

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF THE REFUGEES AT IJEBU ORU: DESIRABILITY OF CREDIBLE GOVERNMENT POLICY AND SUPPORTS

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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the concept refugees, the survival strategies used by the refugees, international organizations and the host government's efforts to integrate the displaced people fully into the new environment, which they were forced to. The paper also argues that refugees' existence has stretched the basic facilities which was inadequate, even the male role-set has been affected negatively while women still carry out their normal activities. But for survival and stability, there is need for a special policy thrust that would pave way for ensuring adaptive mechanism.

The refugees stationed at Ijebu- Oru in Ogun State were studied; this camp was used because it offers wider coverage to the study when compared to Maiduguri camp. A sample of 210 was drawn from the total population. Interviewing and questionnaire methods were the major instrument used for this study.

The result of the study pointed to the fact that a significant numbers of the refugees depend on the provisions and allowances from Nigerian Commission for Refugees (NCFR), United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and International Red Cross; though few of them involved in self-help projects to supplement refugees needs. The paper then concludes that the refugees need additional assistance in terms of empowerment that will pave for integration and full adaptive style.

Key words: Refugees, Survival Strategy, Displacement, Resettlement, Rehabilitation, Integration

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY:

One of the social ills that have pervaded the societies of the world, and drew the attentions of government and non-governmental bodies today is the issue of refugees. It's attendant problems ranges from settlement, rehabilitation, feeding, health and so on.

Although issue of refugees was not new in the 17th, 18th, and 19th, centuries but never had it taken the dimension witnessed now (so widespread) and never had it been noticed more with alarming frequency with its attendant destructive tendencies. But as we entered the 21st century, the challenge of protecting humanity and nature has become a global one. Thus, the attachment of blood, race, religion and ethnicity is growing and some cases taking a violent form, thus leading to massive displacement/ dislocation of people out of their place of origin. It is instructive to note that most of them live in developing nations whose fragile resources and infrastructure can barely sustain the needs of their own nationals (Oyeneye and Peil 1982; Ogundolapo, 2002). Hence, the refugee problem has become a worldwide phenomenon today, no country can exempt itself from not having refugees, they are people caught between danger at home and loss of identity in a strange land (Barry S 1980) fear of persecution has led millions to flee their homes and seek safety in strange societies where they may be isolated,



alienated and often impoverished. Although the refugee problem has existed for a long time and major has been major difficulties for those countries/individuals who have tried to assist refugees.

Despite tens of million refugees in this century, studies on refugees are limited, sporadic, unsystematic, isolated and non-cursory. Studies have shown the cause and effect of refugee in the form of deviant and socially rejected acts without a sociological analysis of why refugee camps, what are the implications of refugee camps on the place of asylum and origin and how have these refugees being able to survive having in mind that they are set of emergent group of people who always triple any resources given for their survival creating the urge to seek legal or illegal ways for their survival. Thus, this paper focuses on the social life of refugees, the efforts of host communities, policy makers, international and non governmental organization to better the lots of dislocated people in terms of settlement, rehabilitation, feeding, job, health and other basic necessities of human existence that as made their survival real and not a mirage.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

It is a basic fact that refugee problems have become an area of focus because of its prevalence in Africa. The United State Commission for Refugees (USCR 1993); and Ogundolapo (2000) supported the above submission. Guardian, (Nigerian Newspaper) Dec 2, pg 2 1993 also corroborated the basic fact that over 20 million refugees in the world today were displaced within the borders of their own countries. In Southern Sudan more than 5.5 million people displaced from their homes(Katherine Arie, 2005). Issue of refugee and displacement has negatively affect the trend of development in Africa which can be explained at the levels of international, regional, national, community and individuals.

At international level, because the refugee status implies movement across international borders, it becomes a joint responsibility between international organizations and national government to care for them. The United Nations Human Commission for Refuges, Red Cross, African refugees (AREF) and Nigerian commission for refugees (NCFR) have been contributing immensely in terms of distributing needed materials to the refugees at Oru-Ijebu, Ogun State Nigeria. However, if not for this unplanned additional expenditure, these resources could have been diverted to another area that can pave way for a meaningful development at the level of host communities, it has dire consequences on the host country, most refugees had moved from one developing, and going to countries that are among the less- developed in terms of gross national product and per capital income often settling in the poorest areas of their host countries. The refugees at Ijebu Oru have adversely affected their environment in the sphere of, local service, job, and provisions of market, food, and water supplies. Thus, all these tend to accentuate the level of poverty in the host communities (Ijebu Oru and its environ).

