, oil price hikes over the last few years has warranted the need for structural reforms of the domestic petroleum pricing system. The role of economic policy in attenuating the potential adverse economic and social impact of world oil prices in Ghana cannot be overemphasized. The causes of inlation in Ghana has precipitated vehement canvassing among policy makers. Some analysts have ascribed that the causes of inflation emanate from the consumer goods market, with others repudiating the consumer goods market argument, ascribing it as namby-pamby and stating that inflation in Ghana is rather more from the money market. Another group of scholars maintain that inflation in Ghana is imputed to be from the exogenous variable (world oil price). The debate lingers on and in Ghana the shocks to prices are mixed and dynamic. This paper, through quantitative review and analysis attempts to determine the impact of world oil price on Ghana's inflation, expound on the factors that drive Ghana's inflation and suggest perpetual remedies to Ghana's inflation. This paper employed multiple OLS regression, correlation matrix and linear regression model and found that world oil price is correlational to Ghana's inflation. Other factors like interest rates (Bank of Ghana policy rate) and exchange rates also strongly proved to drive Ghana's inlation.

THE IMPACT OF THE PRICE OF OIL ON GHANA'S INFLATION

Inflation occurs when the quantity of money rises appreciably, more rapidly than output. Milton Friedman propounded that "inflation is everywhere, a monetary phenomenon". The causes of inflation can be ascribed to numerous factors which precipitate temporary fluctuations in the rate of inflation but tend to have perpetual effects only if they affect the money growth. Inlation in Ghana is not banal and has caused a lot of quagmire for policy makers. More often, politicians and some policy analysts canvass on whether the cause of inflation can be imputed to the prices of oil on the world market. The fruition of the prices of oil on the world market does have quizzical impacts on the economies of countries. With oil prices skyrocketing, the quantity of goods and services that tend to be available for people to choose from tend to be limited because an economy will have to export more abroad to pay for prices of oil. Again, the 1973 oil shocks buffeted many countries and distorted their economies. When the 1974 oil price embargo was increased from $3 per barrel to $12 globally, it caused an upsurge of prices in countries like

America, Germany, Japan, and UK among other countries. Furthermore, In the 1970's, the cost of oil rose from a nominal price of $3 before the 1973 oil crisis to close $40 during the 1979 oil crisis. Is there a direct relationship between world market oil prices and domestic inlation in countries?

In Ghana, the impacts of the price of oil on inflation has engendered ambivalent debates. An overview of information from the Energy Information Administration (appendix fig.1) on world oil prices and inflation rates (CPI) of Ghana from 1990 to 2013 shows how oil prices luctuated with its corresponding inflation rates. Upon analysis (by looking at figure 1), it is conspicuous from the graph that the lowest oil price recorded was $23.59 in 1993 corresponding to a higher inflation rate (CPI) of 3.51% in Ghana. The highest oil prices were recorded in 2007 at $106.73 which matches a higher inflation rate (CPI) of 65.07%. In addition, Ghana commenced its irst oil export in commercial quantities by the first quarter of 2010. During this auspicious epoch, about 60,000 barrels of oil were expected to be exported a day at the initial stage. One could expect that when the production of oil started in 2010 and was augmented in the subsequent period, inflation in Ghana would dwindle especially as the world oil prices plummeted sharply. However the table statistics indicate that from 2009 to 2010 as world oil price increased from $81.58 to $96.34, inflation rate (CPI) upsurged from 100% to 108.73%. A more careful overview of the data shows that from 2013 to 2015 as world oil price dropped, inflation (CPI) continued to increase incessantly. The impact of world oil price on Ghana's inflation brouhaha has triggered unremitting agitations raising the key issues concerning whether the exogenous factor (world oil price) is correlated or uncorrelated to Ghana's inflation. This research is momentous in the sense that it will help policy makers and government determine the true effect of world price of oil on Ghana's inflation to assist in cogent evaluation of polices. Also, it will assist individuals to plan efficiently and effectively on the lethal canker of inflation. Moreover this research will add to knowledge in academia. This paper will therefore attempt to determine the impact of the price of oil on Ghana's inflation using empirical analysis to accomplish the following objectives:

i.   To explain whether world oil price correlated or uncorrelated to Ghana's inflation.
ii. To explain whether oil price changes generate inflation.
iii. To determine other factors that drive Ghana's inflation.
iv. To suggest an appropriate remedy for inflation in Ghana.

This paper is arranged to encompass part A which explains theories on inflation, part B, which expounds on literature review, part C highlighting methodology, part D which dilates on data analysis and tests and finally the necessary suggestions and conclusion.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Inflation is a lethal disease which is perilous and if not checked, can destroy society. There are major theories that have been postulated to explain the concept of inflation. The quantity theory of money is a seminal theory of inflation. It asserts that there is a direct relationship between money supply and general price level of the economy. The quantity theory of money formed the core of the 19th century classical monetary analysis and this further provided a concrete platform to preserve the gold standard. In sum, the quantity theory of money is spelled out as MV = PT where M is the money stock, V is the velocity of money, P is the general price level and T is the number of transactions. This further explain that, the aggregate money expenditure on goods and services (MV) is held equal to the monetary value of goods and service that are produced in

the given period. Moreover, the monetary theory of inflation is also much desired. According to Milton Friedman (1912 - 2006) who maintained that "only money matters" monetary policy is a more pertinent tool than fiscal policy in economic stabilization. He dilates that money supply is the determinant of both the level of output and prices in the short run and the level of it is not influenced by the money supply. Milton Friedman further emphasized that "inflation is always and everywhere a monetary phenomenon" that arises from a more rapid expansion in the quality of money than total output.

Also, demand pull theory is another effective theory to elaborate. John Menard Keynes (1883-1946) postulated that increase in aggregate demand which encompasses consumption, investment and government expenditure militates for demand pull inflation. He explained that when increase in the value of aggregate demand exceed the value of aggregate supply at full employment level, the inflationary gap upsurges. Also, policies that cause decrease in the components of aggregate demand are effective in the reduction of demand and inflation. Cost push theory is another theory that explains that inflation is caused by wage increase enforced by unions and increase in employers' profits. This type of inflation was witnessed during the medieval period and was reviewed in the 1950's and the 1970's, later christened as the "New inflation". The simple case of cost push inflation is the rise in money wages more rapidly than labour output. This may further be exacerbated by upward adjustment of wages to compensate for rise in cost of living. Another cost of cost push inflation is profit-push inflation. Oligopolists and monopolists firms raise the price of their products to offset the rise in labour and cost of production to earn higher profits. Since these markets structures have imperfect competitions, they dictate prices for their products which can precipitate inflation.

Structural inflation theory also tends to propagate de facto statements in the cause of inflation. They expound that inflation arises due to unstable and slower growth rate of export in the economy which is inadequate to support the required rate of the economy. A uniform rate of growth of money wages throughout the economy must lead to permanent cost pressures in the service sector which is assured to have the lower productivity growth. This in effect results from supply inelasticity leading to rise in agricultural prices and costs. Structural analysis of inflation therefore attempts to recognize how economic phenomena (the effect of structures on inflation) and finding the root cause of inflation can further explain its relationship. Moreover, the rational expectations revolution led by Lucas, Mc Callum, Sargent and Hansen also known as the first generation of classical macroeconomists, argued that people do not consistently make the same forecasting errors as recommended in the adaptive expectations idea. The economic agents formed their macroeconomic expectations "rationally" based on all past and current relevant information available and not on past information as in the case of backward-looking or adaptive, price expectations.

