

9th INAUGURAL LECTURE

FACTIONALISM, RAMPAGING ECONOMIC VAMPIRES, AND THE FRAGILE STATE

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Wednesday, March 9, 2016

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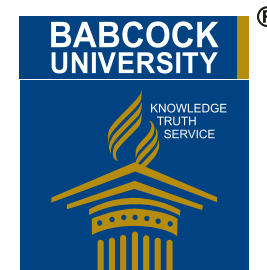


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**BABCOCK UNIVERSITY
ILISHAN-REMO, OGUN STATE
NIGERIA**

**THE NINTH UNIVERSITY
INAUGURAL LECTURE**

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VAMPIRES, AND THE FRAGILE STATE**

BY

PROFESSOR AYANDIJI DANIEL AINA

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President/Vice Chancellor
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The Orangun of Oke-Ila-Orangun and other Royal Highnesses
My Lords Spiritual and Temporal
My distinguished colleagues in the College of Management and Social Sciences
My dear wife, friend, and life partner
Members of my nuclear and extended families
Esteemed members of the University Community
Gentlemen of the press
Distinguished ladies and gentlemen

Preamble

The occasion of an Inaugural Lecture provides the Lecturer the opportunity to reflect on issues that are current and relevant to his/her field of expertise. It is also a platform where facts almost forgotten or unknown about the lecturer are brought to the public's attention, especially as such facts modify or channel the energies of the Lecturer towards greater accomplishment and timely rendition of service.

Mr. President/Vice Chancellor, sir, permit me to restate two almost forgotten facts as they affect my earthly sojourn before I take on the topic for the day. The first hidden fact is that, early in life, I was born with an unusual desire to acquire knowledge. My parents told me that I was highly inquisitive. At primary five, my academic performance in the opinion of my teachers was so

impressive that I got a rare opportunity to sit for the secondary school entrance examination, which I passed without stress. My father, being a community leader, got the news of this accomplishment during a community development meeting with his associates. The good news became the subject of rapid and rabid discussion as the meeting broke into two factions. The factions debated whether or not it was not premature to allow a little boy cross over to secondary school without writing the primary school leaving certificate examinations reserved for primary six pupils.

While some genuinely argued for and against this matter, a particular uncle of mine had a son, who was my age mate, but he was not doing very well in the same school. The uncle felt that I must not be allowed to cross-over. No doubt, he wielded a great deal of influence on my father. However, he also had to justify his ungodly counsel to my father. He promptly advanced two reasons to support his counsel: First, if I was allowed to prematurely cross over to the secondary school (never mind that, I was already 12 years old), I might not be able to retain my number one position in class as I had always done. I would now have to compete with pupils from senior class. Second, the financial burden on my father would be too heavy given the fact that he had four other siblings already in various secondary schools.

The reason why I am bringing these facts to light is to pay tribute to my late sister, Mrs. Oyeladun Babatunde, who though illiterate, got wind of these factional arguments. She decided to deflate the financial argument by offering to pay forty naira (N40), the official amount required to purchase my two sets of school uniforms. This offer was misinterpreted as a slight against my father, an admission that he was financially incapacitated. Having now established the mischief, my father decided to allow me to take up the admission and proceed to secondary school.

The second hidden fact about the trajectory of my career is that I have also learnt to hear God speak to me before embarking on any project or take any step. The official schedule for Inaugural

Lecture delivery indicated that the old Babcock Business School, now the College of Management and Social Sciences (or CMSS), was to feature my lecture on March 5, 2015 as the third Babcock University Inaugural Lecturer. I had my topic and draft drawn out, but I had not yet felt the inspiration. I felt there was no need to just stand up here and speak for the sake of speaking. Now as I speak, I rest on the instruction in Psalm 32: 8 where the Word of God says, "I will teach and instruct you in the way to go and guide you with my own eyes." Today, as I deliver our University's ninth inaugural lecture on the ninth day of March and the ninth year of my promotion to the rank of professor, I invite you to silently pray along that God will see me through.

It is, therefore, with a glint in my eyes and warmth in my heart that I now receive the privilege and honour offered by the new President/ Vice Chancellor, to deliver the ninth Inaugural Lecture of the University and, coincidentally the first lecture from the CMSS, the Veronica Adeleke School of Social Sciences, and the Department of Political Science and Public Administration. The title of my lecture is: "Factionalism, Rampaging Economic Vampires, and the Fragile State."

Introduction

Nigerian political parties, for the most part are neither democratic nor developmental. Their emphasis regrettably, is on the acquisition and retention of power for consumption and for sharing the rewards of victory (Olukoshi, in Olukotun, 2016).

In non-democratic parties, oppositional factions have difficulty making inroads to the top executive party organs. There are two consequences for these groups: party split or leadership removal. In the former case, the oppositional faction exits and establishes its own party. In the latter, the opposition succeeds in

altering the balance of power by removing the leader and the party goes through change (Musil, 2014).

In Senegal, when there are three of you, you form a (political) party and when there are five of you, you split into factions (Bayart, et al., 2010).

Men should be governed in such a way that they do not regard themselves as being governed but as following their own bent and their own free choice in their manner of life ... Restrained only by...[the]desire to increase their possessions and hope of obtaining office of State (Baron de Spinoza, 1677, in Pierre and Peters, 2000).

Mr. President/ Vice Chancellor, sir, my choice of topic for the inaugural lecture is informed by three clear perspectives:

- a. Political behaviour is an area of research endeavor in the Political Science discipline that I have explored as a scholar for more than two decades and have savoured as a professional for over four decades in my capacities as participant observer, student association leader, labour union activist, journalist, church elder, and as an academic.
- b. Party politics and the attendant factional tendencies have been subjects of rapid and rabid discourse among political scientists, historians, sociologists, philosophers, legal theorists and civil society professionals in Africa for quite some time now.
- c. Lastly, factionalism is as old as human history, dating to the eschatological understanding of the rebellion in heavenly places, such that today in Nigeria, as elsewhere across the globe for instance, we have factionalizing Bishops and

Imams, and political networks that deliver squarely on patronage or what Joseph (1999) calls "prebendal politics".

I shall return to all of these shortly.

In the course of my journey as a scholar, I have conducted an historical cum jurisprudential dissection as well as expository analyses (Aina, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2011) of party politics highlighting the factionalizing tendencies within the context of a political behavior that glorifies ethnicity and religion at will. The idea that we shall also return to later is the perpetuation of ideological fraud by the ruling elites whose sagacity is in playing the ethnic and religion cards in a political ecology that guarantees a sustained and highly intensified rape of the economy.

Over these past two decades, the corpus of the research in which I have participated or produced (Aina, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2011) assert that factionalism borne out of greed by rampaging economic vampires propels three main crises in governance in Africa (namely, disunity, insecurity, and corruption). These, I argue, contribute to the fragility of the African state. As Mimiko (2010) submits, the State in Africa is

A social formation that is defined by its failures... a personification for abundance of resources, including enormous human capacity that is largely paralyzed by mis-governance and perfunctory commitment to the corporate good by an increasingly rapacious and insensitive elite (p.47).

In the final analysis, and as noted by Adebani (2012), "a once proud people and rich country had been humbled by serial blood-sucking, thieving vampires." (p12).

