



Volume 4 | Issue 1–2
Winter/Spring – 2017

VOLUME 4 - ISSUE 1–2



EDITORIAL BOARD

Tzong-Ho Bau, Bezen Balamir Coşkun, Boglárka Koller,
Igor Okunev, Robert Schrire, Farhan Hanif Siddiqi,
Ehud R. Toledano, Rafael Antônio Duarte Villa

AUTHORS OF THE CURRENT ISSUE

Veronika Annamária Tóth, Adrienn Prieger, Mike Omilusi

Series Editor | András Lőrincz

Executive Publisher | Csilla Morauszki

© Institute for Cultural Relations Policy

Kulturalis Kapcsolatokert Alapítvány
45 Gyöngyösi utca, Budapest 1031 – Hungary
<http://culturalrelations.org>

HU ISSN 2064 4051



Disclaimer: The views and opinions expressed in these articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the Institute for Cultural Relations Policy and the Editorial Board of Cultural Relations Quarterly Review. As an initiative of the ICRP, the content of this journal is written by researchers, academics, young professionals and student authors. Each issue covers in-depth analysis of international relations on a quarterly basis.

CONTENT

Veronika Annamária Tóth

Economic overview of the Russian Federation.....1–18

Adrienn Prieger

The idea of the Christian Europe and the accession of Turkey to the EU..... 19–28

Mike Omilusi

Beyond sloganeering and damage control mechanism: The vicious circle of ethical transformation and value re-orientation campaigns in Nigeria29–52

ECONOMIC OVERVIEW OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Veronika Annamária Tóth

I. Macroeconomic factors

1. *Gross Domestic Product (GDP)*

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the centrally-planned economy transformed into a market economy which had a disastrous effect on Russia. From 1990 to 1999 the nominal gross domestic product fell from USD 516 billion to USD 196 billion, which represented a descent of over 60%. The economy averaged 7% growth during 1998–2008 as oil prices rose rapidly. As a consequence of the global financial crisis of 2008–2009 the oil prices decreased and the foreign credit dried up, so the economy dropped 7.8% in 2009 (see annex). In the last five years Russia's economy first grew then increased, 4.5%, 4.3% and 3.4% in 2010, 2011 and 2012 while 1.3% in 2013 and 0.6% in 2014.¹ In 2015 the GDP decreased annually 3.8%.² The Russian Economic Development Ministry estimates that GDP growth would be limited to 1.5–2% per year during the next five years without major structural and institutional reforms.³

2. *GDP based on Purchasing-Power-Parity (PPP)*

Russia's GDP at purchasing power parity exchange rates is the sum value of all goods and services produced in Russia valued at prices prevailing in the United States. Russia's GDP based on PPP meant \$3.471 trillion in 2015, and it stands on the seventh place in country comparison to the world.⁴

¹ <http://www.focus-economics.com/blog/posts/russian-economy-three-part-series-1>

² <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/russia/gdp-growth-annual>

³ <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-35398423>

⁴ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

3. GDP per capita

The GDP per capita is gross domestic product divided by midyear population. Data are derived by first converting GDP in national currency to U.S. dollars and then dividing it by total population. Russia's GDP per capita in 2015 was at US\$ 8,447 which meant a -33.58 % decrease to the previous year.⁵

4. GDP based on PPP per capita

GDP based on PPP per capita is a gross domestic product converted to international dollars using purchasing power parity rates and divided by total population. In 2015 it decreased - 2.88% and it meant US\$ 23,744. Regarding the country comparison to the world, Russia was ranked on the 79th place.⁶

5. Inflation rate

The term inflation means the devaluation of money caused by a permanent increase of the price level for products such as consumer goods and investment goods. Generally inflation is calculated based on the Consumer Price Indexes (CPI), which represents the price development for private expenses and indicated the current level of inflation when increasing. Inflation rate in Russia was 12.9 % in 2015 and it ranked at 15 in the world by yearly inflation rate.^{7,8}

6. Public debt as percent of GDP

In Russia from 1999 until 2014 the Government Debt to GDP averaged 26.09 percent. The highest rate was 99 percent in 1999 while the lowest rate was in 2008. In 2014 Russia recorded Government Debt to GDP of 17.92 percent. It is important to notice, that generally Government

⁵ <http://knoema.com/atlas/Russian-Federation/GDP-per-capita>

⁶ <http://knoema.com/atlas/Russian-Federation/GDP-per-capita-PPP-based>

⁷ <https://www.focus-economics.com/country-indicator/russia/inflation>

⁸ <http://www.eeg.ru/pages/123>

debt as a percent of GDP is used by investors to measure a country's ability to make future payments on its debt, thus affecting the country borrowing costs and government bond yields.⁹

7. GDP sector composition

In the followings I will analyse where production takes place in Russia's economy. The distribution gives the percentage contribution of agriculture, industry, and services to total GDP, and will total 100 percent of GDP if the data are complete. The figures below are based on GDP and sector composition ratios provided by the CIA World Fact Book from 2015. Agriculture includes farming, fishing, and forestry. Industry includes mining, manufacturing, energy production, and construction. Services cover government activities, communications, transportation, finance, and all other private economic activities that do not produce material goods. Agriculture sector contributes 4.4% of economic production, while the industry sector holds a share of 35.8% of total GDP in Russia. The services sector is the largest sector of the world. 63.5 percent of total global wealth comes from services sector; while in Russia receive 59.7% of their GDP from the services sector.¹⁰

8. Budget deficit

Russia's federal budget revenues fell from 20.8 percent of GDP in 2014 to 19.2 percent in 2015, due to the fact that oil and gas revenues fell from 10.8 percent of GDP to 8.6 percent. The Reserve Fund is financing the majority part of the shortfall. Due to high borrowing costs, no external financing is planned.¹¹

A Government Budget is an itemized accounting of the payments received by government, such as taxes and other fees plus the payments made by government, purchases and transfer payments. Russia's budget deficit occurs when the government spends more money than it takes in. From 1994 until 2015, Government Budget in Russia was, on average at 1.43 percent. The highest was 9.88 percent in 2005, and the lowest was in 2009 with a -7.90 percent of the