In addition to this, the neoclassical synthesis led by Paul Samuelson explains that monetary demand factors are key determinants of business cycles because of the incorporated new Keynesian assumption of price stickiness in the short run. At the same time however, the neoclassical synthesis assigns a potential large function to supply shocks in explaining real economic activity. The highly complex model of the new neoclassical synthesis allows the Keynesian and real business cycle mechanisms to operate through somewhat different channels. The Neoclassical synthesis, postulated IS-LM-Philips curve version which views price level as an endogenous variable. The Neoclassical synthesis also views expectations as critical to the inflation process

and also accepts expectations as amenable to management by a monetary policy rule. The IS curve relates expected output growth to the real interest rate which is a central implication of the modern theory of consumption. The aggregate supply and Philips curve components of the model relates inflation today to expected future inflation and output gap. New political theories of inflation also assert that political forces not the social planner choose economic policy in the real world. Economic policy is the result of a decision process that balances conflicting interests so that a collective choice may emerge. The new political economy, literature provides fresh perspectives on the relationship between timing of elections, performance of policy makers, political instability, policy credibility and reputation and inflation process itself.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To further expound on the impact of the price of oil on Ghana's inflation, an existing literature was reviewed to analyze and discuss the work of various authors. There are several analyses made by scholars on the impact of the price of oil on domestic inflation of countries. Numerous groups of empirical research have confirmed that oil price hikes have strong and negative inluences for the real economy (Hamilton, 1983; Burbidge and Harrison, 1984; Gisser and Goodwin, 1986; and Cuñado and Pérez de Gracia, 2003). When oil prices plummeted in 1986, the established model was critically challenged. Also, there was little evidence to suggest that oil price decrease improves economic activities, in the same way that oil price increase suppresses economic activities. Several authors therefore re-examined the oil price-macroeconomic relationship, using instead, asymmetric or nonlinear methods (Mork, 1989; Mork et al., 1994; Lee et al., 1995; Hamilton, 1996; Hamilton, 2003; and Cuñado and Pérez de Gracia, 2005). They found that the negative linkage between oil price increases and economic activity still held. Consequently, it may be reasonable to partition oil price changes into oil price increases and decreases for the analysis of the related issue. Although a considerable amount of research has found that oil price shocks have affected the real output, only a few emphasize the effects of inlation. Quite recently, Blanchard and Galí (2007) examined the effects of the recent oil shock on output and inflation and attempted to answer why the current shocks (as in the 2000s) have had smaller effects on output and inflation than that in the 1970s. De Gregorio et al. (2007) provided a variety of estimates of the degree of transmission from oil prices to inflation over time for a large set of countries. Moreover, using a structural cofintegrated VAR model for G-7 countries, Cologini and Manera (2008) found that for all countries except Japan and U.K., changes in oil prices did influence the inflation rates.

In addition, some researchers suggested that oil price shocks on real GDP growth or CPI were comparatively small on average, but that they did matter in the particular time period. For example, Bernanke et al. (1997) estimated their model over the whole sample and over each of the three decades (1966- 75, 1976- 85, and 1986- 1995); Kilian (2008) focused on ive specific oil shock episodes: 1973 / 74, 1978, 1980, 1990 / 91, and 2002 / 03, respectively. However, some problems may arise from these two studies. In the paper by Bernanke et al., the division of ten years as a sub-sample is arbitrary. In the Kilian paper, on the other hand, the estimates may be sensitive to the 6 choices of sample and as such may lead to potential bias due to inadequate observations.

METHODOLOGY

In analyzing this paper, the method used to complete this assignment is pertinent. The major objective of this paper is to assess whether a correlation between oil price and domestic inlation

(CPI) of Ghana exist. This research employs quantitative data in its analysis. In this empirical analysis of multiple regression, annual time series data for consumer price index, exchange rates, interest rates (Bank of Ghana policy rate), and oil prices from the period of 1987 to 2015 were employed. The data on consumer price index were selected from the World Bank, while oil prices were collated from World Texas Intermediate oil prices. Also, exchange rates and interest rates were assembled from the Bank of Ghana. For this empirical study, Ordinary Least Square (OLS) is employed to accomplish the researcher's objective of determining the correlation between the world market oil price and domestic inflation of Ghana. Furthermore, a hypothesis is formulated to test the relationship between the regressor and the regressand variables. In this analysis, obtaining data for real interest rate was fruitless and hence the Bank of Ghana's policy rate were used as a proxy for interest rates. This is pertinent since this research is focused on validity, measurement and objectivity in explaining the variable of interest. A major tool employed by countries to control inflation is monetary policy. Central banks may tend to (a significant extent) control inflation through targeting interest rates. Research papers have found that interest rate was an important factor in the discussion of the relationship between the price of oil on GDP such as Huang et al (2005) and Huang (2008). Based on this, interest rate was employed in the controlled model. Also, exchange rate has been largely omitted from the related literature and hence the inclusion of this variable tends to be pertinent because it plays a major role on monetary policy in the international economy as established by Krugman (1983) and Rogoff(1991). In effect, exchange rate becomes significant in this regard. Official exchange rate used in this analysis is defined as to the exchange rate determined by national authorities or the rate determined in the legally sanctioned exchange market. It is calculated as an annual average based on monthly averages (local currency units relative to the U.S. dollar). Also, the correlation coefficient will be calculated to determine the relationship between the dependent and independent variables of interest.

SPECIFICATION OF THE MODEL

The model to be used for the analysis is summarized as follows:

$$CPI = \beta_0 + \beta_1 OILP + \beta_2 EXR + \beta_3 INT\ \mu \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots \text{equ(1)}$$

For the purpose of accomplishing the goal of this research, the variables of interest are logged.

$$\ln(CPI_i) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln(OILP_i) + \beta_2 \ln EXR_i + \beta_3 \ln INT_i + \mu \dots\dots\dots\dots \text{equ(2)}$$

In the specified model above, CPI_i which is the dependent variable represents the Consumer Price Index, which reflects changes in the cost to the average consumer of acquiring a basket of goods and services that may be fixed or changed at specified intervals, such as yearly with 2010 as base year. $OILP_i$ as an explanatory variable, denotes oil prices on the world market. Moreover, other independent variables in the model are EXR_i and INT_i which represent foreign exchange rates in currency units per U.S. dollar and real interest rates respectively. μ_i in the equation is known as the disturbance term which encompasses other variables that could affect CPI_i but are not listed in the equation. Also, β_0 in the equation, is the constant of the equation which represents CPI when OILP, EXR and INT are equal to zero.

This research is hypothesized as:

$H_0 : = 0$ - There is no correlation between prices of oil and domestic inflation.

$H_1 : = 1$ - There is a correlation between prices of oil and domestic inflation.