Concepts, Related Themes, and Sub-themes

Faction

Faction, as used in this lecture, aligns with the Reference Dictionary (2015) meaning to be self-interested or partisan.

(<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/factionalism>). By a faction, Madison (1981) wrote:

Citizens ... united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, **adverse** to the rights of other citizens or to the permanent or aggregate interests of the community (p.16, emphasis mine).

The positive side to this Federalist Papers-perspective in Political Science lexicon is the group theory of politics, as popularized by Arthur F. Bentley and David Truman. Cigler and Loomis (2002) posit that interest groups or factions are natural phenomenon in democratic regimes with the submission that individuals will band together to perfect their interests.

Factionalism

Factionalism, according to the Free Dictionary (2015) is a group of persons forming a cohesive, usually contentious minority within a larger group. In the words of Beckett and Young (1997), factionalism is an egocentric, insensitive, selfish appropriation of the public sphere in ways that result in profound, palpable crises that have ruinous implications for the inhabitants of its acquired space. This is what Agbaje (1997) calls "pathologies of suffocating over politicization" (p.362) or what Aina (2004, 2006) calls "formlessness of party politics." (p. 83).

It should be noted that factionalism is an integral part of political process whether in corporate political settings, autocracy or democracy. Party politics globally has served only as a tool of factional strategy in order to achieve political power. In other words, party politics depended on factionalism because the goal of party politics has been about access to power, the route to economic resources.

Factionalism in political parties is a slightly pejorative term (Dominiquez, 1989) that describes what is typically a normal struggle over power, influence and policy. Building on previous works, Boucek (2009, pp. 1-31) viewed factionalism as a multifaceted phenomenon that can transform overtime in response to incentives. According to him, it can appear as:

Cooperative,
Competitive, and
Degenerative.

Whereas in the cooperative and competitive typologies, the State is strengthened; in the degenerative model, the fragility of the State is seriously highlighted. For instance, factionalism contributed to political paralysis of the Soviet Union in the late 1970s, delayed Gorbachev's political reforms in the 1980s, made the prospect of Obama's last two years in office dull, and created an ugly scenario in 2015 in Nigeria national politics, thereby stultifying the change mantra.

Of Political Gridlock and Government in Ruins

Agbaje's (1997) "pathologies of suffocating over-politicization of national politics" (p. 362) and Aina's (2004, 2006) "formlessness of party politics" (p. 83) can only logically produce (Berry; 2002) party decline and a divided government. It is worse in Nigeria's latest attempt at democratic stabilization, which has resulted in the apparent loss of party discipline, crisis of internal democracy and increasing atomization of the political space (Berry, 2002; Aina, 2004; Oyelese, 2014). Unlike in the United States where the political system is confronted by a gridlock and a divided government arising from multiplicity of interest groups and policy options, the Nigerian space is perforated by rampaging economic vampires, predatory elite gangs and a disoriented civic populace whose mind is sold to a complex web of patrons.

Vampires and, Economic Vampires

The concept of vampire is mythological (White, 2000). It conveys that of an entity or being whose goal is sucking out the life essence (i.e blood or other life sustaining fluid) of other living things. In this lecture, we use economic vampires to represent all agents of the State and non-State actors who fuel factional flames and fan the embers of degenerative politics with the ultimate goal of preying on the economy. They come as political and economic

entrepreneurs, multi-national corporation actors as well as other entities and persons whose apotheosis is putting profit ahead of all other goals and to the exclusion of ethical and moral considerations.

State, Sovereignty, Fragile/Weak State, Failed State

A State (Snarr and Snarr, 2012), is a political unit that has sovereignty over a geographical area. Sovereignty refers to the fact that the State is self-governing, that is, there is no external group or person that has authority over it. A fragile State is a weakened State. States can be weakened by incessant crises, ethnic/racial warfare, economic decline, and the like. The indicators of a fragile state, according to Pierr and Peters (2000, p.189), include:

- a. Political factors, which could come by way of mismanagement of political fortunes and creation of a complex, nearly unmanageable conflict situation threatening to tear the state apart.
- b. Economic factors, which include states entering the global market at a competitive disadvantage.
- c. Social factors, which include near absence of civil society; and
- d. Unfavourable international environment in which what happens in global environment easily impact negatively on national life.

The Fragile State is in the same category as Bayart's (2010) "bastard state" or "Caesarism" (p.208), where political predation has become systematized and economic viability is in doubt.

A fragile state is not only weak, it is violence ridden. The violence incidences are as a result of domestic and external political pressure from factional interests in ways which they exacerbate the fragility of the state. Ironically, the State is strong where interest groups are cooperative and competitive, as in the

Asia Tiger States (Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and Malaysia) and Scandinavian States (Norway, Denmark, Finland and Sweden). However, the State is fragile and weak where groups or factions are degenerative, as in most African States (especially Somalia, Egypt, Kenya and Nigeria) and Middle Eastern States like Syria and Iraq. A failed State is one where governance has broken down completely and guerrilla warfare is the central order of factional interest articulation and aggregation.

Hermeneutics of the State

Weber's hermeneutics and doctrine of value judgment (Anter, 2014) readily comes to mind here. German thinker Robert Musil(1990) has credulously deepened the ideology of the State, rationalizing it as an institution for the perfection of human nature and as a kind of spiritual super person. The State is at once expected to be action-oriented and to be in sole possession of the means of violence, or what Nietzsche (2014) called "organized immorality" (p. 137). The State is glorified as having power over life, death, and liberty. It is the largest economic entrepreneur and most powerful protection any citizen can buy.

Pseudo-transformational Leaders

Pseudo transformational leaders focus on the leader's own interests rather than the interests of the citizens of the country or their followers (Dibie, 2014). They are leaders who are transforming but in a negative way self-consumed, exploitative, power-oriented, with warped moral values. They use their offices and positions for self-aggrandizement. They embark on primitive accumulation of wealth that they cannot spend in their life time, while the citizens who actually own the resources are suffering from lack of public goods and services.

Corruption

This includes cutting corners on public ethics and social responsibilities in ways that are costly to the society and citizens. Corruption often accompanies centralization of power, when

political leaders and senior public administrators are not accountable to those they serve. Most directly, corruption inhibits development when leaders help themselves with money that would otherwise have been used for development projects (Dibie, 2015). In other cases leaders reward political support by providing services to their followers rather than the citizens that elected them.

Quasi Federal Political System

One of the major problems of governance in Nigeria is that it has a quasi- federal political system that is characterized by federal government domination of the state governments. Although, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria vividly prescribes a true federal system, in practice the nation's political leaders tend to practice an advanced unitary system, what Dibie (2014) calls quasi-federalism. The 36 states governments also dominate the local governments. In the Nigerian federal government, the president tends to be the head or boss of the state governors. At the state level, governors tend to be the chief executive and have assumed the responsibility to hand pick local government chairpersons/caretakers. This practice has also negatively affected the nature of fiscal federalism in the country.

Rule of Law

In Nigeria, we have rule of men instead of rule of law. Rule of Law dictates due process and constitutionality, but the situation on ground is that the leaders are above the law. No matter the crime committed, leaders are hardly arrested or charged to court. For example, former heads of states and governors, and very rich people who could afford to give large sum of money as bribe to police, judge and the anti-corruption agency officials can eat their cake and still have it.