⁹ <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/russia/government-debt-to-gdp>

¹⁰ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

¹¹ <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/pubdocs/publicdoc/2015/10/420351444144841873/Russia-Snapshot.pdf>

GDP. In 2015 Russia recorded a Government Budget deficit equal to 2.40 percent of the country's GDP.¹²

II. Macrosocial factors

1. Unemployment rate

Since the recession began the real wages dropped in Russia and meanwhile the inflation grew while labor demand receded. In the first half of 2015 real wages decreased on average by 8.5 percent in all sectors of the economy. As a consequence unemployment rate increased 5.6 percent in the first six months of 2015 compared to 5.3 percent in 2014. Urban unemployment increased from 4.4 percent to 5.0 percent, but in the same time rural unemployment decreased from 8.2 percent to 7.9 percent.¹³

2. Social expenditure

Social spending in the emerging economies in the late 2000s was lower than the OECD average, for this reason Russia allocated about 15-16%.¹⁴ The domestic and also the international conditions -such as the decline in oil prices or the devaluation of the ruble and the sanctions by the West – have an impact on the budget and on the social expenditure. The budget is dominated by defense spending, internal security, but also social expenditure. 30% of the spending goes on the social sector, which also includes subsidies for the Pension Fund.¹⁵

3. Human Development Index

The Human Development Index (HDI) is a composite statistic of life expectancy, education, and income per capita indicators. Russia's HDI value was 0.798 for 2014, which mean that it was in the category of the higher human development as it positioned Russia 50 out of 188

¹² <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/russia/government-budget>

¹³ <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/pubdocs/publicdoc/2015/10/420351444144841873/Russia-Snapshot.pdf>

¹⁴ <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/download/8113171ec020.pdf?expires=1460977828&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=EC424907703F114367EB8E4B994D96B1>

¹⁵ <http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2015-03-18/amendment-to-russian-budget-2015-attempt-to-maintain-status-quo>

countries. It is important to mention that from 1990 till 2014 the HDI value increased from 0.729 to 0.798. In total we can observe an increase of 9.4 percent on average it increased around 0.38 percent. The last 25 years the life expectancy at birth raised by 2.8 years, expected years of schooling increased by 2.5 years and the GNI per capita also increased by about 14.9 percent between 1990 and 2014.¹⁶

4. Social security contributions

In general the criteria for paying social security contribution in Russia are the employment, and the costs are contributed only by the employer and not the employees. Contributions to social security include pension fund, social security fund, and mandatory medical insurance funds and in Russia this rate is 34 percent. Yearly 463,000 Russian roubles are spent per employee.¹⁷

5. Health expenditure

Total health expenditure includes public and private health expenditures and it is measured as a ratio of the total population. The data are measured in US dollars and in 2013 US\$957 per person was spent on healthcare. In 2012 and in 2013, 6.5% of the GDP went on the expenditure of healthcare.¹⁸ About 48% comes of spending from government sources.¹⁹

6. Educational expenditure

The World Bank Group published a Country Program Snapshot in October 2015. The report says that 4.6 percent of the GDP was spent on education in Russia. On average OECD countries invest 6.1 percent in education. Even though Russia allocates less, it still achieves really good outcomes if we compare it to other OECD countries. The last couple of years, a number of reforms have been carried out regarding the education sector, with support from the World

¹⁶ http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr_theme/country-notes/RUS.pdf , p2.

¹⁷ <https://www.kpmg.com/Global/en/IssuesAndInsights/ArticlesPublications/Documents/thinking-beyond-border-s-2011/ies-tbb-2011-russia.pdf>

¹⁸ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS/countries>

¹⁹ Britnell, Mark (2015). In Search of the Perfect Health System. London: Palgrave. p. 81

Bank. The overall aim is to improve the quality of education by enhancing the efficiency of public spending on education.²⁰

7. Public spending as a percentage of GDP

Public spending refers to government expenditure on goods and services and it is a dominant element of the GDP. Government spending policies such as establishing budget targets, implementing taxation, increasing public expenditure and public works are powerful means to control and to have an impact on economic growth. In Russia from 2003 till 2015 the government spending averaged 1795.35 RUB Billion. In the third quarter of 2015, 1889.20 RUB Billion was allocated on government spending.²¹

III. Demographic factors

1. Age Distribution

The total population in Russia was estimated at 146.3 million people in 2015, tenth biggest country in terms of population. Russia's population pyramid illustrates the age and sex structure of the country's population. As the figure below shows it, the population is distributed along the horizontal axis, with males shown on the left and females on the right.²² In 2014 the female population was 53.6%.²³ After analyzing the population pyramid it is clearly seen that the aging population combined with the low birth rate cause serious problems for Russia in a long term.

- 0-14 years: 16.68% (male 12,204,992/female 11,556,764)
- 15-24 years: 10.15% (male 7,393,188/female 7,064,060)
- 25-54 years: 45.54% (male 31,779,688/female 33,086,346)
- 55-64 years: 14.01% (male 8,545,371/female 11,409,076)
- 65 years and over: 13.61% (male 5,978,578/female 13,405,710) (2015 est.)²⁴