ANALYSIS

The price of oil and inflation is often seen as a causal relationship. Also, the conventional wisdom of economics is that, as oil prices change, inflation moves in similar direction. The direct relationship between oil and inflation was experienced in the 1970's when the cost of oil upsurged from a normal price of $3 preceding the 1973 oil crisis to around $40 during the 1979 oil crisis. The oil crisis canker precipitated the consumer price index to double from 41.2 during the inception of 1972 to 86.3 by the end of 1980. Irrespective of the findings of the direct relationship between oil price and inflation, the relationship between oil and inflation started to deteriorate after the 1980s and the detachment was more lucid during the oil price run-up from 1999 to 2005 when the annual average nominal price of oil rose from $16.56 to $50.04 during which CPI increased from 164.3 in January 1999 to 196.8 in December 2005. Again, various scholars have accentuated that the link between oil and inflation has significantly been debilitated. Blanchard and Gali (2007) directed their research on prices, wage inflation, output and employment to oil shocks. They concluded that the responses of all these variables to oil shock have become muted since the mid 1980's. Also, Hooker (2000) maintained that the structural wearing between oil and inflation cessated by the end of 1980. What then is the relationship between oil and inflation in Ghana?

In this quantitative analysis, the fruition of the regression analysis connotes that:

$\ln(\text{CPI}) = 1.051953125 + \ln(-0.232035205)\ \text{OILP}_i + \ln 0.960250032\ \text{EXR}_i + \ln 0.000306063\ \text{INT}_i$

The R square recorded 85% from 24 observation. The analysis of this research explains that the results obtained are in disparate direction with the research by Blanchard and Gali (2007) that maintained that oil price shocks have little or no effect on inflation. In the critical analysis of the data, it was unequivocal that the data overview is rather in tandem with the research conducted by Hamilton, 1983, Burbidge and Hanison 1984, Gisser and Goodwin 1986 and Cunado and Perez de Gracia, 2003). An overview of table 4 in the appendix elucidates that the R square of 0.9847 illustrates that 98.47% of the variation in the inflation (CPI) is explained by the independent variables (World Texas oil price, exchange rate and interest rates). This further presupposes that a significant aspect of the variation is captured by the model with 1.53% accounted for as error. Moreover, it is pertinent to expand on the overall significance of the multiple regression model. The tool of significance F is used, which Wilcox (2010) asserted that for the correlation in the regression model to be meaningful, its significance F must be less than 0.1 (10%). In this analysis, the multiple linear regression model read 0.00000000000000000264 and hence the model is thus very significant in that regard. The further signification between the overall relationship of the independent and dependent variables is statistically significant. Also, the coefficient of OILP_i, the independent variable of interest, is shown to have a positive and statistically significant relationship with (CPI_i). The correlation between OILP_i and (CPI_i) is significant since the p-value (0.049685) of the coefficient of OILP_i is lesser than the significant level of 5%. The p-value of each variable tests the null hypothesis whether the respective coefficients are equal to zero. When a low p-value is obtained (lesser than the significance level (5%), the null hypothesis is rejected because the p-value signifies that the variable is likely to be meaningful in the model hence statistically significant (Fenton & Neil, 2012). The positive coefficient of 0.273692 (27.37%) of OILP_i indicates that a percentage increase in OILP_i will lead to n 27.27% increase in CPI_i .In a nutshell, an increase in OILP_i which precipitates an increase in CPI tends to generally

conform to the major research argument by various scholars that world oil price is correlated with inflation. This research further repudiates what researchers like Hooker (2002) suggested that a structural break in the relationship between inflation and oil prices occurred at the end of 1980s. Directing the analysis to the other independent variables of interest, the regression output, shows a positive correlation between EXR_i and CPI_i. The coefficient of 0.908044 EXR_i explains that, a percentage increase in EXR_i will engender an increment 0.908044 (90.8%) in CPI. When exchange rates are high, this causes a depreciation of the domestic currency and this tends to upsurge CPI_i as estimated in the regression model. Moreover, the coefficient of the INT_i was nevertheless insignificant since its p-value is 0.797581 higher than the significance level of 5%. Furthermore, the interest rates, INT_i, showed a positive and insignificant relationship with CPI_i in the estimated model. Its coefficient and p-value were 0.046257 and 0.797581 respectively. The positive relationship indicates that as INT_i increases, CPI_i increases by an insigniicant margin of 4.6%. This explains that a major factor that tends to influence inflation is interest rate and it is pertinent to formulate policies that will keep the interest rate low. Also, the Bank of Ghana (monetary policy) tends to correlate positively with Ghana's inflation (CPI) and as such it will be discreet to adjust the monetary policy as and when needed to engender low inflation.

A further testing on the results of the hypothesis given the already established statements:
H_0 : = 0 - There is no correlation between prices of oil and domestic inflation; and
H_1 : = 1 - There is a correlation between prices of oil and domestic inflation.

By employing the linear regression tool which was used in testing the hypothesis, the relationship between the dependent and the independent variable is significant since the slope was greater than zero. According to the data on table 2 which established a relationship between the prices of oil and inflation (CPI), using a significance value of 5%, the calculations produced a p-value of 0.0000000472. Since the p-value is lesser than the significance level, the H_0 is rejected meaning that the slope of the regression is not equal to 0. Hence there exists a significant relationship between prices of oil and inflation. Also, this results further corroborates the outcome of the multiple linear regression that the world oil price is correlated with the domestic inflation of Ghana. Moreover, from table 2 at the appendix, it is witnessed that, the correlation between oil prices and inflation (CPI) is 0.8655 (86.55%), which is positive. This shows that there is a positive linear relationship between the world oil price and inflation (CPI). Given the correlation of 86.55 % the two variables are said to be highly correlated.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Oil price is a momentous determinant of global economic performance. In most cases, when oil prices tends to be creeping high, it leads to a transfer of income from importing countries to exporting countries through shifts in terms of trade. The link between oil and inflation is mostly seen as being correlational. The direct relationship between oil and inlation was evident in 1970's, nevertheless, this relationship started to deteriorate after the 1980's. Quite a cornucopia of researchers have made relentless inquiry on the macroeconomics impacts of oil price shocks and hikes on economic growth and consumer price inflation on importing countries. Also, an infinitesimal analyses have tackled the research question about the impact on the oil price on inflation. For many developing countries, oil price hikes over the last few years has warranted the need for structural reforms of the domestic petroleum pricing system. Numerous governments across the world have been reluctant to pass on upsurging prices to consumers due to its ramifications of exacerbating the quandary of the have-nots in their respective countries.