At the region in conflict, refugee situations can become explosive. The situation of Liberian refugees remains unresolved since 1990, (if not for recent political processes that gave way for democratic ideals) it is seen as a source of disruption to the community. The refugees from Chad, Mozambique, Somalia, looked for haven in most neighboring countries thereby over using the inadequate infrastructure in those countries that have given fellowship hands to the refugees, thus depleting those countries resources. At the level of individual, refugees face a lot of crisis, since the majority of them are from least developed countries. women, men and children among them actually experience some problems such as poverty, lack of adequate food and safe drinking water, high rates of child mortality, relatively poor health, loss of jobs, disruption



of children's education, material deprivation, loss of family ties and so on (Oyeneye, and Edewor 1995) .

Hence, having established that refugee issues constitute a social phenomenon to the world, and with the raised and identified problems above, it therefore becomes a matter of concern and necessity to study/ examine ways through which refugees can be more self-reliant and ultimately be well rehabilitated as victims of avoidable crises/wars.

IMPLICATION OF WAR AND THE REFUGEES PROBLEMS IN NIGERIA: IJEBU ORU IN FOCUS.

Majority of people that experience massacre, war, persecutions and battles were ordinary people who were fired by idealism and the desire to right the wrongs that they perceived in their environment. In their emotionally charged state. They seem oblivious to the fact that in their fight for "justice", they brought nothing but injustice, pain, and suffering to hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children who were trapped in the battle zones. All over histories there have been cases of charismatic leaders who moved countless missions of people into savage and barbarous wars that precipitated their displacement. The civil wars all over African have been devastating and destructive, the horrific part about this issue is that millions of seemingly decent people were early incited to mass murder. The scar and the untold hardship of Nigeria civil war (1967-70) is still existing.

Like any other countries of the world, the effects of war on refugees at countries of liebu-Oru range from starvation/hunger, insecurity of lifes and properties, sickness, torture from rebels, threats, loss of lifes (including those of family members, relations and friends), displacement, shortage of water and drugs, de-humanizing their psychic to disruption in education. Oyeneye and Edewor (1995), itemized the problems encountered by refugees as hunger, torture, threats, fear, health problems, and that some of Liberian refugees lost their parents, spouses, children siblings and cousins. while here at ljebu-Oru camp (Nigeria), (which was formerly a school but later on converted to suit the purpose of settling the refugees) social amenities such as electricity, pipe-borne water were inadequate. Formally health center was albeit with insufficient drug supply but now there is more than drug supply. It is also pertinent to record that before 1995, the quality of food served was poor and the refugees had no varieties but thereafter gifts were distributed on household basis a great improvement in the nutritional habits of the refugees, as a result of provisions made by African Refugees (AREF), United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Red Cross, and the Nigerian Government.

Other problems faced in the camp include inability to gain any pay admission fees in the face of National University Commission policy; unemployment, financial hardship, idleness, separation from family, unsanitary condition of toilets, poor condition of living and loneliness.

OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

From the foregoing discussion, this paper aims at finding out;

- 1. Socio-economic background of the refugees.
- 2. To examine level of effectiveness of provision made for the refugees by the UNHCR, AREF, NCR Red cross and the local communities.
- 3. To find out their coping and adjustment strategies in their present condition



4. To offer useful suggestions / recommendations to policy makers as to how to improve their conditions and indeed their lives.