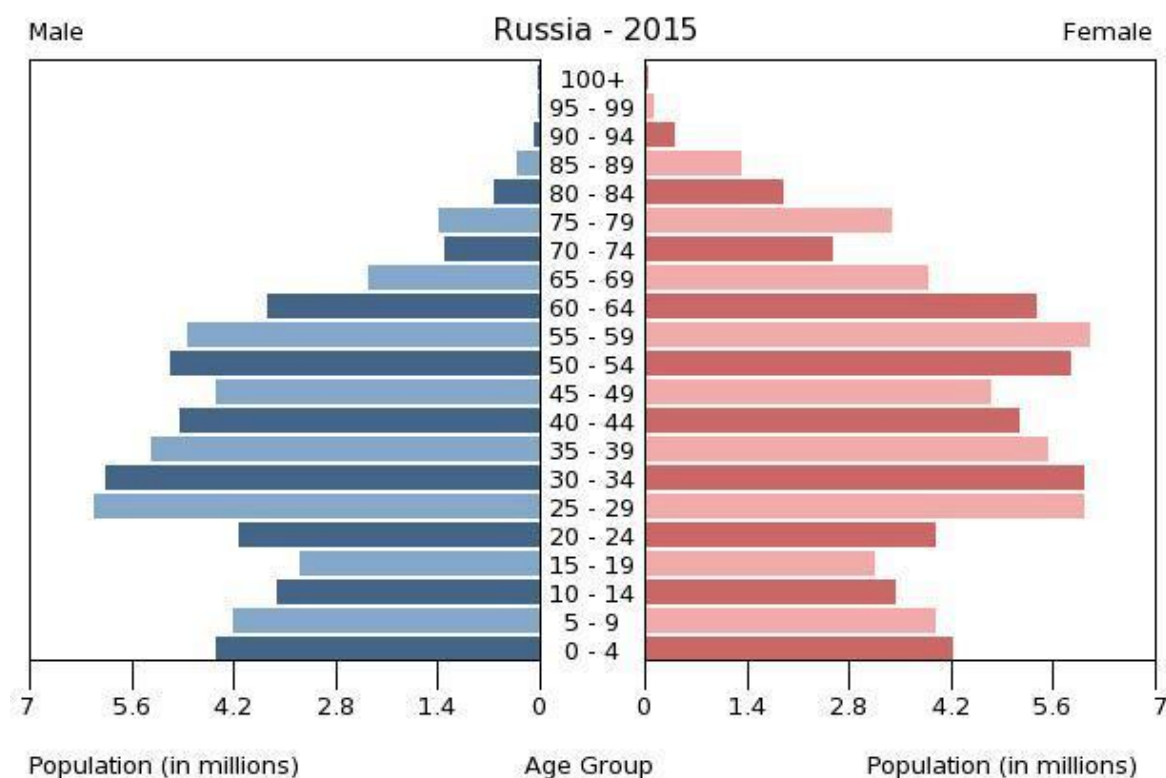
²⁰ Page9. <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/pubdocs/publicdoc/2015/10/420351444144841873/Russia-Snapshot.pdf>

²¹ <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/russia/government-spending>

²² <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

²³ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.ZS/countries/RU--XR?display=default>

²⁴ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>



2. Pensioners

Currently there are around 40 million pensioners in Russia and on average they receive 12,900 roubles (\$240) in state pension payouts. The retirement age for women is 55, while for men is 60.²⁵ On October 2015, the Russian government announced its decision to raise pensions by 4 percent.²⁶

3. Birth rate

In 2015 the birth rate was the following: 11.6 births/1,000 population. In the country comparison, Russia stands on the 169th place.²⁷

4. Death rate

²⁵ <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/business/article/balancing-russias-budget-could-cost-pensioners-46-billion/524383.html>

²⁶ <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/opinion/article/russia-chooses-bombers-over-pensioners/539998.html>

²⁷ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

The death rate in Russia was the following rate in 2015: 13.69 deaths/1,000 populations, and in country comparison to the world it stays at the 11th place.²⁸

5. Infant mortality rate

Based on the latest statistics, the infant mortality rate in Russia is the following: 6.97 deaths/1,000 live births.²⁹

6. Fertility rate

Regarding the data from 2015 the fertility rate is at 1.61 children born/ woman in Russia.³⁰ An article written by Ilan Berman published by Foreign Affairs in July 2015 outlines some improvements in Russia's recent demographic fortunes. While the fertility rate was at 1.3 children per women in 2006 in 2012 it grew till 1.7 children per women. Even though the number grew in a long term the demographic prospects are largely negative.³¹

IV. International Economy

1. Balance of trade

In Russia the balance of trade averaged 9142.64 USD Million since 1997 until 2016. The highest was in January of 2012 calculating 20356 USD Million and the lowest was in February of 1998 with -185 USD Million. Due to higher exports of commodities like crude oil and natural gas, Russia generally has trade surpluses. In the year of 2013, the highest trade surpluses were realized with Netherlands, Italy, Turkey and Poland. On the other hand the biggest trade deficits were registered with China, the United States and France. Currently Russia's main trade partners are: China, Germany, the Netherlands, Japan, South Korea, United States and Turkey.³²

²⁸ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

²⁹ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

³⁰ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

³¹ <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2015-07-08/moscows-baby-bust>

³² <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/russia/balance-of-trade>

Regarding the recent statistics from January of 2016, trade surplus narrowed to USD 7.9 billion, from a USD 15.4 billion surplus a year earlier. Since August 2010, the mentioned surplus has been the lowest one as exports decreased 34.4 percent, and at the same time imports fall to 21 percent. Exports to non-Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) decreased by 38 percent and the biggest drop were registered for fuels and energy products by 44 percent and metals by 34.3 percent. Imports from non-CIS countries decreased by 18 percent and the biggest decline was in machinery and equipment by 20 percent, while foodstuffs and raw materials by 16.3 percent.³³

2. Balance of payments

(millions of US dollars)

	Export of goods (FOB)			Export of services				Export of goods and services (3+7)	Compensation of employees receivable	Investment income and rent receivable	Of which investment income receivable by general government
	fuel-energy resource	other	export of goods, total (1+2)	transport services	travel	other	total (4+5+6)				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
2009	190,709	106,445	297,155	12,365	9,366	24,065	45,797	342,951	3,326	30,074	1,273
2010	254,010	138,665	392,674	14,872	8,830	25,457	49,159	441,833	3,619	34,444	1,008
2011	341,812	173,597	515,409	17,350	11,328	29,361	58,039	573,448	3,871	38,816	1,067
2012	346,807	180,627	527,434	19,161	10,759	32,421	62,340	589,774	3,884	43,874	1,140
2013	350,237	173,039	523,275	20,747	11,988	37,387	70,123	593,398	4,256	37,921	964
2014	325,003	172,760	497,763	20,542	11,759	33,443	65,744	563,507	4,139	42,394	974

In 2014 Russia's balance of payments significantly suffered due to falling oil prices. In the same time, the geopolitical instability and related sanctions in 2014 also influenced the capital outflows, which had a negative impact on Russia's BoP. The country's GDP decreased also due to the deterioration in domestic demand. Industrial production also contracted in Russia. Even though the services and manufacturing sectors increased, the economic conditions are still very unstable.³⁴