Irrespective of being solicitous about citizens, governments are obliged to cut social spending if they do not pass on higher prices to consumers since there is a higher tendency for governments to experience fiscal burdens if they fail to pass on higher prices to consumers. The adverse effects of oil price shocks tend to jeopardize economic growth since businesses, consumers and government budgets are bedeviled with fiscal pressures. In Ghana, the debate on whether prices correlates with domestic inflation lingers on. The debate has created major polarization among policy makers and analysts with some analysts subscribing to the fact that the world oil prices are correlated to Ghana's inflation, while on the other hand another group of people repudiate the correlational effect of world oil on Ghana's inflation. This paper therefore quantitatively examined the relationship between the world prices of oil on Ghana's inflation. To expound the analysis to gain a better insight, a multiple OLS regression was employed with annual time series data on the consumer price index, exchange rates, interest rates (Bank of Ghana policy rate) from 1987 to 2015. Moreover, a hypothesis was formulated and tested to determine the relationship between world oil price and inflation. To tell the relationship, linear regression was established in conjunction with correlation matrix. In this analysis, the findings revealed that the research is analogous with scholarly work done by Hamilton, 1983; Burbidge and Harrison, 1984; Gisser and Goodwin, 1986; and Cuñado and Pérez de Gracia, 2003. It was found that, world oil prices have a positive and statistically significant relationship with inflation (CPI). Focusing on the linear regression, it was found that, there exists a significant relationship between world price and inflation (CPI) and the correlation matrix showed 86.55% correlation of the variables which corroborates the high relationship between the variables thereby rejecting the null hypothesis. In sum, this research concluded that oil price is correlational with Ghana's inflation and hence findings by Blanchard and Galí (2007) and De Gregorio et al. (2007). This paper has taken critical turn to review Gregario et al (2007) that the relentless deterioration of the relation between oil prices and inflation which has become more evident in the last ten years does not apply to a developing nation like Ghana.

Inlfation in Ghana has besotted the economy with some ravages, crippling policies and budgets. This horrendous effects of inflation has made many folks congregate and fulminate against government in recent times. In this empirical analysis, the research findings maintain that, world price of oil is correlated with Ghana's inflation. The causes of inflation can be ascribed to be from the goods market or money market. The money market has to be parallel to that of the goods market and whenever the cause of inflation emanates from the goods market, government fiscal policies can be employed to tame inflation. On the other hand, inflation from the money market can be subdued with sagacious monetary policies. The research found that there is a positive correlational effect of world oil prices and inflation. Many countries also depend on imported oil and yet they are fruitful in manipulation policies to keep inflation low. For instance, Germany and Japan depend 100% on imported oil, yet these nations have attenuated inflation to the lowest levels. What then happened to Ghana that also imports oil? Many phenomena (like the price of oil can have ephemeral fluctuations in inflations but they do not have perpetual effect so far as they do not affect monetary growth. World oil price is a factor that tends to influence inflation in Ghana but the main cause of Ghana's inflation is macroeconomic indiscipline by policy makers. It is significant in this regard that government orchestrate efficient policies to cushion the economy from the adverse effects of oil price shocks. The government of Ghana can employ policies like fully passing on price increases and subsidies of end-user prices. Mostly in a completely deregulated market, prices are passed on to consumers fully when oil prices increases. In Ghana, the government could adjust the pricing formula to reflect oil price shocks. Also,

the government should set up petroleum product price stabilization funds to manage revenue shortfalls when there are abrupt oil price shocks. The government can also acquire and store more oil at a cheaper price to be released when there are supply shortages in the world market. Subsidies may also be used by governments to address the oil price shocks. Since petroleum products are used by the wider population in Ghana, the government may decide to subsidize international price increases of petroleum products partially or fully. Moreover, the government should pass policies to reduce the cost of supply of petroleum products. These policies could be in the form of establishing bulk purchasing agencies or agreement between companies so that economies of scale can be achieved to help reduce cost passed on to consumers and end-users. Government can also encourage private sector hedging of oil products. By so doing, commercial companies will hedge purchases of petroleum products to lower the average price paid. Also, there needs to be transparent formulation and implementation of policies by government during oil price hikes to prevent fulminations and relentless agitations from citizens.

In addition to this, the government of Ghana can diversify into non-petroleum sources of energy to help cater for the adverse effects of oil price shocks. The government can switch to alternative sources of energy such as natural gas and renewable sources of electricity such as hydro, geothermal, solar and wind power. There is also the need to increase the domestic supply of oil. In Ghana, the government should increase the reining capacity of crude oil to enhance security of oil supply. The government should increase the reining capacity of crude oil to enhance security of supply to meet needs in the event of oil shocks. The impact of world oil price on Ghana inflation is direct. It is therefore indispensable that government policies should be geared at mitigating the adverse effects of oil on the economy of Ghana.

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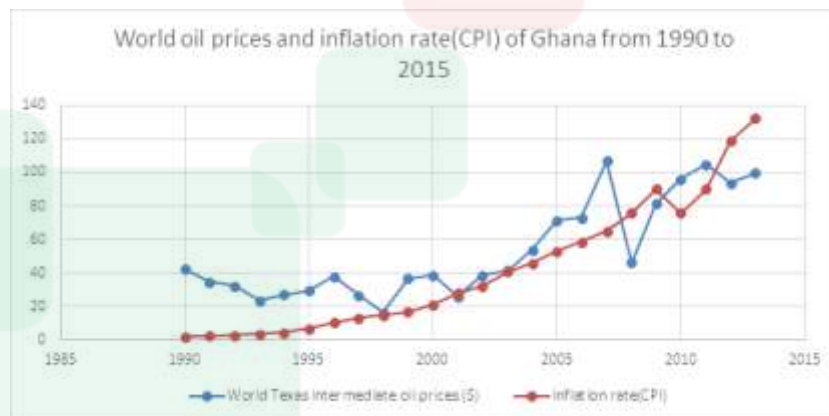
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APPENDIX

Fig1. Table 1

Source: World Texas oil prices and World Bank

Table 2: Summary Output

Regression Statistics	
Multiple R	0.865591773
R Square	0.749249118
Adjusted R Square	0.73785135
Standard Error	19.88466976
Observations	24

ANOVA

	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	1	25992.21	25992.21058	65.73648	4.72E-08
Residual	22	8698.802	395.4000917		
Total	23	34691.01			

	coeficients	Standard Error	t-stat	p-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95%	Upper 95%
Intercept	19.42929051	8.585298	-2.26308854	0.033841	-37.2341	-1.62447	-37.2341	-1.62447
World oil price	1.150036696	0.141843	8.107803705	4.72E-08	0.855872	1.444201	0.855872	1.444201

Table 3: Correlation Matrix

	World Texas oil prices	Inflation rate	Exchange rate	Interest rate
World Texas oil price		1		
Inflation rate (CPI)	0.865591773	1		
Exchange rate	0.847926627	0.979717024	1	
Interest rate	-0.773190647	-0.737297103	-0.763045797	1

Table 4

SUMMARY OUTPUT

Regression Statistics	
Multiple R	0.992305
R Square	0.984669
Adjusted R Square	0.982369
Standard Error	0.174583
Observations	24

ANOVA

	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	3	39.15166	13.05055	428.1772	2.64E-18
Residual	20	0.609587	0.030479		
Total	23	39.76125			

	coeficients	Standard Error	t-stat	p-value	Lower 95%	Upper 95%	Lower 95%	Upper 95%
Intercept	2.777994	1.003512	2.768272	0.011859	0.684704	4.871284	0.684704	4.871284
World Texas Intermediate oil price ($)	0.273692	0.13591	2.013773	0.049685	-0.00981	0.557195	-0.00981	0.557195
Exchange rate	0.908044	0.039414	23.03863	7.14E-16	0.825828	0.99026	0.825828	0.99026
Interest rate (BOG policy rate)	0.046257	0.177967	0.259921	0.797581	-0.32498	0.41749	-0.32498	0.41749