Centralization of Power

In Nigeria, political power is disproportionately centralized. Instead of having a network of political representatives distributed equally throughout nation, one major party, politician, or region is

responsible for decision-making throughout the country. This often causes development problems. For example, in Nigeria, politicians take decisions about places that they are unfamiliar with, lacking sufficient knowledge about the context to design effective and appropriate policies and programs.

Social Inequality

One of the more entrenched sources of poverty throughout Nigeria is social inequality that stems from cultural ideas about the relative worth of different gender, races, ethnic groups and social classes. Ascribed inequality works by lacing individuals in different social categories at birth, often based on religion, ethnic and gender characteristics. These characteristics are often used to automatically determine the opportunities available to individuals in each group.

Global Contexts

Mr. President/Vice Chancellor, Sir, it is appropriate at this point to locate factionalism within a global context. Factions are ubiquitous aspects of life. From the Caudillos politics of Latin America where, according to Lewis (2006) strong colourful personalities impose their will on the people through the "hyper-presidential" system (p.1) to political paralysis leading to Mikhail Gorbachev reform

politics of the 1980s in the defunct Soviet Union, to the gridlock cum divided government of the U.S. government (Berry, 2002,p. 335),factions have either strengthened or weakened the state. However, at the global level, factions operate as interest groups with defined ideological drives, even in the midst of an atomized political society as that of South Korea from 1960 to 1990.



Parliamentarians engaged in physical combat: Asia Pacific.



Legislators pulling each other's shirt and ties in an uncivil manner: Eastern Europe



Parliamentarians engaged in physical combat: Asia Pacific.

South Korea

Nowhere is factionalism more atomized than in South Korea. According to Kil and Moon (2001), between 1960 and 1990 for instance, interest groups multiplied from 426 in 1959, 600 in 1963, 1,034 in 1974, to 1,700 in 1988 (p. 169). Korean students in junior and high school have demonstrated their characteristics as social forces to be reckoned with more than their counterparts in any developing country (Ibid, 162), joining in protest against armistice negotiation and toppling the Rhee regime as far back as 1960.

Eastern Europe and Latin America

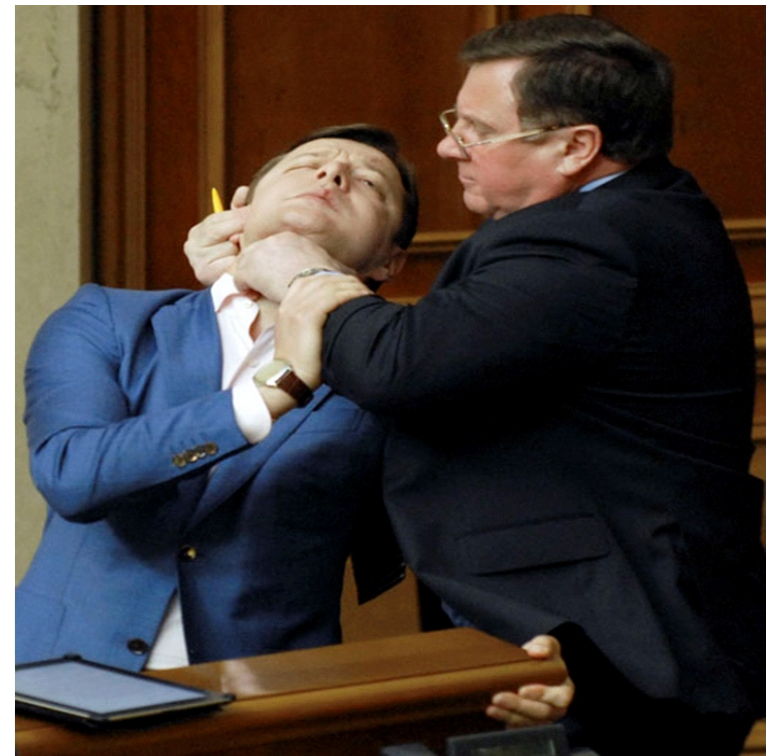
The end of Communism seems to have ushered in a period of radical change, an "era of extreme politics" (King, 2010) that pitted ethnic groups and violent entrepreneurs against one another. From the wars in the Balkans and Caucasus to the apparent upsurge in nationalist mobilization, the last 25 years have illustrated the incredible diversity of political life after the end of one-party rule. States including Romania have moved from late President Nicolae Ceausescu's one-party rule where opposition was abhorred to a plural state with strains of instability in governance. Here, factionalism manifests itself through a combination of diverse political ideologies and internal struggle for control within the relevant political parties. The scenario in Latin America has been that of oligarchies that dealt ruthlessly with their societies. Despite noticeable economic growth and urbanization (Lewis: 2006) attendant social injustices spurred the development of mass politics and revolutionary and counter- revolutionary regimes. Like it is in the case of Eastern Europe, factionalism presents itself in form of intense internal struggle among factions in the dominant ruling government leading to the development of mass politics.

Western Europe

Using the United Kingdom as a pointer, pockets of factionalism based upon racial interest aggregation have been recorded. A good example was the referendum vote held in 2014 to test

whether Scotland (UK's northern most country) desired to continue to be part of the United Kingdom with the possibility of a repeat referendum by this year 2016, even when 55 per cent preferred the status quo.

Germany operates a multi-party system that highlights the dominance of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Christian Social Union (CSU). There are also a number of small political parties that add colour to German interest groups' interest aggregation and articulation. France operates a semi-presidential system. It is said (Marnham, 2014) that France's politics is in even worse shape than its economy. What is an observable political phenomenon is a constant interplay of factions with political actors mudslinging charges of corrupt practices against one another while the struggle for the soul of the nation rages.



Degenerative factionalism could result in a barbaric pulling of each other's neck: Acts unparliamentary.

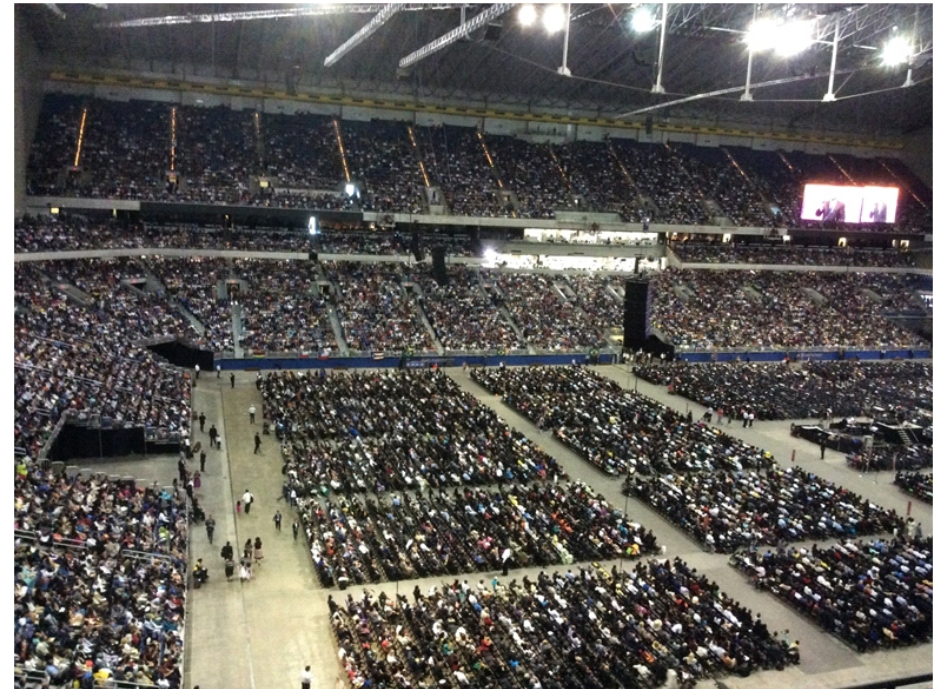


Example of degenerative factional struggle leading to bloodshed.