Based on the latest statistics, the surplus in the Current Account of the balance of payments grew by \$11.2 billion in 2015. Trade balance declined as a result of falling prices for energy products. The negative balances of other components diminished due to the decline in investment income and external trade in services. Net capital continued to outflow in the private sector. In opposition to the past years, net capital outflows were influenced by those linked to external debt repayment.³⁵

³³ <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/russia/balance-of-trade>

³⁴ Bank of Russia, Statistical Bulletin No. 12, 2015 <http://www.focus-economics.com/blog/posts/russian-economy-three-part-series-2>

³⁵ <http://www.forbes.com/sites/markadomanis/2015/03/25/russias-foreign-trade-is-collapsing/#4bba30651b7b>

3. Key export sectors

Russia's economy is hugely dependent on exports of commodities such as crude oil, petroleum products, and natural gas, which accounted 68 percent of total shipments. For example, in 2013, 50 percent of Russia's federal budget revenue attained from mineral extraction taxes and customs duties on oil and natural gas. Russia also exports also the followings: nickel, palladium, iron, chemicals, cars, military equipment and timber. Russia's main export partners are: Netherlands (15 percent), Italy (8.6 percent), Germany (8.1 percent) and China (7.8 percent).³⁶ Exports to Europe represent more than 60% of total sale while Asia has an export share around 30%. Russian exports to the United States, Africa and Latin America represent less than 5% of total shipments.³⁷ The figure below demonstrates how Russia's exports changed the last ten years. There was a sharp fall after the global financial crisis out broke in 2008. Since the Ukrainian crisis combined with the western sanctions the exportations also decreased.



³⁶ <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/russia/exports>

³⁷ <http://www.focus-economics.com/blog/posts/russian-economy-three-part-series-2>

4. Transnational corporations

Ranking of 10 top Russian multinationals, end of 2008

No.	Name	Main industries of specialization	Foreign assets, US\$ million	Foreign sales, US\$ million	Foreign employment, thousand
1	LUKOIL	Extraction of oil & gas / refined petroleum products and chemicals / petroleum products retail	23,577	87,677	23.0
2	Gazprom	Extraction of oil & gas / gas distribution / electricity production	21,408	79,412	~ 8.0 ^a
3	Severstal	Iron & steel / mining of metal ores and coals	~ 12,198 ^a	13,514	~ 14.0 ^a
4	Evraz	Iron & steel / mining of metal ores and coals	11,196	12,805	29.5
5	RENOVA	Conglomerate	~ 8,500 ^a	9,150	31.2
6	Basic Element	Conglomerate (non-ferrous metals dominate)	~ 6,200 ^a	n.a.	n.a.
7	Novolipetsk Steel (NLMK)	Iron & steel / mining of metal ores	4,985	7,138	5.9
8	Sovcomflot	Sea transport	~ 4,642 ^a	n.a.	~ 1.0 ^a
9	Norilsk Nickel	Non-ferrous metals / mining of metal ores	4,600	10,355	3.9
10	VimpelCom	Telecommunications	4,386	1,520	10.3

Less than one third of the 20 largest Russian transnational corporations (TNCs) started their cross-border expansion in the 1990s or during the Soviet period. By the end of 2000, the Russian outward foreign direct investment (FDI) stock accounted only \$20.1 billion and which meant 0.3% of the global outward FDI stock. In 2003 the real boom in Russian FDI occurred and its highest value was registered in 2007. After the global economic crisis of 2007-2008, market capitalization of companies worldwide fell, so did the Russians. As the figure demonstrates, the oil and metal companies are the largest Russian TNCs, which raises questions about the real scale of Russian human capital. The Russian telecommunication TNCs and middle technology-based Russian TNCs, including IT-companies such as Tecnoserv, Croc, LANIT and Playfon are also developing and going through internationalization. The world's largest economies are the main recipients of FDI from Russia, but Ukraine, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Serbia and Montenegro are also preferred countries by Russian TNCs.³⁸

Russian state-owned energy companies invest in international projects as well. The aim of the Atomstroyexport's investment in Germany is to expand access to markets and new technologies. In less developed countries, such as Zarubezhneft's acquisitions in Bosnia- Herzegovina, the

³⁸ https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/42702/1/MPRA_paper_42702.pdf

advantage for Russia is that the labor is relatively cheap and there is a lack of other foreign investors. The gas giant Gazprom and its South Stream investment package in Hungary shaped the structure of Hungary's natural gas market.³⁹

5. Specialization

Russia is one of the world's leading producers of oil and natural gas, and is also a top exporter of metals such as steel and primary aluminium. On the contrary, the Russia's manufacturing sector is usually uncompetitive on world markets and is focused toward domestic consumption. Due to the lack of diversification, it is harder to develop the Russian economy.

Russia has a leading global position in space technology. The budget of Russia's new Federal Space Program until 2025 will count to 1.406 trillion roubles, which is around \$20.5 billion. In 2015, 17 Russian unmanned spacecraft was sent into the orbit, which developed the sensing systems and communication satellites. In 2014, Roscosmos announced that Russia had carried out a total of 38 successful space launches during the year.⁴⁰

Russia is in a process of modernizing its military. The countries plan is to upgrade a high percentage of its weaponry and equipment such as aircraft, helicopters, ships, tanks and artillery pieces. The modernisation will be realized due to taxpayers, who will contribute by an estimated 19 trillion roubles, or \$283 billion. After the United States and China, Russia is on the third place in global defence expenditures. In 2014 4.5 percent of Russian GDP accounted for the military.⁴¹

6. Foreign Direct Investment ranking

In the year 2013, more than 90% of the foreign direct investment (FDI) came from the following six countries: United Kingdom (26.8 percent), Luxembourg (16.5 percent), Ireland (14.8 percent), British Virgin Island (13.3 percent), Cyprus (11.8 percent) and the Netherlands (8.14 percent).⁴² In 2013 the value of FDI was at \$5.7 billion, but in 2014 it fell down to \$1.23 billion.