Table 4: Macroeconomics data

	World Texas Intermediate oil prices ($)	Inflation rate (CPI)	Exchange rate	Interest rate (BOG Policy rate)
1990	42.13	2.16	0.03	30
1991	34.87	2.55	0.04	20
1992	32.43	2.81	0.04	30
1993	23.59	3.51	0.06	35
1994	27.18	4.38	0.1	33
1995	29.42	6.99	0.12	45
1996	37.96	10.24	0.16	45
1997	26.93	13.09	0.2	45
1998	16.32	15.01	0.23	37
1999	36.75	16.87	0.27	27
2000	38.79	21.12	0.54	27
2001	25.94	28.07	0.72	27
2002	38.57	32.23	0.79	24.5
2003	41.38	40.82	0.87	21.5
2004	53.99	45.98	0.9	18.5
2005	71.61	52.93	0.91	15.5
2006	72.89	58.71	0.92	12.5
2007	106.73	65.01	0.94	13.5
2008	46.27	75.75	1.06	17
2009	81.58	90.33	1.41	18
2010	96.34	75.75	1.43	13.5
2011	104.73	90.33	1.51	12.5
2012	93.8	118.69	1.8	15
2013	99.84	132.46	1.95	16

Data Source: World Texas oil prices, World Bank, Bank of Ghana

# THE STATE OF AFRICAN ECONOMY AND A WAY FORWARD

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PREAMBLE

Emerging market economies have been an engine of global growth during the 2000s, especially after the 2007- 2008 global financial crises. However, times are changing. Growth rates in several emerging market economies have been declining since 2010.

A further deceleration of activities in key emerging and developing economies overshadowed a modest recovery in major high-income countries in 2015. This deceleration was accompanied by further decline in commodity prices and now global growth continues to disappoint with 2.4% in 2015, 0.4 % point below June 2015. Going forward, global growth is projected to edge up, but at a slower pace than envisioned in the June 2015 forecast, reaching 2.9 % in 2016 and 3.1 % 2017- 18. (Figure 1.0).

Figure 1.0: Global Commodity prices for Energy, Agricultural raw materials and Metals
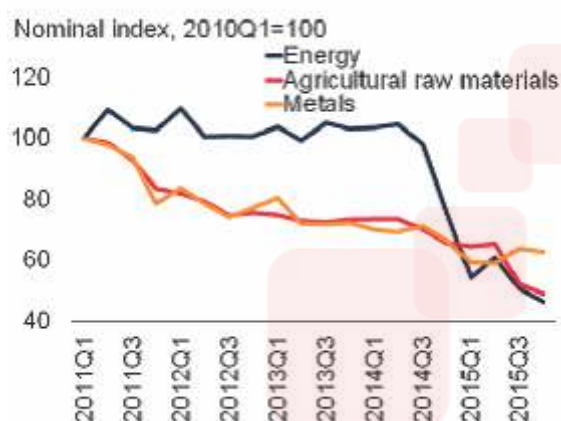
Source: World Bank

Again in January 2016, oil prices fell to their lowest levels in more than a decade. China, the world's second-largest economy, is experiencing sluggish growth than other emerging markets. This slowdown in China could result in weakening commodity prices as well as African economies more than most, because China and other emerging markets have not only been primary consumers of African commodities, but also have been development financier for the major infrastructure and other development projects that are essential to Africa's future economic growth. This could cause China to delay further or lead to a cancellation of planned investments in resource sectors.

Despite challenges in growth projections and optimism across the African continent, it is possible

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to project which countries will emerge undamaged or better off and which countries will or must act quickly to change their negative economic situation after the emerging markets downturn.

North Africa is expected to grow at a steady rate over the next ive years, and countries like Morocco will move well, while for others, like Libya, given the general political instability and insecurity in the country, the future is less promising. East African countries Kenya, Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Tanzania will also perform well overall, each expected to grow at more than 6.5 % in 2016, a full 3 percent over the continental average. The forecast for West Africa is a mixed one, as Nigeria struggles with falling oil prices and terror groups, while Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal are widely considered some of the best prospects for investing in Africa, reflected by increased public infrastructure investment, the boost for the private sector, improved agricultural activities and an improved business environment. In southern Africa, growth is expected to remain weak due to inadequate power supply, droughts in some parts and weak business confidence; but South Africa will continue to hold down the region's overall economic outlook.

FUTURE OF AFRICAN ECONOMY

Sub-Saharan Africa faces a challenging near-term outlook. Commodity prices are expected to stabilize but remain low through 2017 (Figure 2.0). The normalization of U.S. monetary policy is expected to tighten global financial conditions. Although, governments are taking steps to resolve power issues, electricity supply bottlenecks are expected to persist. These factors point to a somewhat weaker recovery in 2016 than previously anticipated. After slowing to 3.4 % in 2015, activity is expected to pick up to 4.2 % in 2016 and to 4.7 percent in 2017- 18.

Figure 2.0: Commodity Prices Outlook
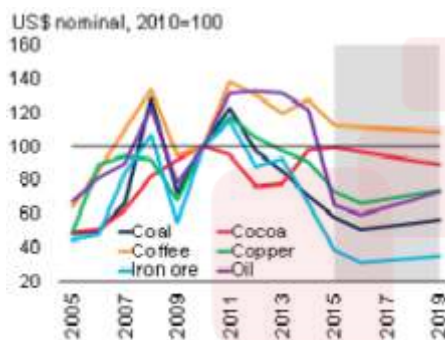
Source: World Bank.

Note: Shaded area denotes an estimated or forecast value.

This projection assumes that commodity prices stabilize and electricity constraints ease (table 1.0). There are, however, considerable variations within the region.

Table 1.0: Sub Saharan Africa Forecast summary

(Annual Percent change unless indicated otherwise)

	2013	2014	2015e	2016f	2017f	2018f	(Percentage point difference from June 2015 projections)		
							2015e	2016f	2017f
Developing SSA. GDP [a]	4.9	4.6	3.4	4.2	4.7	4.7	-0.8	-0.3	-0.3
(Average including countries with full national accounts and balance of payments data only) [b]									
Developing SSA, GDP [b]	4.8	4.6	3.5	4.2	4.7	4.7	-0.7	-0.4	-0.3
GDP per capital (U.S dollars)	2.0	1.9	0.8	1.5	2.0	2.0	-0.9	-0.6	-05
PPP GDP	5.0	4.9	3.7	4.4	4.9	5.0	-0.7	-0.4	-0.3
Private consumption [c]	9.9	3.2	3.1	3.7	4.0	4.1	-0.9	-0.5	-0.5
Public consumption	1.9	3.9	3.2	3.5	3.7	3.8	-0.4	-0.2	-0.1
Fixed nvestment	9.6	8.7	6.2	6.6	7.1	7.2	-0.5	-0.7	-0.7
Exports. GNFS [d]	-2.2	5.0	2.1	2.6	2.9	2.9	-0.7	-0.5	-0.4
Imports. GNFS [d]	6.8	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Netexports.contributiontogrowth	-2.8	0.5	-0.3	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.1	-0.2
Memo items: GDP									
Broader geographic region [e]	4.8	4.5	3.3	4.2	4.6	4.7	-0.7	-0.3	-0.4
SSA excluding South Africa	5.8	5.7	4.1	5.1	5.7	5.7	-0.8	-0.3	-0.2
Oil exporters [f]	5.5	5.4	3.3	4.5	5.2	5.2	-0.8	-0.3	-0.3
CFA countries [g]	4.6	5.5	4.4	5.7	6.0	5.9	0.3	0.2	0.0
South Africa	2.2	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.6	-0.7	-0.7	-0.8
Nigeria	5.4	6.3	3.3	4.6	5.3	5.3	-1.2	-0.4	-0.2
Angola	6.8	3.9	3.0	3.3	3.8	3.8	-1.5	-0.6	-1.3