United States of America

Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville said in 1834 (Nownes, 2013) that nowhere in the world were associations more ubiquitous than they were in the United States. Accordingly, 180 years later, interest groups are still ubiquitous in U.S. politics.

In a manner akin to *Divided We Govern*, a book written by Berry (2002, p. 335) highlights the obvious fact that the interplay of interests in the U.S. Political system has produced gridlock and a divided government. This development is based on a racial underbelly that the powers that be in the U.S. Congress detest the man occupying the White House, Barrack Hussein Obama. A social rendition of that is playing itself out with a once-vibrant President Obama ending his eight-year government with a two-year “fresh policy initiative-inactivity” and a strenuous need to creatively contain oppositional actors (using executive orders) in what Allan Ware (2011) describes as “a polarized Congress” (p. 3).



2015 General Conference of SDA session in San Antonio, USA: worthy example of cooperative factionalism



Delegates at the 2015 GC session cast their votes peacefully raising yellow cards

African Dimension to Factionalism

Whereas factionalism is ubiquitous, its replication on the African continent is quite similar to the predatory South Korean experience, a direct product of rampaging Economic Vampires threatening the survival of the states. The most visible impact is noticeable in Sudan, Senegal, Gambia, Rwanda, Kenya, Somalia, and Nigeria, to mention but a few critical examples. In Nigeria for instance, like most other countries in the continent, factional struggles or what Tekena Tamuno (2012) described as "Stake holders at War" have a long history that is as old as the various societies themselves.



Political Map of Africa indicating the countries.

Source: <https://images.search.yahoo.com/images/view>

Sudan

The old Sudan gained political independence from Britain in 1956. A heavily polarized country, the North and South fought each other in a deadly and devastating civil war until the country formally separated into two parts: - Republic of Sudan and South Sudan. The Christians and the Animists according to Payne and Nassar (2012) resisted Islamic rule and formed the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army which orchestrated the fight over the rich oil fields (p. 236). Since South Sudan became a republic in July 2011, fresh factions that threaten the fragility of the state have emerged around the President and his erstwhile deputy.

Senegal and Islamic Republic of the Gambia

In Senegal, factional struggles otherwise known as "Clan" struggles or "Senegalitis" (Bayart, et al., 2010,211) have beset institutions. This factionalism is reflected even in the vernacular popular culture. One joke goes that in Senegal where there are three people, a party is formed. When they become five, factions will emerge (Ibid., 2010, 228). The same story is true of The Islamic Republic of Gambia where recurrent factional struggles have resulted in the manipulation of interest groups and political society. An attempt by President Yahyah Jahmeh to suppress oppositional elements resulted in the creation of more factional interests. A number of them operate from Europe and United States. His declaration in December 2015 that The Gambia has become an Islamic State was a further attestation to the fact that ethnic minorities are further pushed to articulating their factional interests.

Rwanda, Somalia and Kenya

Factional politics woven around the major ethnic groups (Hutus and Tutsis) led to a much publicized genocidal war in Rwanda. A unity government under President Paul Kigame failed to consolidate the gains of a united country, as Rwanda slips into dictatorship with a manipulative constitutional process engineered to grant President Kigame a third term in office and suppress pockets of resistance to presidential authoritarianism.

Somalia, almost a failed state by all definitions suffers periodic and persistent ethnic militia upheavals. This has led to several violent incursions to Kenya. Clientelism mingled with intense factional struggles has been the lot of Somalia and Kenya. In Kenya in particular, according to Bayart (2010), factional contradictions have spread to all sectors of society, the worst hit being the churches, mosques, cooperative societies, labour unions, football clubs, and even technical institutes (p.213).

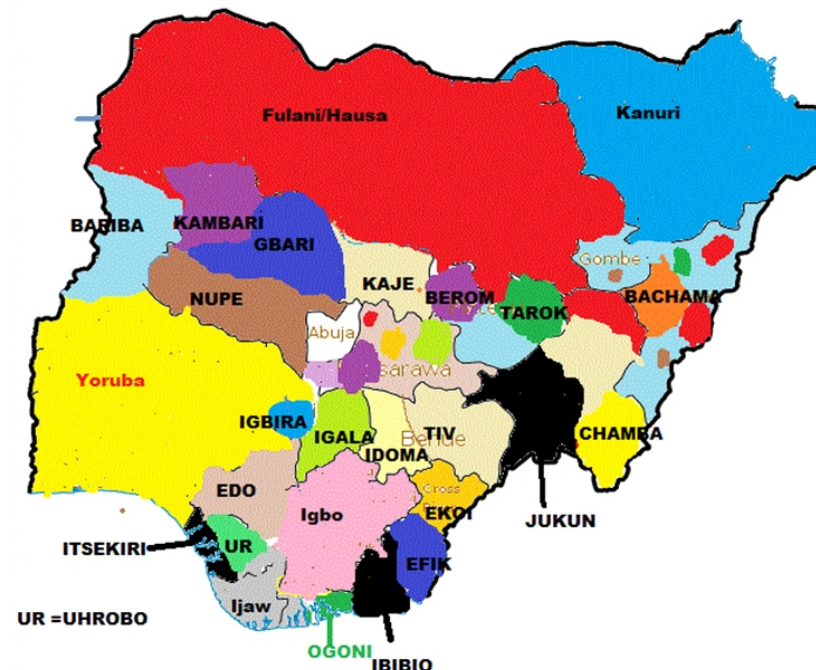
Tanzania, Cote d'Ivoire, and Cameroon

In Tanzania, just like in Cote d'Ivoire and Cameroon, the power of networks and the acuteness of the "struggle for influence" (Bayart, et al., 2000, 215) is not hidden as various factions battle for a competitive electoral mandate amid tenacious opposition from tyrants and the rancor, unhealed wounds and thirst for revenge by aggrieved parties and interest groups. In Cote d'Ivoire where the late Houphouet Boigny held sway, factional tendencies degenerated to settling of scores between candidates which greatly affected the PDCI. Attempts to reconcile factions led to signing of peace accords and political foes engaged in televised warm embrace in May 1982.

Nigeria

At the time of amalgamation in 1914, Nigeria epitomized factions festooned as protectorates. In the wake, the colonial governance architecture exacerbated factionalism by producing an ethnic battle for supremacy that resulted in the retreat of emergent political parties into regional (if not ethnic) cocoons. It was not until the advent of crude oil as a major, national, income-earning source that the personal lust over state resources became so evident. Hitherto, it had been shrouded in a regional, economic interest-driven struggle for the political soul of the nation.