A REVIEW ON SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF REFUGEES

Group of workers, educators, professionals have the same problems about the concept "Survival" .The word is borrowed by behavioral scientists from physiology where "Survival" implies, the ease and success with which an organism responds to the physical changes in the environment. Stein 1981; UNHCR, 1993; Sanjay, 2001 reported that acute flight at a time of crisis can cause severe problems of adaptation and survival because of the haste in which the move was made. In relation to refugees at Ijebu-Oru, pilot survey revealed that they were rushly moved from their original place of abode as a result of war. They experienced series of traumatic situation and stress, no wonder some deviate and find it difficult to adapt thereby resorting to criminal tendencies, but first and foremost, who are refugees? Chuke, 1990; Huyek and Bouvier, 1983; Killy, 1981; Newland, 1981; Afolayan A., 2003, Adekanye, 1995, 1998 all used UN and OAU definitions to conceive the concept refugees as people who have fled their countries to seek protection love and peace elsewhere usually for political persecution, sudden crisis such as war conditions, racial and ethnic reasons

In the past, refugees studies concentrated on both types of factors generating refugees and effective protection measures, wherein efforts were geared towards "ultimate reasons for refugeeism destruction of the environment, ethnic conflict, religious persecution, and economic or social oppression.(Toru .S., 2011). Moreover, scholars focused on the social, economic, medical, hygienic, and ecological risks that refugees confront.(Ohta and Gebra, 2005). However, the refugee problem exists not only at the places of origin and official asylum but also between these sites. Champassak(1995) stated the extent to which southeast Asian refugees who were resettled in Canada challenges many preconceptions about the extent to which refugees depend on the state, though there are cases where Internally Displaced People (IDP) and refugees in foreign countries survive by themselves without official approval - a case of Gabra Miigo pastoralists in South Ethiopia as recorded by Toru .S (2011) in his study survival strategies of pastoralists.

Fredrick G.M (2012) in his study opined that survival of refugees is usually ensured by the combined efforts of the government, churches, charitable organizations, local villagers, and in some cases the refugees own efforts. This was corroborated by Amos G(2012) who posited that when the capacity of assistance and philanthropy provided by organization and individuals to a group of people is being overstretched, one finds alternative means of survival. Such was the situation with the Congolese refugee in Fredrick G.M (2012) study as with time, resources dwindled and locals overstretched their capacity for philanthropy. The refugees had to intensify there own effort to sustain themselves so as to move from era of hand to mouth existence. It was further reported that many Mozambican and Congolese refugees practiced various forms of traditional medicine as traditional doctors, and these services were much in demand and it served as a means of livelihood for them.

Furthermore, study on Palestinian refugees reported the national struggle, beginning with the displacement of 750,00 Palestinians in 1948 and ending with the coveted right to return(Diana Allan 2015). Diana redirects her focus to the everyday survival strategies of Palestinian refugees, Her view on the material lives does not merely supplement ideological renditions of the Palestinian struggle, rather it serves as an explanatory variable that affects that struggle as a normative refusal to subsume



individual realities to nationalist discourse, and as a bridge between the assumed and actual desires of refugees

In a study carried out by Oyeneye and Edewor (1993) about the social life and problems of Liberian refugees at Oru-ljebu, the researchers asserted that refugees have been rehabilitated and that they are willing to stay in Nigeria, reason given included: the need to complete their education, the business prospects in Nigerian and so on. But recent study revealed that these refugees had fair adaptation before they were repatriated back to their countries. This meant that the strategies for their survival hinge on the entrepreneurship skills which they made use of during their time in Nigeria which influenced their decision to stay. Hence, this buttresses the fact that the government failed in its own aspect of ensuring the self wellbeing of this refugees.

REFUGEES, ENTERPRENERUSHIP, AND THE STRATEGIES OF SURVIVAL

It is becoming increasingly difficult for the government, (NCFR) and even the international organizations (UNHCR), Red Cross) to really meet up with needs of the displaced people (refugees). However for any society to meet up with the challenges of the displaced people with the attendants problems that faced them, the dislocated population should be equipped with training needs in the form of empowerment policy to better the lots of those that crossed the border with upsurge (UNHCR, 1997). It is believed that Economic empowerment is the new paradigm of human philosophy that transcends every day life, "it focuses on the abilities, capabilities as well as survival instinct needed to counteract the effect of the disparities in wider opportunities and choices critical to the total objective of human development (Adeyinka A 2004).

With the implementation of economic empowerment policy, the refugees should do well, and it will bring about a fundamental change in the quality of their life thus giving them an impetus to have rational decision and involving in self help project with the support from government and non-governmental organizations. However, for realization of self-sustained policy, the Nigeria commission for Refugees, International Red cross and UNHCR should as a "matter of urgency establish an entrepreneurial village within the camp so as to detach the minds of the displaced people from total dependence on gifts and aids from these bodies"(Adeyinka A: 2004).