Source: World Bank

World Bank forecasts are frequently updated based on new information and changing (global) circumstances. Consequently, projections presented here may differ from those contained in other Bank documents, even if basic assessments of countries' prospects do not differ at any given moment in time.

a. GDP at market prices and expenditure components are measured in constant 2010 U.S. dollars. Excludes Somalia, Central African Republic, and São Tomé and Principe.

b. Sub-region aggregate excludes Liberia, Somalia, Central African Republic, São Tomé and Principe, and South Sudan, for which data limitations prevent the forecasting of GDP components.

c. The sudden surge in private consumption in the region in 2013 is driven by the revised and rebased NIA data of Nigeria in 2014.

d. Exports and imports of goods and non-factor services (GNFS).

e. Includes developing SSA and the following high-income countries: Equatorial Guinea and Seychelles.

f. Includes Angola, Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Gabon, Nigeria, Sudan, Chad and Democratic Republic of Congo.

g. Includes Benin, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Chad and Togo.

Consumption dynamics will continue to differ for oil exporters and importers. Private consumption growth is expected to remain weak in oil exporter countries as the removal of subsidies to alleviate pressure on budgets results in higher fuel costs and as currency depreciation weighs on consumers' purchasing power. By contrast, lower inflation in oil importers, owing in part to lower fuel prices, should help boost consumer spending. The price level impact of currency depreciation combined with interest rate increases could, however, moderate these effects.

Investment dynamics will also differ among Sub-Saharan African commodity exporters. The slowdown in major emerging markets, low commodity prices, and deteriorating growth prospects in many commodity exporters, are expected to result in lower FDI lows. Exploration and development activity is expected to be curtailed in oil and gas.

Continuing fiscal consolidation in oil-exporting countries is expected to result in further capital expenditure cuts, as governments seek to limit cuts in public-sector wages and protect social spending. However, in a number of low-income, non-oil commodity exporters, governments are expected to continue to invest heavily in energy and transport infrastructure in a bid to improve the operational environment for growth, drawing in part, on the proceeds from previous bond issuances (Ethiopia), public-private partnerships (Mozambique, Rwanda, Tanzania), donor aid (Rwanda) and, in some cases, financing from Chinese entities (Ethiopia, Tanzania). Although debt levels may rise, they remain manageable in most low-income countries as growth has been robust.

The fiscal policy stance in commodity exporters is expected to ease gradually as commodity prices stabilize. In Nigeria, ongoing efforts to rationalize the management and operation of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) should also help enhance revenue mobilization. However, with oil prices projected to remain below their recent peaks, fiscal revenues are expected to remain low in Angola and Nigeria. As a result, fiscal deficits are likely to increase in these countries, despite efforts to restrain spending. Fiscal deficits are also expected to remain elevated in oil importer nations, as spending on goods and services, wages, and physical infrastructure continues to expand.

Net exports are expected to make a negative contribution to real GDP growth in the near term, despite currency depreciations. Still-low commodity prices will depress export receipts, especially among oil exporters, even as export volumes rise. The pull from advanced economies is expected to stay modest, given their moderate prospects for medium-term growth. Among oil importers, current account balances are expected to deteriorate in many countries on account of strong import growth, driven by capital goods imports for infrastructure projects.

In this context:

• Activity is expected to remain subdued in the region's three largest economies. In Nigeria, power and fuel shortages and fiscal consolidation, which weighed on activity in 2015, are expected to diminish gradually. Growth is expected to remain weak in South Africa, as inadequate power supply, weak business confidence, difficult labor relations and policy tightening slow down activity. In Angola, government spending remains constrained and elevated inflation has weakened consumer spending.

• Among the region's frontier markets, rising oil production and diminishing fiscal and current account imbalances are expected to help lift growth in Ghana. However, in Zambia, low copper prices, compounded by regulatory uncertainty and electricity shortages, will curtail copper production, export and investment. Meanwhile, despite pressure on the shilling, Kenya and Tanzania are expected to grow at a robust pace, supported by large-scale infrastructure projects, including the expansion of the railway system, which should help boost domestic trade, and a new port.

• The region's low-income countries are expected to continue to sustain high GDP growth. Many of these countries have limited exposure to the commodities that are experiencing the most severe decline in prices. Meanwhile, large-scale investment projects in energy and transport are ongoing, consumer spending remains robust, boosted by lower fuel prices, and despite low minerals prices, mining output is set to rise in several countries. Public investment, consumer spending, and mining production will help Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Rwanda and Tanzania sustain rapid growth in 2016 and beyond. Several low-income countries in the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) region are expected to see steady growth, helped in part by the stable currency peg to the euro.

HOMEGROWN PROBLEMS

The Chinese slowed down and falling commodity prices does not explain all of economic problems facing African Continent, but there are some internal problems in Africa which are also the reasons for its economic shaking.

Political Upheavals, Insecurity and Conflicts

The existence of domestic instability could deter domestic and foreign investments in some countries, weigh on tourism and add to fiscal pressures. Fragmented political situations could also undermine the ability of governments to undertake and implement needed policies. So on the domestic front, political upheavals and conflicts in Burundi, Burkina Faso, and South Sudan suggest that political risks associated with the electoral process will remain a key issue for the region in 2016 - 2017. Security risks tied to Boko Haram insurgencies are significant for Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria; while terrorist threats remain a concern for Kenya

and Mali. These events could generate greater political instability for the region if they were to escalate, hurting growth. Ethiopia's escalating protests have resulted in violence in various parts of the country; and the Democratic Republic of Congo faces a fraught election cycle that could easily put the country, or the region, back into conflict.

Corruption and Mismanagement

In Africa, corruption has been key barrier for economic growth. Misuse of public resources by senior ranked leaders, government official and public servants have been like a norm. This occurred especially in privatization of the sectors of economy like industrial sectors, mining sectors, agricultural sectors, oil sector, infrastructure projects and others. From experience, Sub-Saharan oil resourced countries on average score lower PIM, reflecting weak administrative capacity and low transparency in the use of public resources, than others, especially at the project appraisal and evaluation stages of the PIM process. In Nigeria, for example, President Buhari inherited a scandal concerning $20 billion in missing oil revenues. Similarly South African President Jacob Zuma, where he agreed to repay $24 million of public funds he used to repair his private house.