Resources accruable from crude oil are largely administered by those who are located outside terrain of crude oil exploitation thereby creating factions and struggle for control. This



Map of Nigeria indicating the major ethnic composition. Source: <https://images.search.yahoo.com/images/view>

resulted in separatist agitations, which eventually led to recurring military coups and transition governments in what Oyediran and others (Diamond et al, 1997) documented as "Transition Without End". Military insurgency and counter-insurgency took the odious dimension, not only truncating the development of civilian rule but the destruction of the socio-political and economic fabric of the nation. Corruption became ubiquitous, evil, and malignant. Even the clergy that once served as distant echo of "voice of reason" got engulfed in the greasing of palms and monetary inducement to gain public endorsement. Religious gatherings soon witnessed "fiery" prophets, bishops and chief imams pouring out verbal invectives on candidates who were perceived to epitomize greed and indecency.

Nigeria is evidently at cross roads. As I have documented in a number of publications (Aina, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2011) and as many other scholars have also confirmed (Agbaje, 1997, 2004;



Parliamentarians engaged in physical combat: Nigeria.



Parliamentarians in factional struggle jumping National Assembly gate: Nigeria.

Mimiko,2010; Adebani, 2012; Oyelese, 2014),the factions have multiplied, metamorphosed and transmogrified, becoming malignant and inimical to national progress. They have left in their wake multifaceted fragmentations that have resulted in over one million people killed in just 30 months of a civil war and scores of other people most recently, in the Niger-Delta insurgency and an international terror- induced hydra-headed insurgency known as "Boko Haram." As Nicolas van de Walle of Cornell University noted, African incumbents owe their political longevity to their ability to

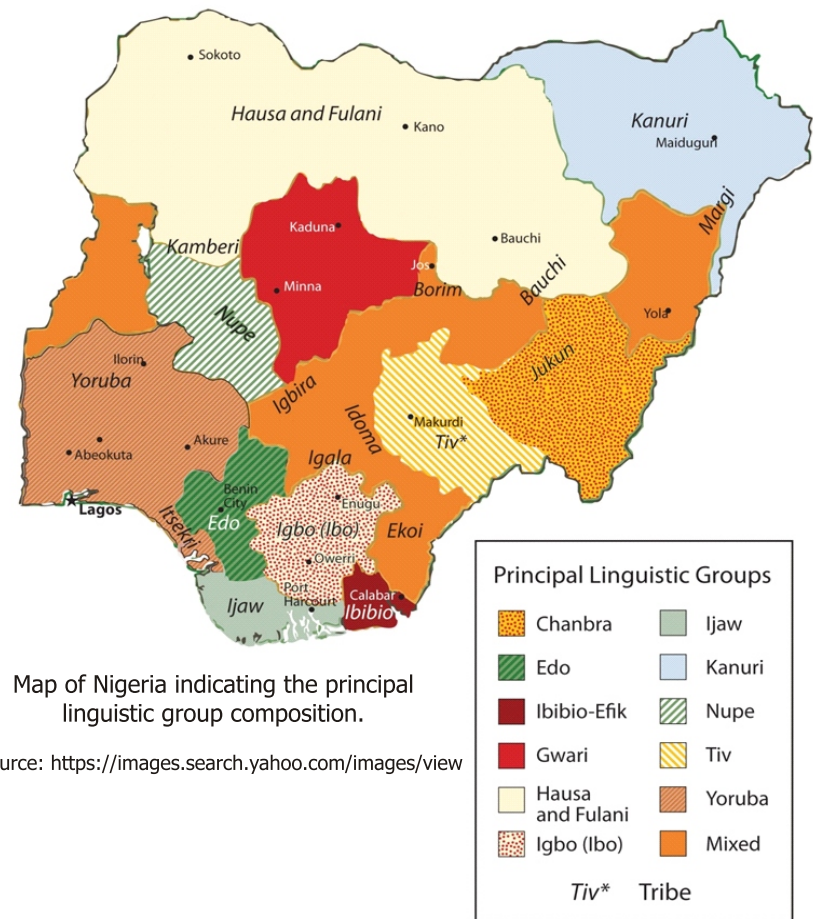
control domestic capital (cited in Leonardo, 2013).While everything is done by the incumbent elites to maintain their grip on political power- a veritable source for largess- oppositional elements and factions are grouped and regrouped in restless alterations to wrestle power from the ruling party or elites. In the game, those in power are usually very clear about the way to keep on holding power. Where they failed to read the game very well, they lost out brutally and were mostly decapitated.

In explaining the puzzle of opposition coordination, Burkinabe leader, Blaise Compaore said: "You cannot fight fairly against a candidate who is in power if you are divided, especially in Africa." (Arriola, 2013,1). This statement which was made on the eve of election in 2005, led to his re-election with 80% of the popular vote. Twelve opposition parties shared the remaining 20% of the votes. It also received validation in the Nigerian political history between 2003 and 2015 when opposition parties struggled disparately for more than a decade before uniting to take over power from the ruling party at the federal/central level.

Attempts to constitutionally moderate political factions in other to reduce their negative consequences or degenerative influences have come with the advent of what was dubbed the "quota system." After being integrated into the 1979 constitution (Section 14:3), the system has taken the official tag of "federal character" (Ogunbanjo and Aina, 2001). Rather than moderate the tension among the entities, this constitutional provision has helped raise the tempo of factional agitations and unprecedented financial loss due to the need to maintain a huge bureaucracy. It is mandatory to hire at least one minister from each of the 36 states of the federation. Increasingly, especially with the creation of more states after 1979 (when the number of states stood at 19), the numbers of ministers now reflect the many states and geopolitical zones of the federation rather than what is needed for effective and efficient government. Whereas President Muhamadu Buhari needed only 25 ministers to run his government as envisioned, he had to hire 36 ministers thereby making the extra ministers serve in junior or complementary positions as Ministers of State.

On the whole, the Nigerian situation is more complex than that of Senegal as described by Francois Baryart (2010), thereby making the battle for the "second liberation" (Ekeh, 1997, 98) illusory. From the shenanigans of factionalizing bishops to the self-adulating imams, an individual can be at once a member of many factions, depending on how their pockets are lined. Not too surprising for instance, is that at the commencement of the eighth national assembly, the chess game of economic vampires otherwise known as political entrepreneurs became fully activated. Consequently, the Senate President, Dr Bukola Saraki of the APC negotiated a pyrrhic victory with a Senate Deputy President Ike Ekweremadu who came from the opposition party, PDP. This looks like a continuation of the scenario that ended the seventh national assembly when many of the current ruling party candidates who were members of the then-ruling party decamped to the opposition party at will, from where their current hold on power was more ascertained. Noteworthy that after defecting from the ruling PDP to the opposition party (APC) in the seventh assembly, the Speaker of the House of Representative, Alhaji Aminu Tambuwal (now Governor of Sokoto State) was an opposition politician.

Assessing the new ruling party, (APC) as more or less a replica of the former ruling party, (PDP), Schineider (2015) dubbed the APC as "an opportunistic coalition of interests." (p. 13). In the scenario that ended the seventh assembly, "cross carpeting," which was the buzz word of the politics of the 1960s was replaced with "defection." All it took to decamp or defect in Nigeria's puerile political ecology was to feel shortchanged in the sharing of the national cake at any point in time. It is on record that political figures like Governors Rochas Okorochoa of Imo, Ibikunle Amosun of Ogun State, Ibrahim Shekarau of Kano, Alao Akala of Oyo State and even former Vice-President Abubakar Atiku moved in and out of virtually all known major political parties, sometimes returning back and forth in their quest for viable platform that could enhance their penchant for power ascendancy.