In the words of (Adeyinka A: 2004), activities/projects to be embarked by the government should include the following: plantain and potato chips production, bakery business, if possible production of pure water and fruit juice drinks both in sachet and bottled, fish farming, snail farming, poultry including eggs, cassava farming to produce starch, pellet and chips even for export; fashion and design business, Adire production, hat making and beauty barbing salons. These outlays are marketable within the country, and if provided to the refugee, even if there is massive production, they can be exported abroad; and these will definitely transform the refugees from dependants to independent beings. These and many more were the opinions of (Adeyinka 2004)

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Adaptation Theory

This study employs **adaptation theory** to explain survival strategies of the displaced people. The basic principle of this theory lies on the fact that social system, as a whole, adapts to external environments (Haralambo .M. 1980). Here, "system" is referred to, as any set of social processes in which there is basic evidence to warrant the axiom of some degree of self-maintenance. With regards to this study the displaced people have been disconnected from their economy, polity, religious inclination and all the other forms of social life of their origin to the external environment (host community) due to depression, war, famine, persecution, and all other forms of traumatic experiences.



However, with these experiences and the proliferation of differentiated structures as put forward by Spencer, the process of adaptive mechanism and survival strategies becomes imperative to be used by the refugees to be fully integrated to the new social system. The refugees should imbibe the "culture of tension management "as submitted by Wilbert More (Haralambo .M. 1980) wherein the social system, like individual can "tolerate a good deal of tension"

STUDY AREA

This study was carried out in the refugee camp at Ijebu-Oru, a town located in Ijebu-North Local Government of Ogun State (Nigeria). "The town is situated between latitude 6° 48N and longitude 3° 50E bounded in the East by Ijebu-Igbo, in the West by Ago-Iwoye, and in the North by Awa (Adebayo, 1987; Odugbemi, 1987).

Ijebu Oru Refugee camp was formerly a Teacher Training College which was later converted to suit the purpose of setting the refugees, it is about one third of a kilometre from Oru town.

STUDY POPULATION

The total population of refugees at ijebu oru camp was estimated at about three thousand (3000) refugees

SAMPLE SIZE

From the study population of about 3000 refugees, 10% of the total population was selected in order to give a fair representation of the population. Hence, for the study sample size was three hundred refugees (300)

METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The study adopted a primary mode of data collection using the quantitative approach. Selection of sample was accidental and purposive, it utilizes questionnaire of about 300 which was administered but 210 were returned and usable. To the non literate, who are 18yrs and above efforts were made by the researcher to interpret the content of the research instrument to the said category and thereafter fill in the responses of such respondents. Data were analyzed and interpreted using the statistical package for the social and management sciences (SPSS).

RESULTS

An interpretative approach was chosen as a result of the need to elicit vital information on the refugee living conditions and their realities as seen in the camp. Though three hundred questionnaires (300) were distributed based on the halls at Orurefugee camp; two hundred and ten questionnaires were returned. Thus, the finding reflects the opinions of 210 respondents (refugees).

Table 1: Respondents' distribution according to their sex and age.

Age	Freq. Male %	Freq. Female %	Total %	
Below 20(but nature)	30	29	59	
21 - 30	53	44		97
31 - 40	23	14		37
41 - 50	5	4		9
51 - 60		3		3
61 & above		5		5
	111	99		210

The above table reveals that male respondents (refugees) constitute more than half of the sampled population while that of female is more than two-fifth of the sampled



population. It should be noted that, this is not in relation to prejudice towards male, but it is purely an accidental occurrence because the questionnaires were distributed on accidental basis.

It is also evidenced from the same table that most of the respondents (refugees) are young. It then implies that whether war, disaster, epidemics or the quest for greener pasture, the youth do migrate outside their origin (Adekanye, 1995). Within the age strata of males those who fall within 20 - 30 years are mostly found in the camp (above two-fifth of male population) also female of this age grade (20 - 30) form over two-fifth of the female sampled population. The implication of this trend is that it necessitates increase in the fertility rate within the camp. Other way round, respondents that fall within ages 51 - 60, 61 and above are not significant, this could mean that most aged are victims of war and other disaster.