Heavy Debt Load

Fiscal risks are elevated in some countries, relating to large infrastructure projects, public-private partnerships, and contingent liabilities. Governments' debts have risen rapidly in recent years, for countries like Uganda, Ghana, Gambia and Mozambique to finance large infrastructure projects. Uganda funds mining infrastructure and may ind it harder to service debt if production start dates for oil projects are delayed further. Inconsistent and poor macroeconomic management has been accompanied by sizeable fiscal slippages in the Gambia. As a result of growing fiscal pressures from the drop in commodity prices and contingent liabilities in state-owned enterprises, which required government support in 2015, considerable risks remain in Mozambique and have led it into negotiations with the IMF for a fiscal support program (IMF, 2015). Ghana has also engaged with IMF to bring debt relief and expand collection of revenue by the implementation of a special petroleum tax, restraining the wage bill and other primary expenditures, while making space for priority spending and for clearing all domestic arrears.

WHAT CAN BE DONE BY AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO BOOST ITS ECONOMY?

Strong Tourism Investments Initiatives

Africa's tourism must be set to boost economic growth, create new jobs, and outpace other areas for new tourism investment. If Sub-Saharan Africa's tourism industry is better set, it will help to spur more economic growth for the continent and directly employ 6.7 million people by 2021, according to World Bank report, 2013. If the tourism sector is developed effectively and managed efficiently, over time, tourism has the potential to accelerate Africa's economic growth as well as create jobs. It can also help accelerate the reforms needed to improve airline and road transport as well as other key infrastructure, besides raising the incomes of young men and women, who form a high percentage of the job holders in the sector. Also African countries must know that adding high VAT rate to tourism business will cause the business to drop resulting in little contributions to national revenue.

African economies are narrowly focused on agriculture, mining, and more recently,

telecommunications. Export diversification is a key concern. In 1980, agricultural products represented 54% of Mauritius's exports. As a result of the growth in tourism, agriculture now accounts for just 16% of total exports while textiles account for 25% and tourism accounts for 25%. In Rwanda, between 1995 and 1998, coffee and tea accounted for almost half of all exports. Now travel and tourism provide 36% of exports while reliance on coffee and tea is down to 20%. In Tanzania, the tourism sector, with a growth rate of 12 % for the last four years is one of the fastest growing sectors, contributing about 17.2% of the GDP and 41.7% of foreign exchange earnings in the last ive years. Many diversifications make economies less vulnerable to fluctuations in demand, more dynamic and more agile in the face of change. By bringing foreign consumers to a destination, tourism also provides an ideal opportunity for market- testing new products and diversifying exports.

Emphasis on Digital Technology Investment

Africa should put emphasis on digital technology investment. Why? Because of the advantage of rapid technological changes that are now making the world more prosperous and inclusive. Also in Africa, development challenges are preventing the digital revolution from fulilling its transformative potential. Challenges include cyber-crimes, poor technological infrastructures, poor policies, fewer availability of human capital and others. For many people, today's increase in access to digital technologies brings more choice and greater convenience. Through inclusion, efficiency and innovation access, opportunities are provided that were previously out of the reach of the poor and disadvantaged. In Kenya, for example, the cost of sending remittances dropped by up to 90 % after the introduction of M-Pesa, a digital payment system. New technologies allow women and youth to participate more easily in the labour market — as e-commerce entrepreneurs in online work, or in business process outsourcing. All these will help to boost the African economy.

The 2016 World Development Report shows that while the digital revolution has forged ahead, its "analog complements"— the regulations that promote entry and competition, the skills that enable workers to access and then leverage the new economy, and the institutions that are accountable to citizens — have not kept pace. And when these analog complements to digital investments are absent, the development impact can be disappointing.

Strengthening Regional Integrations and Trade Liberalization

Although the process of trade liberalization has advanced throughout the regions, trade regimes are still significantly more complex and restrictive than elsewhere. Import tariff rates remain too high and too dispersed, in part because governments are very dependent on this source of budgetary revenue but also because of the prevalence of statutory and piecemeal exemptions. Eliminating these exemptions, preferably in the context of medium term tax reform programs would allow tariffs to be reduced more rapidly. At the same time, export taxes could be substantially reduced, if not eliminated.

Efficient regional integration would allow many countries to surmount the obstacles posed by their relatively small sizes, permit them to realise greater economies of scale, and increase their ability to trade on a global basis, thus, further enhancing growth. In addition, trade liberalization would also help improve the quality of governance because complex and discretionary tax regimes are prone to abuse and create opportunities for corruption.

Inspiring examples from East African countries – Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, South Sudan and Burundi – have demonstrated that to attack inefficiencies is not only possible but yields rapid returns. Construction of international standard gauge railway to connect Tanzania and Rwanda, also Northern Circuit Corridor project to connect Rwanda, Uganda and Kenya and South Sudan will remove barrier to movement of goods, people and capital.

Intensify Diversification Efforts

Weak global growth and China's economic crisis have forced African economies to increase diversification effort. African countries that have been able to diversify their products and trade partners will suffer less during the current crises compared to those who depend highly on one or two products or partners.

A good example is drawn from East African countries. Apart from East Africa, there is Cote d'Ivoire which is also an interesting example. One of the leading sources of cocoa for the world's markets, the country looked at how to move from exporting raw cocoa to manufacturing chocolate, so that chocolate is now manufactured in the same place where its raw materials are sourced. This has helped in making the country more resilient and is also helping it build an industrial base. This is an encouraging story.

In Senegal there is the president's plan "Emergence" – a plan to invest in critical infrastructure in order to allow Senegal to emerge and have a more robust economy.

Ethiopia has undertaken a local strategy of providing agricultural inputs and technical skills to farmers; and as a result, doubled its maize production over a twenty-year period, now making it the second largest maize producer in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Strong Emphasis on Conflict Resolutions, Peace and Security

When state institutions do not adequately protect citizens' legal and social rights, they do not adhere to national constitutions; they do not guard against corruption; and do not provide access to justice. When markets do not provide job opportunities, there is the occurrence of tribal and religious conflicts and when communities have lost social cohesion, the likelihood of violent conflict increases.

The horn of Africa, which includes Sudan and Somalia contains today, nearly all the problems that are on the world's agenda: ethnic, religious and border conflicts, civil war, high military expenditure, migration and refugees, famine and the break-up of states. It is a region where the Cold War played itself out, and still deserves a lot of world attention.

West Africa also is a region that is becoming the symbol of worldwide demographic, environmental and societal stress, in which criminal anarchy emerges as the real "strategic danger." Like Issues of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

North African countries like Algeria, Morocco, Libya, and Egypt still grapple with Islamic fundamentalism. Although there are fundamentalist movements and trends in Israel, USA and India, that of North Africa, particularly Algeria, tends to defy any solution as events there have proved since 1992.

East and Central Africa are alike as the level of peace and instability is not stable. In countries

like Kenya, there have been threats of terrorism like the West Gate Mall and Garrisa University students' attacks. Burundi has seen a lot of chaos following the president's announcement for third term presidential bid. There is the possibility of a similar thing playing out in the Democratic Republic of Congo DRC.