In a rather unique manner, after several attempts to do it alone or to form a weaker coalition, the ruling APC became the first experiment in Nigerian political history of a successful merger of multiple opposition parties and elements to wrestle power at the center. For instance, to be able to dislodge the ruling PDP, the APC absorbed the old Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) anchored by Senator Bola Tinubu, the old CPC personified by General Muhamadu Buhari, factions of old PDP led by Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, the new PDP (nPDP) led by Rotimi Amaechi, Bukola Saraki and others, ANPP led by Chief John Oyegun, Ogbonaya Onu, and a faction of APGA led by Governor Rochas Okorochoa.

In all of the party formation since the 1999 experiment at civil rule (Aina, 2001, 2002, 2004), there has been obvious lack of distinctive ideological posturing and commitment to any known sound political philosophy. The manifestos of the major political parties in the first ten years of the current democratic dispensation are nothing more than six and half-a-dozen (Aina, 2002). The parties have largely been characterized by personalized leadership, who also had little regard for institution building and a festering and acrimonious relationship among party stalwarts. This was so problematic that Ajayi (2009), who examined Nigeria as Africa's failed asset, chronicled the behind-the-scene moves that generated the "shaky foundation...reckless disregard of the settled principles of federalism leading inevitably to the quagmire in which (it) finds itself." (see back cover page).

Community Services/Contributions to the Political Science Discipline

Mr. President/Vice Chancellor, sir, permit me at this point to highlight a few of my specific contributions to the Political Science discipline and the University system in general. As a scholar, I have always subscribed to cooperative rather than degenerative interest articulation and aggregation. By the logic of what obtains in reality, and since the political society is globally confronted with the question of choice of political parties, political actors and policy options, competitive interest articulation and aggregation becomes unavoidable. My earliest contribution in this regard was as a Senior Journalist with the Daily Times of Nigeria (or DTN) and as an adjunct lecturer, I served as Vice Chairman (and later Acting Chairman) of the DTN chapter of the Nigerian Union of Journalists. It is on record that I led the historic collective bargaining that resulted in a jumbo pay raise at the DTN without the need to embark on destructive strike action. We adopted collective bargaining of interests, which was part of my research interests while I was teaching World Politics, Labour and Public Relation Courses to graduate students at the Nigerian Institute of Journalism, Ogba, Lagos in those days.



Historic banner heralding the inauguration of the West African Political Science Association (WAPSA) sponsored by Babcock University.

In our discipline, I have been an active promoter of cooperative group politics and collective bargaining highlighting superiority of ideas/strategy with deep sense for humanity and godliness as an underlining factor. Before the revitalized Nigerian Political Science Association went comatose, I led an active Babcock University (BU) team to Zaria (2003), Abuja (2004), and Enugu (2005) annual conferences. At the Africa Association of Political Science (or AAPS) level, we engaged colleagues from other parts of the continent in the Cairo 2005 AAPS Congress to neutralize Afro-Arab schisms while in Montreal, Canada 2014 edition of the International Political Science Association (or IPSA), I led the Babcock delegation alongside 62 other scholars from West African sub region to initiate the formation of the West African Political Science Association (or WAPSA). Babcock University naturally played host to the inaugural general assembly of WAPSA, and by popular vote retains the pioneer Vice Presidency and General Secretary positions of the sub

regional body. All of these fall within the realm of cooperative and competitive interest articulation and aggregation. It must be noted here that the degenerative mode of the factions in the NPSA and AAPS led to their going comatose while IPSA remains vibrant as the global umbrella body.

In terms of mobilizing human resource for national development, I convened the International Conference on Corruption and the Challenge of Human Development, which held here at Babcock University from June 13 -15, 2006. In 2007, I edited a 560-page book to document that exposure. I have also collaborated with eminent scholars in our field through generous funding by CODESRIA Multi-national Working Group Programme. I conducted a nationwide assessment of the quality of Private Universities in Nigeria, and I chaired the African Union and Association of African Universities Vice Chancellor Communique session which produced the famous "Addis Ababa Declaration" in

2012. It should also be placed on record that I was a prominent participant (courtesy Professor Adigun Agbaje) in the International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance, which sponsored a project on Ethnicity and the Future of Democracy in Africa in 2001; International Seminar on Integration of Faith and Learning (at Babcock University in 2001 and Valley-View University, Ghana (or VVU) in 2006; Center for Social Science Research and Development International Conference on Positive Leadership (Lagos, 2002); Externalist-Internalist Debate on African Development Crisis, Montclair State University, New Jersey, USA, sponsored by the Society for Research on African Culture (2002), as well as IFRA-sponsored International Conference on Segregation, Urban Violence and Social Networks in West African Cities at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria-among numerous other engagements.

In the area of town-gown relationships, I have been actively engaged in manpower development and capacity building for my state of origin, the State of Osun, training Local Government



Celebrated Political Scientist and former African Association of Political Science (AAPS) President, Professor Adele L. Jinadu and the Inaugural Lecturer, Professor A.D Aina during the inauguration of the West African Political Science Association (WAPSA) sponsored by Babcock University



2015 voter education, a community service effort by the Political Science department, a follow up on the legacy of the inaugural lecturer who was the foundation head of department. This initiative was sponsored with a N3.1m grant provided BU by the Independent National Electoral Commission(INEC) under Professor Attahiru Jega.

functionaries in grassroots development and helping to build from the scratch, the Political Science and International Relations department of the Osun State University. In Ogun State, where we are based, I was on the Strategy Team of the State Government from 2003-2007 and directly advised the Executive Governor. I acted as chief consultant for the drafting of Ogun State's position on the review of Local Government laws within that legislative period. I was also appointed by the Development Agenda in Western Nigeria (DAWN) and worked alongside the Attorney-General of Ogun State to conduct legislative training for the state and national assembly men and women in June 2015.

For the Church of God, I have also rendered modest service, having served as District Communication Director, District Sabbath School Superintendent, First Elder, and later Elder-in-Charge of Sabbath School for five years in a row at Pioneer Seventh-Day Adventist Church at BU and variously in Ogba District (now Mainland Conference), Lagos. While serving as President/Vice Chancellor of Adeleke University, Ede, we secured the consent of the proprietor to allow the SDA Church to minister to the spiritual needs of the university and returned 104 souls through baptism, which represented 20 percent of the entire student population in its formative years. I currently serve on the Executive Committee of the Osun Conference of the SDA church and Adviser/Guest Minister to Adventist Student Fellowship groups at the University of Ibadan, Obafemi Awolowo University and Adeyemi College of Education, Ondo.

Within the University system, I have provided services as external examiner at undergraduate and post-graduate levels to the University of Ibadan, University of Ilorin, Ekiti State University, Olabisi Onabanjo University and Tai Solarin University of Education. I have assisted in professorial assessment for my almatmater, University of Ibadan as well as University of Abuja, Osun State University, Fountain University, Crawford University and Afe Babalola University.