Table 2: Respondents' Experience at war - time

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Experience	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Those who experience war	93	83.8	82	82.8	175	83.3
Those who did not experience	18	16.2	17	17.2	35	16.7
war						
Total	111	100%	99	100%	210	100

It is obvious that responses of both male and female who experienced war at different state of origin constitute over four fifth of the sampled population (over 83.8% and 82.8% respectively). What could be deduced from this trend is that almost all of them experienced this kind apparent senseless cruelty, destructiveness and traumatic situation (Oyeneye and Edewor (1995) drew inferences from Schulthesis, 1989. O'Connor,1991. Violence has featured prominently in their respective countries, and this has detrimental effects on the wave of adaptation of the refugees who station at Oruljebu in Ogun state (Nigeria).

Table 3: Responses to the question whether refugees are currently engaged in any kind work?

Responses	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Yes	33	29.7	30	30.3	63	30
No	78	70.3	69	69.7	147	70
Total	111	100%	99	100%	210	100%

From both male and female average score, it reveals that most refugees were not working, about four-fifth of the male respondents are idle. Probably this outcome necessitates poor adaptive mechanism (survival strategy) that is prevalent in the camp, since one of the basic ingredients of well-adjustment is the provision of job so as to achieving a better living condition and well-being. Though, evidences from interactive session show that the refugees spent their time on a number of activities ranging from academic, religious, domestic, agricultural, creative / artistic / musical, sports / games, manual and commercial. However, the urge to survive with the little supply from united Nations high commission of refugees, Red Cross, Nigerian commission for refugees lured women to involve in commercial sex, men take to crime acts while others roam the street begging for money, food, clothing, or even become alcoholics because of frustration.



Table 4: Distribution of Respondents' according to their length of stay in the camp.

Period of stay	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Seven years and above	38	34.2	36	36.4	74	35.2
Less than 6 years	8	7.2	7	7.1	15	7.1
Less than 5 years	16	14.4	13	13.1	29	13.8
Less than 4 years	15	13.5	10	10.1	25	11.9
Less than 3 years	6	5.4	12	12.1	18	8.6
Less than 2 years	11	9.9	7	7.1	18	8.6
Less than a year	17	15.3	14	14.1	31	14.8
Total	111	100%	99	100%	210	100%

Table 4 shows the length of stay in the camp. Ideally, those respondents (refugees) who have stayed long in the camp are supposed to be well adjusted to the life (to survive) in the camp than those who arrive late in the camp. Also the relationship that exists within the refugees is likely to develop mechanical solidarity because of their long stay in the camp; and this can give room for adjustment in the camp instead of mal-adjustment which is feasible in some quarters. But we cannot rule out the fact that the longer the refugee condition lasts, the oppressive it becomes, especially if they are not well integrated to the local structures.

Table 5: Responses to the question: Are they feeling very much attached to the social life in the camp?

Responses	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Yes	46	41.4	51	51.5	97	46.2
No	65	58.6	48	48.5	113	53.8
Total	111	100%	99	100%	210	100%

A significant percentage of the respondents did not feel attach to the unbearable life at camp. Actually before they were displaced, they were used to providing for themselves, but now in the camp, UNHCR, International Red Cross, the NCFR and other humanitarian Organizations are protecting and assisting these dislocated people to make life worthwhile. Thus if the new in-put was considered better by a refugee then it was a true measure of his satisfaction and attachment to life in the camp and, therefore, his ability to operate without excessive psychological stress. But if the new homes were considered worse, then, the respondents (refugees) had justification in feeling that they



were previously better off. However this trend calls for urgent attention so as to avoid exodus of refugees from the camp.

Other Findings

It is observed that the major food items supplied were rice, beans, yam, cassava flour (Gari) and palm oil. Also it is a known fact that some refugees had no alternative source of food. Even of those who have alternative source of food, more than half of them depended on the little farms they have, work as laborers in sawmills in the town, or sell provision to earn some little money (for instance Julia sells provision and braids hair). but on the study carried out by Hanne Christensen 1982, the author reported in a six week exploratory sociological field study the food situation of refugees in camps in Somalia that the food ration is fairly alright. Other commercial activities like motorbike, phone call business, hair making and textile designs also exist in the camp. Some other ways through which the refugees got money to meet their daily needs were allowances from UNHCR, little earned from teaching in the camp, assistance from relations in other countries and through photography.