For African economic prosperity, major stakeholders must work together to ensure peace and security - starting with state institutions, regional integrations like EAC, African Union (AU), the Commonwealth as well as United Nations (UN). All of these need collective bargaining to combat the problem, but there are major structural gaps in our collective capabilities to support these areas starting from national level to International level. United Nations Security Council needs to be reformed. As a matter of principle, there should at least be one representative from the African continent on the Security Council, along with representatives from the other regions of the world and some of the other powers that have emerged. So, investing in citizen security, justice, good governance, democracy and jobs creation in Africa is essential for reducing violence as well as boosting productivity.

Strong Focus on Value Addition

It has been observed that African countries export raw materials only to buy them back in the form of finished products. It is high time African countries focused their efforts on building up industries, skills and technologies so they can produce their own high quality products, creating much-needed jobs and income for their people. For many African countries that have been heavily dependent on the export of raw commodities, there is growing recognition that the next stages of economic growth will require much greater attention to the work of 'adding value' to raw products and commodities as a means of accelerating job creation and promoting higher profit margins and returns on investment. Also African governments must open the door to partnerships on this issue particularly Public Private Partnership. They must also collaborate and engage development stakeholders like African Development Bank (AFDB). In Zambia, following challenges posed by low copper prices, AFDB President, Akinwumi Adesina stated that Zambia needs to embrace agriculture and increase value addition through food processing, thereby reducing shocks as a result of low copper prices. The AFDB is ready to work with Zambia on that issue.

CONCLUSION

The current emerging market downturn in economic powerhouses like China, has already negatively affected African economic growth. For resource-rich countries, it is a chance to improve their public investment management (PIM) system, which could help boost growth; although from experience drawn, Sub-Saharan oil resourced countries on average score lower in PIM, reflecting weak administrative capacity and low transparency in the use of public resources, especially at the project appraisal and evaluation stages of the PIM process.

Countries that have successfully diversified their economies will suffer less than those that have not and they will enjoy less stress than countries depending on exporting one or two commodities for their economic growth. Some East African countries and countries like Morocco, Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire are among countries that are harvesting the fruits of diversifying their economy and facing less economic shock. It is hoped that this will be a lesson for others to learn from.

God bless Africa. Together for African prosperity!!!

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YOUNG AFRICAN LEADERS FORUM (YALF)
DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS

The Young African Leaders Forum is actively engaged in developmental projects that would see a sustainable Africa in the near future. The young leaders have committed themselves to undertaking specific projects in their countries. These projects keenly focus on playing a major role in the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals and the African Union's Agenda 2063. YALF passionately undertakes these developmental projects because we believe that Africa has the enormous potential to empower her people and ensure her challenges are solved in an amicable manner. The youth leaders have dedicated themselves to serving voluntarily in their communities and this has invoked a sense of patriotism in the leaders. This is because YALF believes that it is only through volunteerism that persisting problems can be fully tackled. Bearing this in mind, YALF has initiated the following projects as a pathway to Africa's long-term development trajectory:

• WOMEN EMPOWERMENT INITIATIVE (WEI)

An annual project which empowers several African women and creates a society of equality. This is to support women in our communities to mobilize resources and invest in initiatives that are sustainable and also to equip women with the requisite knowledge that will be utilized to improve their livelihoods. For example, training on leadership, and other new initiatives such as basic technology. We believe in equality for all.

• CHILDREN FOUNDATION

The children foundation is the branch of YALF which attends to the needs of children and creates the next generation of mentors and youth leaders all over the continent. This is done through supporting the educational needs of the OVC (orphan and vulnerable children) and mentoring them. Our main focus with children is education, where YALF ensures that children are taken to school and supported fully. Mentorship also plays a key role. Youth are empowered on entrepreneurship and on leadership roles.

• WAYLS (WEST AFRICA YOUNG LEADERS SUMMIT)

A yearly training program which sensitizes and empowers millions of West African youths yearly. So far, two summits have been held successfully.

• YALJOD

Young African Leaders Journal of Development (YALJOD) is a biennial publication which hosts scholarly analysis and competing viewpoints about the development of Africa. YALJOD accepts papers from varied disciplinary areas including Social Sciences, Physical Sciences and Humanities, that show direct relevance to the development of Africa. It publishes researches understood as the social, economic, political, cultural and technological processes of change in Africa. YALJOD indepthly explains the various challenges facing Africa and sheds more light on their solutions. It provides an insight for policy makers to implement policies that would ensure change in all spheres of development. The maiden edition of YALJOD will be launched in October at the African Union Headquarters, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

- INFONO

This is a pan-African network system and marketing tool which promotes technology in Africa – connecting Africans and their businesses.

- YALF UNSC-CAMPAIGN

An action plan to create awareness and eventually secure a permanent seat for Africa on the United Nations Security Council. YALF has spearheaded this campaign on all social media platforms using the hashtag #Africa4UNSecurityCouncil

- PAN AFRICAN SPORTS SCHOOL (PASS)

A sports world which would create high quality African athletes and raise sports standard in the continent.

- TUBERCULOSIS CAMPAIGN

Following the health target of the SDGs and the death of our hero, Evance Mtsukwa, YALF launched a campaign that seeks to create awareness against Tuberculosis. For 2016, it has partnered with the Federal Ministry of Health, Ethiopia to ensure the success of this campaign, which will take place during the 2016 YALF Annual Summit from 19 – 21 of October, 2016.

- COMPUTER SUPPORT PROGRAM (CSP)

A special project targeted at improving the values and skills of African youths as it relates to Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

With these projects, we at YALF are calling on interested individuals and corporate bodies to partner with us in executing these mandates and ensuring all round success. Your participation is highly appreciated.

Teresa Abila,

Vice President I, YALF

ABOUT YALF (REG. No.: 157-631 NPO)

The Young African Leaders Forum (YALF) is an independent pan-African organisation whose major objective is to effectuate sustainable development in every African nation. We achieve this by tracing Africa's development problems to their root causes, researching and proffering workable solutions to them as well as implementing strategic solutions. We also work to empower young African people to participate actively in the society so that they can improve their own lives by representing and solving their needs whilst advocating for those of others.

YALF is incorporated and headquartered in South Africa with the offices and active representations in 26 African nations, USA and Canada. We own a pan-African network system tool called iNFONO and our initiative is to move Africa to the First World Status in record time.

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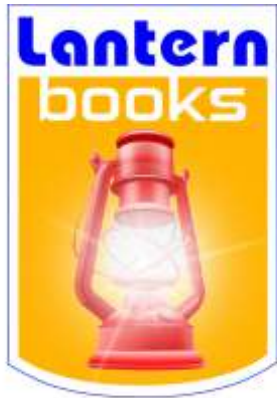
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ABOUT YALJOD

Young African Leaders Forum

The Young African Leaders Journal of Development (YALJOD) is an official publication of the Young African Leaders Forum (YALF). It was established in 2015 to host scholarly analysis and competing viewpoints about the development of Africa. Our motive for establishing such potential journal is to garner the ideas of Africa's young people as it concerns the development of Africa.

Strategic ideas and suggestions from Africa youth leaders will be pushed for implementation by the Young African Leaders Forum (YALF) with the aim of acquiring vital information and the additional strength to realise the Agenda 2063 vision plan.