Outside of Babcock University, I served as foundation Head of department of Political Science and International Relations at Osun State University, where, from a modest staff of two junior



Sample handbills used during the 2015 voter education, a community service effort by the Political Science department, sponsored by INEC.

staff with one holding a PhD., we built a strong department with eleven academic staff including eight Ph.D. degree holders in one year.

Mr. President/Vice Chancellor, sir, I have had the privilege of being appointed on merit to serve as pioneer President/Vice Chancellor, Adeleke University from 2011-2013. From this position, I naturally served in the Association of Vice Chancellor of Nigerian Universities (AVCNU) on its seven-man committee of Vice Chancellors that handled the NgREN ICT deployment. The committee addressed issues related to deployment and cost-effective access to the Internet by Nigerian universities. Earlier, I served the same body as Chief Rapporteur at its annual meeting hosted by Osun State University in April 2010. It was after I served in this capacity that the African Union Commission and the Association of African Universities Vice Chancellors appointed me to preside over the meeting that produced the famous Addis Ababa Declaration in 2012. Indeed, God has been so faithful and gracious unto me.

At Babcock University, I had the privilege of joining as one of the pioneer staff, and I served as the foundation Head of the Department of Political Science and Sociology from 1999-2003. The dynamic leadership of the first two Vice Chancellors brought out the best in me as I served in several committees, including:

- a. Pioneer Head of Department of Political Science and Sociology 1999-2003
- b. Director, Pre-degree Studies 2001-2003
- c. First substantive Dean, Faculty of Management and Social Sciences 2003-2006
- d. Chief of Staff to the President/Vice Chancellor 2006-2010
- e. Dean, School of Postgraduate Studies 2010-2011
- f. Dean, Babcock Business School 2013-2015
- g. Foundation Provost, College of Management and Social Sciences, 2015.



Staff and Students of the department of Political Science and Public Administration mobilized under the headship of Dr Olajumoke Yacob-Haliso and the Inaugural Lecturer's Deanship.



Head of the department of Political Science and Public Administration, Babcock University presenting sample handbill to a traditional ruler in Ogere-Remo during the 2015 voter education.

It must be put into the record that while I served as Head of department, we raised the level of discourse through innovative "Distinguished Personality Lecture Series." We invited scholars and public office holders, especially Governors and Ministers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. We used the programme to raise funds for the University and purchased two Toyota buses and made a donation to the building fund of the Chimaroke Nnamani Political Science Resource Center, which is a testimony of our modest contribution.



L-R: Dr Oladimeji Alao, Prof A.D Aina, Prof Jones Aluko, and Dr M.A Oni getting ready to lead out in the 2015 voter education campaign in Remoland, Ogun State, Nigeria.

Biblical Contexts of Factionalism

Mr. President/Vice Chancellor, sir, I have participated in two major International Integration of Faith and Learning (IFL) seminars organized by the education department of the General Conference of the SDA Church (anchored by former GC Director of Education Department, Professor Humberto M. Rasi) here at BU in 2001 and at VVU, Ghana in 2006. To this end, this lecture would be incomplete without an explanation of the biblical context of factionalism from my engagement as an Adventist Educator.

At the center of factionalism, is the production of a political society that violates the real tenets of citizenship. In 2006, at VVU, Ghana, I presented a paper on this issue titled "Integrating Christian Values in Teaching Citizenship Education in Nigeria" that was published in the edited volume *Christ in the Classroom Series*. In the paper, while commending the National Universities Commission (NUC) for including Citizenship and Elements of Government as a General Education Course for all first degree programs in Nigeria Universities, we explored how Christian values

can compel the decorum required by parliamentary procedure in a way that cooperative and competitive factional interests in any group politics can be managed without degenerating into conflict. Group politics include the National Assembly, corporate boardrooms, labour union negotiations, church board meetings, etc. As an attachment, we produced a template course outline to use for teaching this course within the Integration of Faith and Learning pedagogical milieu.

Returning to the biblical context of factionalism per se, it could be said that rebellion is at the center of faction production as Jeremiah 29:32 reads: "Therefore thus says the Lord; behold I will punish Shemaiah the Nehelamite and his seed...because he hath taught rebellion against the Lord." In Ezra 4:19, the Bible declares: "And I commanded, and search hath been made and it is found that this city of old time hath made insurrection against Kings and that rebellion and sedition have been made therein."

The implication of the foregoing is that factionalism is the outward manifestation of a sinful (rebellious) heart, covetousness and of fallen humanity. Isaiah 14:12-14, reads: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer...for thou said in thy heart, I will ascend unto the heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount... I will ascend above the height of the clouds; I will be like the most High."

The Old Testament book of Ezekiel 28: 12-19 presents a comprehensive statement of Satan, otherwise called Lucifer. He was a "blameless" (v.15) model of perfection from the day he was created until wickedness was found in him. In John 8:44, the Bible records that the two sins of Lucifer, the rebellious angel, are committing murder and telling lies. The consequence of these was an intense struggle leading to war. Revelations 12:7 says: "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon..." After the war and since the dragon did not prevail (Ibid. v. 8) Satan was hurled down with his rebellious group of angels (Ibid., v. 9) numbering about a third of angelic population.

In the biblical context, factions are outcomes of rebellious acts and are often created via subtle persuasion to upturn natural order of events. In Genesis 3:1-6, the serpent, portrayed as “more crafty than man” asked, “Did God really say you must not eat from tree in the garden?”

A very interesting lesson for us here Mr. President/Vice Chancellor, is that freedom from bondage or rebellion comes on the Sabbath day, depicting that humanity can gain rest from deception and degenerative factionalism if we obey God and love him (John 14:15). The book of Luke 3:16 says: “Then should not this woman, a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan has kept bound for eighteen long years be set free on the Sabbath day from what bound her?” In Revelations 21: 3-4, the Bible says a loud voice from the throne of grace promised end to factionalism and its debilitating effects: “And I heard a loud voice from the throne saying “God's dwelling place is now among the people ... God Himself will be with them and be their God. He will wipe away every tear (as) there will be no more death, or mourning or crying or pain, for the old order of things has passed away!”

The moral lesson here is that it is only by allowing the indwelling of the Holy Spirit that we can have eternal peace, one that propels cooperative rather than degenerative spirit that results in factions and its attendant consequences of conflict and violence.



The Inaugural Lecturer with Professor Robert Dible and the Chancellor of Indiana University, Kokomo, USA during a connectivity trip in 2008.



The Inaugural Lecturer as a member of the AAA accreditation team to Loma Linda University, California, USA in 2010.



The Inaugural Lecturer, Prof. A.D. Aina, and members of staff of the department of Political Science and Public Administration in a group photograph with the Members of the accreditation panel of the Adventist Accrediting Association (AAA) in 2008.



The Political Science Resource Center donated by Governor Chimaroke Nnamani in 2006 as a result of the Inaugural Lecturer's initiative.