³⁹ http://unctad.org/en/PublicationChapters/diaeia2015d1a2_en.pdf

⁴⁰ www.spacedaily.com/reports/Russian_Space_Program_Until_2025_to_Cost_Some_20_5_Billion_999.html

⁴¹ <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2015-08-25/russias-conscription-conundrum>

⁴² <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/russia/foreign-direct-investment>

In 2015 the Netherlands as an important trading partner for Russia took out \$526 million. Germany is the second biggest European partner for Russia and in 2012 it invested \$2.2 billion, while in 2014 the country put just put just \$335 million to work. Currently, 90% of the FDI in Russia comes from Asia.⁴³

7. GDP ranking

On the GDP world ranking US, China and Japan are occupying the first three places while Russia stands at the 13th place with 1.236 billion USD.⁴⁴ The Russian Ministry of Economic Development is predicting a modest growth of 0.7% for 2016 but the Central Bank of Russia is more pessimistic as it foresees a decline of 0.5 to 1.0% for the full year. Russia strongly depends from the world commodity prices, for this reason the CBR forecasts that if oil prices decline below \$40 per barrel in 2016, in consequence the GDP could fall by 5% or even more.⁴⁵

8. International institutions

Russia has taken on an important regional and global role through its memberships in different organizations and institution in order to shape its own interests and to address the major challenges of the 21st century. Russia succeeded the Soviet Union's seat in the United Nations. It has permanent membership in the Security Council, which means that Russia has a veto power.

After the Ukrainian crisis Russia's membership in the G8 was suspended. Russia has close strategic ties with China and also with the Southeast Asian countries. It maintains a Dialogue Partnership with ASEAN countries, and they held regular meetings. Russia is a member of the Council of Europe, which is a regional intergovernmental organization whose stated goal is to promote human rights, democracy, and the rule of law in its 47 member states. Russia is also chairing at the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) which is the world's largest security-oriented intergovernmental organization.⁴⁶ Russia is a member of the

⁴³ <http://www.forbes.com/sites/kenrapoza/2015/11/15/russia-getting-more-money-from-asia-as-sanctions-scare-europeans/#1e327e337915>

⁴⁴ <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/projected-world-gdp-ranking.php>

⁴⁵ <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-35398423>

⁴⁶ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the Group of 20 (G20), and BRICS. Russia's aim is to increase its regional role in Eurasian Economic Union which is a multilateral organization focused on Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) countries.⁴⁷

Summary of economic indicators

1. Macroeconomic factors

GDP	- 3.8%	2015, #13
GDP based on PPP	\$3.471	2015, #7
GDP per Capita	-33.58%	2015
GDP based on PPP per Capita	-2.88%, US\$ 23,744	2015, #15
Public Debt as Percent of GDP	17.92%	2014
GDP Sector Composition	Agriculture: 4.4% Industry: 35.8% Services: 59.7 %	2015
Budget Deficit as of GDP	2.40%	2015

2. Macrosocial factors

Unemployment Rate	5.6%	2015
Social Expenditure	30%	2015
HDI	0.798 for 2014	2014, #50
Social Security Contributions	463,000 RUB/employee	2015
Health Expenditure	6.5% of the GDP	2013
Educational Expenditure	4.6%	2015
Public Spending as a % of GDP	1889.20 RUB Billion	2015

3. Demographic factors

Age Distribution	see Russia's population pyramid	2015
Pensioners	40 million (est.)	2015
Birth Rate	11.6 births/1,000 population	2015, #169
Death Rate	13.69 deaths/1,000 populations	2015, #11
Infant Mortality Rate	6.97 deaths/1,000 live births	2015, #159
Fertility Rate	1.61 children born/woman	2015

⁴⁷ <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/pubdocs/publicdoc/2015/10/420351444144841873/Russia-Snapshot.pdf>

4. *International economy*

Balance of Trade	146 USD Billion	2015
Balance of Payments	grew by \$11.2 billion	2015
Key Export Sectors	oil, petroleum products, natural gas (68%)	
Transnational Corporations	Lukoil, Gazprom, Severstal and IT companies	
Specialization	oil, natural gas, metals, space technology, military	
FDI	\$5.7 billion	2013
GDP Ranking	1.236 billion USD	2015
International Institutions	UNSC, Council of Europe OSCE, APEC, BRICS, Eurasian Economic Union	

Strengths	Weaknesses
Biggest country	Western sanctions
#9st largest country regarding the population	Aging population
Oil, gas and other natural resources	Low oil prices, dependency on exportation
Space and military technology	Lack of diversification
High labour force participation	Low business activity in the manufacturing sector
Stable unemployment	Low productivity: worker contributes \$25.90 to Russia's GDP
Activity in services grows	GDP decreased 3.8% in 2015, #13

Concluding remarks

For the first time since 2009 Russia is in recession. Russia's economy decreased considerably in 2015, in a result of low oil prices below \$45 a barrel, international sanctions, a sharp depreciation of the ruble and structural weakness (see annex). For this reason national and international investment, domestic consumption and imports reduced. GDP decreased 3.8% last year as it was dragged down by a steep deterioration in domestic demand. Sanctions imposed by the West after Russia annexed Ukraine's Crimea region in 2014 have also have a negative impact on Russia's economy.