It was also unveiled that the camp has become a semi-independent miniature town, thus there have been democratically elected camp officials among the various nationalities, furthermore, It is evident that at Oru camp the problems faced by many of women in the process of their displacement are often more than the hardship of terror they left behind in communities from where they were displaced. "They are forced to become head of households, war-widows and single parents (Jadesola Akande, 2005) At the level of children, they always act on their own initiative, they roam the street and they are also witness to the idleness prevailing among some males. The question is, what does the future holds for them if they are to grow up to make it over prevailing camp activities? like the experience of many Mozambican refugees in South African that managed to move on from initial short term survival strategies to achieve long term livelihood (Fredrick G M, 2010) Mozambican refugees in South Africa survival was ensured by the combined effort of the Gazankulu government, churches, charitable organization, local villages and in some cases, the refugees own effort, at Oru-liebu, (Nigeria) as resources dwindled and locals overstretched their capacity for philanthropy. the refugees had to intensify their effort to sustain themselves . this view is in line with Fredrick G M 2010 and Amos G C, 2012 submission.

CONCLUSION

Africa has been shown as having a long list of refugee flow and at the same time bear an enormous part of the burden despite the fragile economic structure in this continent. The countries of Africa have an admirable tradition of giving asylum and help to refugees with great objectivity and good hands of fellowship with a view to integrating, re-habilitating and ensuring full adaptive nature of refugees so that they could be useful for the receiving country in the long run. However, This African Countries need and deserve additional assistance from international community, governments and policy makers to maintain their traditional and impressive record of generosity thus empowering the displaced people with a view to contributing to refugees` surviving style, and self-reliant in the camp.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO POLICY MAKERS

In the month of June 2004, about 2,000 Africa refugees at Oru camp were finally repatriated to their homes, some of them were very happy to return, but to others they returned because their situation had become unbearable in their country of asylum; the



problem some of them experienced were so acute that they decided they would be better off back home, despite the insecurity that they would undoubtedly face, since relocation marks the start of a tough restoration process. However, if the social life in the camp is worthwhile the upsurge of forced repatriation would be avoided. Thus to make life in the camp bearable, the policy makers, international organizations, and non-governmental organizations should implement the following recommendations to better the lots of the displaced people.

That the group of marginal households should be identified and be given regular food distribution and several credible, professional humanitarian organizations that had already been established should have a well-developed delivery and monitoring system to ensure that cases where in donations are diverted for other uses could be averted.

To work out apprenticeship scheme through which those who lack the ability or necessary entry requirements to schools, could learn a particular trade of their choice, even assistance in form of financial aids should be given to those who have acquired skills but lack necessary financial positions to practice. Also self-help project should be encouraged to enable the refugees to be a little self sufficient and reliant. With all these developmental plans, most of problems faced in the camp would be reduced if not totally stopped. the application of three-step model is also imperative. The essence of this model is to enable Africans to think rationally who they are, and their place in the global village. It also allows them to view every conflict as an opportunity to discuss the scourge of war, conflict and living in a peaceful environment. Also asserted that influx of refugee would continue to rise unless international communities, government, policy makers and non-governmental organizations address the human right violations, gross social inequalities and social misdemeanor that forced people to flee (Ogota 1995:59, chuke 1990, Okechukwu Ibeanu etal 1990 and Nduka 2000:12.

Thus African states should isolate leaders whose policies and performance generate conflict situations and attendant refugee crisis. Such isolationist disposition should be modeled after the European Union's reaction to Austria for the extremist and racist policy of the far right partly led by Joerg Haidar.

If peace is to decisively replace war and suffering throughout the world (especially in Africa), it is going to require the shared responsibility of all Africans. "Conflicts will not be resolved unless all countries and their citizens take a collective responsibility for achieving peace" (Nduka 2000). To support the assertion that the salvation of Africa lies in the hand of Africans themselves, the policy maker should note that the governance and the leadership structure in Africa, needs to be radically transformed in such a way that the natural resources be positively converted in the service of the African people. "Economic dependence of Africa on foreign aid via international financial institutions, with the anti-welfarist, anti-subsidy, and stringent economic reform conditions super- imposed will continue to generate revolt, more wars huge refugee population and mass alienation.



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