The Political Science Resource Center donated by Gov. Chimaroke Nnamani in 2006 and the brand new Toyota Coaster bus donated by Gov. Olagunsoye Oyinlola to the department in 2008

Recommendations

Arising from the body of knowledge and research with which I have been associated in the last couple of years, I offer the following nine recommendations:

1. The political society should be re oriented towards cooperative and competitive rather than degenerative factionalism. This can be achieved if there is a deliberate effort/program towards minimizing crash materialism in the national psyche of the citizenry, using the East Asian "tiger" and Scandinavian countries' experiences as benchmarks. I call for a return to primitive godliness, a lifestyle that aligns with the biblical aphorism "righteousness exalt a nation, sin is a reproach" (Proverbs 14:34). Factionalism is rooted in self and sin.
2. Also, the church/mosque- state relations must be worked upon to foster positive synergy and complementary roles rather than competitive ones which ultimately lead to illegal wealth accumulation. Religious leaders must uphold the principles of non-partisanship and see themselves as agents of stabilization, as custodians of a ministry that offers respite to all citizens in times of trouble. Evangelism (by whichever religion) should not be for sale.
3. To ensure African States do not become perpetually weak states (a precursor to failed states), governments must rekindle their competitive advantage in the international market, avoid being patrimonial and rentier (Ibrahim, 1997, p. 156), neopatrimonial (Adebanwi, 2012, p. 7), prebendal (Joseph, 1999) and rentier (Olukotun, 2002, p. 217) states. To guarantee against becoming fragile states, issues of good governance and the politics of alienation within and between constituent nations must be properly handled, including a review of distributive politics. The attendant reduction of serial violence will be antidote against being failed states.

4. Efforts must be made to reduce the premium placed on political power and to strengthen national services through educational rebirth and true federalism. This includes civil reengineering of citizenship, rather than mere reorientation, and an unwavering commitment to youth development. The education policy and philosophy should be made to address technological cum developmental needs of the society rather than its current over-emphasis on opportunity programmes.
5. There is a need to cultivate or create an environment for civil societies to reclaim the partitioned space and revise the unbridled struggle for resources in ways that are not detrimental to state survival. Civil society organisations should engage treasury looters through campaign for public stigmatization and isolation.
6. Also, there is the urgent need to strengthen the political parties to grow beyond being mere associations for treasury looters. Political parties must evolve platforms that reflect policy generation and implementation. They should aspire to be platforms for authentic actualization of the mandate of the people with appropriate political communication, clearly defined manifestos/political ideologies and interest articulation and aggregation.
7. On leadership, the problem of pseudo-transformational and ethical egoism could be solved by voting for duty driven and proven ethical leaders that have record of commitment to do the right thing. Such ethical leaders must focus on and be attentive to the needs of citizens and their welfare. They must be concerned with issues of fairness and justice and place these at the center of their decision making (Dibie, 2014a). Ethical leaders must also refrain from using their position or office for self-aggrandizement. They must lead by

example and seek to establish a lasting legacy rather than accumulating unnecessary wealth that they cannot spend in their life time.

8. The subject of corruption both in government and business places heavy cost on society. Government and corporations must enact, publicize and abide by strict codes of conduct banning corruption on the part of their staff, directors and political leaders. Citizens must demand greater transparency on the part of both government, the corporate sector, and create reform movement where needed. It must be mentioned here that corruption in Nigeria cannot be eradicated by increasing the number of anti-corruption agencies but through pragmatic government efforts to look towards implementing a more encompassing reform of its political, administrative, and economic operations. Corruption can be tackled if there are efficient and effective rule of law system where nobody in the country is above the law. Former heads of state, state governors and senior public administrators found guilty of using their position for self-aggrandizement must be openly prosecuted and sanctioned in accordance with relevant penalties and all such ill-gotten money and properties confiscated. An attempt to eradicate corruption in Nigeria must rest on a comprehensive and sustained system of public accountability and transparency (Dibie, 2014b).
9. Lastly, is the point on economic growth by building a genuine commitment to overcome the scourge of poverty. This is an important step in economic growth. The right steps in this direction include job creation for the low income group including microcredit initiatives, broader access to education and technology by marginalized groups, and improvement of government capacity to provide universal access to essential goods and services, including portable water, electricity, affordable food, primary health care, education, housing and

other social services (Dibie& Dibie, 2015).Although, raising adequate resources through effective taxation and other mechanisms is often politically difficult in Nigeria, the government should introduce new mechanisms for public dialogue that could enable citizens of all classes to recognize the benefit of universal access to key services and the corresponding duties that are expected of the citizens.

Acknowledgement

Mr. President/Vice Chancellor, sir, I paraphrase Isaac Newton, the great physicist: "If I can see farther than my contemporaries, it is because I am standing on shoulders of giants." Permit me to now acknowledge some of those who have assisted me to attain this age and stature.

First and foremost, glory, honour and adoration be to God Almighty, the author and finisher of my faith who led me in this path by honouring His words in Psalm 32:8 that He will teach me and direct in the path to go and follow me with His own eyes! He is the one to whom I dedicate my life of service forever (1 Corinthians 9:16). Here at Babcock University, God's own university, I cut my teeth in academic administration under the leadership of the two erstwhile President/Vice Chancellors, Professors Adekunle A. Alalade and JA Kayode Makinde. I shall forever remember them each for the various exposures under their leadership for which I have grown in leaps and bounds. I like to accord due recognition to my brother, the new President/Vice Chancellor, Professor Ademola Stephen Tayo (aka according to policy) who game me this platform.

Prior to my adventures at Babcock, I had already cut my academic teeth under the tutelage of my distinguished mentors and supervisors at the University of Ibadan (or UI), Nigeria's premier varsity. Most notable among them is Professor Adigun Agbaje who took me through the rigour of the Ph.D. and prepared me for the world of infinite delight. Prior to this experience, I had

been given foundational tutelage by the likes of Emeritus Professor Bayo Adekanye, who was the Head of Department at the time I defended my Ph.D.; the late Professor Adekunle Amuwo, who supervised my M.Sc.; and Professor Godwin Sogolo who mentored me at the undergraduate level. My story at the great UI will be incomplete without mentioning such great scholars as Professors Omoniyi Adewoye, Segun Oladipo, Fr. Adeigbo, Dipo Irele, Eghosa Osaghae, Bayo Okunade, Jimi Adisa, Fred Onyeziri, Femi Otubanjo, OBC Nwolise, Busari Adebisi and Rotimi Suberu. Under these intellectual giants, I was also pushed to fear God, to pursue excellence, and to work hard. I also learnt from a collection of colleagues and schoolmates at the great UI, including Professors J.K. Ayantayo, Kunle Ajayi. Femi Isumanah, Remi Aiyede, Billy Oyadare, and Wale Adebaniwi.

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Conclusion

Mr. President/Vice Chancellor, sir, in concluding this lecture, I wish to restate that the African political space is suffocated with arrays of factional interests hiding under such rubrics as Hausa/Yoruba/Ibo, Tutsi/Hutu, Muslim/Christian, Military/Civilian,

Minority/Majority ethnic groups, North/South, East/West, Men/Women, and the like. This is probably not the main issue, because factions are a fact and part of life. The problematic of state fragility lies in the predatory role of the actors in this atomization of the polity, which breeds "pathology of suffocating over-politization" and presents the lead actors as vampires on rampage. If life was not being sucked out of the state, as a "living" entity, the collective will of the people from the classroom to the market, from civil service to the military barracks could be harnessed towards cooperative and competitive engagement rather than degenerative one.

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