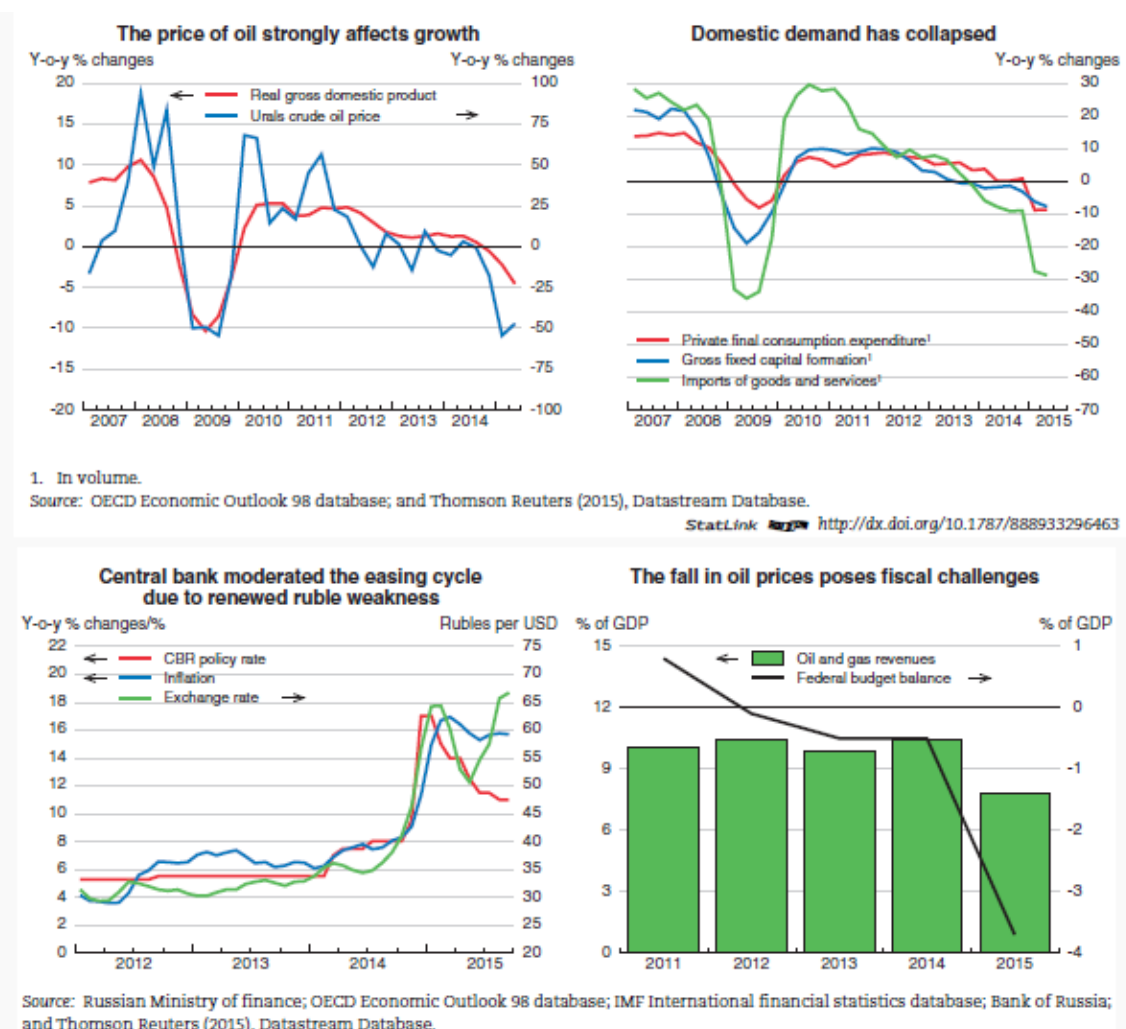
The Russian state-controlled media blames the crisis, principally, on low oil prices and on western sanctions. On the other hand Russia failed to prepare for the possibility of low oil prices and did little to diversify its economy and reduce its dependence on energy exports. Unemployment in Russia is at 5.8%, meaning that 4.4 million people are out of work.⁴⁸ It is

⁴⁸ <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-35398423>

important to mention that an average Russian worker contributes \$25.90 to Russia's GDP, while a Greek worker adds \$36.20, and a U.S. worker adds \$67.40 a per hour of work.⁴⁹

Despite the numerous negative indicators mention in this paper, the Russian economy enjoys a number of strong strengths. Russia is the largest nation in the world in terms of landmass with oil, gas and other natural resources. The country has a leading role in space technology. Russia has a low debt, and profit from high labor force participation. Russia is the 6th largest economy in the world in GDP based on purchasing power parity and has the 9th largest population. Unemployment is still high but continues to be stable. Even though business activity in the manufacturing sector remains low, but activity in services providers did continue to expand.

Annex



⁴⁹ <http://time.com/3998248/these-5-facts-explain-russias-economic-decline>

Bibliography

Articles

- BBC [online] Available at: <<http://www.bbc.com/news/business-35398423>>
- Forbes [online] Available at: <<http://www.forbes.com/sites/kenrapoza/2015/11/15/russia-getting-more-money-from-asia-as-sanctions-scare-europeans/#1e327e337915>>
- Forbes [online] Available at: <<http://www.forbes.com/sites/markadomanis/2015/03/25/russias-foreign-trade-is-collapsing/#4bba30651b7b>>
- Foreign Affairs [online] Available at: <<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russian-federation/2015-07-08/moscows-baby-busthttps://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2015-08-25/russias-conscription-conundrum>>
- OSW [online] Available at: <<http://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/analyses/2015-03-18/amendment-to-russian-budget-2015-attempt-to-maintain-status-quo&>>
- Space Daily [online] Available at: <http://www.spacedaily.com/reports/Russian_Space_Program_Until_2025_to_Cost_Some_20_5_Billion_999.html>
- The Moscow Times [online] Available at: <<http://www.themoscowtimes.com/business/article/balancing-russias-budget-could-cost-pensioners-46-billion/524383.html>>
- The Moscow Times, [online] Available at: <<http://www.themoscowtimes.com/opinion/article/russia-chooses-bombers-over-pensioners/539998.html>>

Data and Statistics Information

- CIA [online] Available at: <<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>>
- Economic Expert Group [online] Available at: <<http://www.eeg.ru/pages/123>>
- Focus economics [online] Available at: <<http://www.focus-economics.com/blog/posts/russian-economy-three-part-series-1>>
- Knoema [online] Available at: <<http://knoema.com/atlas/Russian-Federation>>
- OECD [online] Available at: <<http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/download/8113171ec020.pdf?expires=1460977828&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=EC424907703F114367EB8E4B994D96B1>>
- Statistic Times [online] Available at: <<http://statisticstimes.com/economy/projected-world-gdp-ranking.php>>
- Trading economics [online] Available at: <<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/russia>>
- World Bank [online] Available at: <<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.TOTL.ZS/countries>>

Publications

- Bank of Russia, Statistical Bulletin No. 12, 2015 [online] Available at: <<http://www.focus-economics.com/blog/posts/russian-economy-three-part-series-2>>
- Human Development Report 2015 [pdf] Available at: <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/all/themes/hdr_theme/country-notes/RUS.pdf>
- KPGM, [pdf] Available at: <<https://www.kpmg.com/Global/en/IssuesAndInsights/ArticlesPublications/Documents/thinking-beyond-borders-2011/ies-tbb-2011-russia.pdf>>
- UNCTAD [pdf] Available at: <http://unctad.org/en/PublicationChapters/diaeia2015d1a2_en.pdf>

Institute of World Economy and International Relations [pdf] Available at:
<https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/42702/1/MPRA_paper_42702.pdf>
World Bank [pdf] Available at: <<http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/publicdoc/2015/10/420351444144841873/Russia-Snapshot.pdf>>

* * *

© ICRP 2017
<http://culturalrelations.org>
institute@culturalrelations.org

Tóth, V.A., 2017. Economic overview of the Russian Federation. *Cultural Relations Quarterly Review*, Vol. 4. Issue 1–2. (Winter/Spring 2017) pp.1–18.

For more information concerning the article and citation please contact us via email at institute@culturalrelations.org

THE IDEA OF THE CHRISTIAN EUROPE AND THE ACCESSION OF TURKEY TO THE EU

dr. Adrienn Prieger

assistant professor (KRE ÁJK)

Introduction

Joining the European Union has been a longstanding ambition of Turkey. Membership talks were launched in 2005, but progress has been slow, as several EU states have serious doubts about Turkish EU membership. Turkey submitted its membership application to the Communities on 14 April 1987. (Kertész Váradi, 2015, p.70) The Luxembourg European Council of 12 and 13 December 1997 confirmed Turkey's right of accession to the European Union and that it will be 'judged on the same criteria as other applicant States'. The Presidency Declaration of the European Council in Brussels on 16 and 17 December 2004 concluded that 'Turkey sufficiently fulfils Copenhagen political criteria to open accession negotiations' with a pre-condition, 'provided that Turkey brings into force the specific six pieces of legislation'; and appointed 3 October 2005 as the date of the opening of accession negotiations. (Söylemezoğlu, 2014, p.71) However, accession negotiations are currently under way, only fifteen of the thirty-five accession chapters have been opened, and so far only a single chapter has been provisionally closed.

As the cause of the delay in the accession process, many indicate also nowadays that a Christian-rooted Europe is incompatible with a Muslim-majority Turkey from a religious point of view. But this is not simply an expression of the concerns of European fundamentalist Christians; this is well illustrated by the fact that the former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a person pursuing progressivist liberal principles, the President of the European Convention on the Constitutional Treaty, said that Turkey's accession could mean the 'end of the EU'. (Emerson, 2014, p.5; Tungul, 2013, p.16; Arnold, 2007, p.102)

Undoubtedly, although in Turkey the Constitution does not include the 'Islamic state' self-definition as opposed to a number of other countries with Muslim backgrounds, and even the Preamble of the Turkish Constitution establishes the principle of secularism as a fundamental

principle, but it cannot be ignored that in a country of Islamic culture, and in the life of the overwhelming majority of Turks, the Qur'an plays an important or straightforwardly central role. I also believe that the biggest problems with Turkey's accession to the European Union are largely due to religious and cultural differences and the most difficult task to find bridging solution for these differences. Nevertheless, I do not think that this difference could exclude as a preliminary objection Turkey's EU accession or a closer partnership agreement between Turkey and the EU. In this paper, I wish to analyse that question, under Turkish and Western thinkers, to what extent is the Christian-like cultural determination a definitive element of the concept of Europeanism, and, in light of this, whether Turkey could be ever able to fulfil the criterion of 'Europeanism' as a condition of becoming a full member. Will Turkey be a member of the EU or rather stays out to go on its own way? These questions are highlighted in the paper.

Disputes concerning the definition of European identity

Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union states that '[a]ny European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2 and is committed to promoting them may apply to become a member of the Union'. This provision is key to understanding why Turkey's accession process endures for so long, since the interpretation of the 'European' attributive would appear to be necessary for the assessment of an accession request.

The establishment of the definition of European identity has a major influence on the future development of the relationship between Turkey and the EU, so it is very important to examine the concept of 'European' identity, the content of which is also a controversial subject nowadays. The clear definition of the concept of 'European' identity has not been established so far, likely as it is a major decision that can define the framework of the integration, its direction and the scope of future candidates. In my opinion, the EU's greatest successes have been the result of the enlargement process, and therefore establishment such a concept involves a great responsibility, especially in respect of Turkey.

According to many people's view, the so-called Europe does not really exist, because it has no natural geographical boundaries, does not have a unified cultural and historical heritage, so it can only be interpreted as a political concept. The definition of Europe in the political sense cannot be said to be uniform either. (Prieger, 2016, p.5)

However, the essence of European identity has been formulated by the Foreign Ministers of the EEC already in 1973 in the Copenhagen Declaration. (European Communities, 1973) This Declaration established three pillars, namely:

- (1) the common heritage and common interests involving also Christianity and civic traditions formulated for the interpretation of European identity,
- (2) the commitment to integration, which has been consistently pursued by the EEC, by the EC and then by the European Union until the accession negotiations with Turkey became substantive;
- (3) Responsibility for joint action in relation with third world countries. (Merkovity, 2009, p.47)

However, in examining European identity, we can examine many aspects. According to Balbisi Louai, if Europe is defined not by political, ideological and economic ‘systems’, the affiliation to particular cultural circles would have a special significance. Europe is basically divided into three cultural circles: the Latin West, the orthodox East, and the third Islamic one. During the developmental stages of Latin Europe, we can designate the rule of law, constitutionality, individualism and human rights as the main shaping factors, which will also be important to us in relation to the problems of Turkish accession. In Latin Europe, separation of state and church can be observed, whereas in the East this kind of power distribution is completely unknown. According to a certain interpretation, the Islamic culture may be part of Europe by linking Europe with Asia, but democracy cannot be developed here in such a manner like in the West as the Islam is incompatible with emphasizing individualism. (Balbisi, 2001) Turkey constitutes a bridge between Europe and Asia, and therefore has a particular importance.

According to Zsolt Rostoványi, to answer the question of whether Turkey can be considered part of Europe, it should also be borne in mind that the presence of European Muslims can be traced back to centuries. The collision between the Islamic world and the West is generally bound by scholars to 1798 when Napoleon's expedition troops defeated the Mamelukes and conquered Egypt, but nevertheless the Islam was present in Europe since its origin, and it had a very serious impact on European civilization, on the West, too. According to Rostoványi, the conflictual relationship that has evolved over the past decades resulted the misconception that the Islam as a ‘foreign body’ is present in a ‘Christian’-rooted Europe. (Rostoványi, 2008, p.127)

An Association Agreement with Turkey was concluded on 12 September 1963 (the so-called Ankara Agreement), notwithstanding only 3% of the territory of the Turkish State lies on the European continent, while the remainder is entirely in Asia, which apparently did not constitute an obstacle to the conclusion of the Association Agreement with a prospect of later membership, and it was considered that Turkey fulfills the geographic criterion of Europeanism by this 3% of its territory. (Kertészné Váradi, 2014, p.71) It is interesting that, at the conclusion of the Association Agreement, the geographical criterion of Europeanism has not been discussed in relation to Turkey, but nowadays many people are questioning, even from a geographic point of view, that the country belongs to Europe. Turkey applied for membership of the Communities firstly on 14 April 1987. (Kertészné Váradi, 2014, p.70) This request was rejected, but at the Helsinki Summit in 1999 it was acknowledged that Turkey had been nominated for membership. (Kertészné Váradi, 2014, p.162)

William Penn, a British politician raised the notion in his essay published 1696 that, in order to achieving the European peace it would be necessary to create a joint European Parliament instead of fragmented European states. His world-famous draft of the present and future of the European peace emphasized the responsibility of leading great powers in the creation of European unity. Penn would have divided Europe into German, French and English spheres of influence, and emphasized the importance of integrating them. He believes that the integration of Russia and Turkey should be the second stage of enlargement in order to creating European unity and long-term peace. (Varga, 2010, p.664) There is no doubt that Penn considered these two countries to be European countries. However, it also should be noted that Turkey had included the whole Balkan region at that time.

The European Communities, and then the European Union, have not yet defined precisely the concept of ‘European’ identity, and this is not yet on the agenda. According to Szilvia Váradi Kertész, with which I also agree, it has not been and will not be done because the Union does not want to lose its reform-generating capacity and incentive power, which is the most important function of the enlargement process, by definitive establishment of its final border. At present, the issue of the future is whether integration will be extended to the Asian continent as the Council of Europe, or the European Union will consistently refuse all demands that come from there. At the same time, it is also worth considering that specialty of the enlargement process, that there is no guarantee for the ultimate membership at any stage of the process, and the process is not subjected to time constraints, and membership may fail even when the Treaty of Accession is signed or by a protracted ratification process. (Kertészné Váradi, 2014, p.73)

The practical importance of the 'Europeanism' criterion is that it is still debated whether countries with different cultural and historical traditions could form a real community of law, since a legal system involves not only rules but also principles defining the interpretation and application of legal rules. This issue has been raised in all previous enlargements, but more clearly in case of Turkish accession to the EU. By strengthening of a political movement in Turkey, which puts more emphasis on Islamic tradition, the difference between the EU and Turkey has increased from an ideological point of view, which raises the question of whether it might be established a community of law extending also to the legal principles within the foreseeable future.

Turkish viewpoints

Orhan Arslan analyses the role of Christianity in the concept of 'Europeanism' in his article. He accepts as a standpoint that 'Christian Democrats have been untiring advocates of European integration. Recent developments in Europe have highlighted the increasing influence of CD in political debate. Within EU institutions, it is clear that Christian Democratic groups are a major force behind integrationist drives such as the push for monetary and political union. Therefore the origin of key EU concepts and principles can easily be traced back to Catholic Social Teaching. Christian Democrat parties are still key players in the European political system of today, and are playing major roles in their country's government.' (Arslan, 2011, p.306)

According to Arslan 'Christian Democratic doctrine is broad and complex, [...] but it does contain consistent core elements. The most important is that of democracy itself. Christian Democrats reject dictatorship and totalitarianism and accept the idea of universal suffrage and elections at all levels of governments. Democracy is seen not merely as a convenient procedure but as a value in its own right. They also believe that political action should be informed by Christian principles and doctrine. Christian democrats recognize both a concern, derived from Christian doctrine with the conditions of working class and a political need to appeal to them in an era of mass democracy. [...] According to the Theory, representatives of the 'natural social groups' must exist in a liberal democracy as well as traditional parliamentarians. In practice this will ensure bicameralism and the devolution of powers to regional governments. In the countryside, Christian democrats traditionally support land reform, the break-up of large estates and the creation of a class of peasant proprietors. CD rejects both the unbridled individualism of liberalism and the statist collectivism of socialism. Instead, it favours a strong civil society

composed of voluntary associations in which the individual can find true expression. [...] They invoke the principle of subsidiarity, according to which matters should only be regulated in a larger body if they cannot be resolved in a smaller one. [...] Christian Democrats have always accepted the market economy but have seen it more as a means to an end rather than a rigid point of doctrine. Where appropriate, they have supported state planning and the nationalization of industry in the interest of efficiency and social justice. Development and aid policies are other important characteristic forms of the Christian Democratic philosophy. [...] Religious issues rarely intrude directly into modern European politics but where they do, Christian Democrats generally take a pro-Church stance. They favour religious education in schools and public support for churches. They oppose divorce and abortion.’ (Arslan, 2011, p.308)

Arslan emphasizes that ‘Christian Democratic transnationalism helped to bring about and to consolidate the ‘core Europe’ concept, with its economic content combined with the long-term goal of meaningful political integration. [...] Besides Christian Democratic transnationalism has made an important contribution to the politics of European integration, in a wider sense than the exclusive concentration on inter-governmental relations [...]’ (Arslan, 2011, p.310) however ‘the association of Christian Democracy with the European idea needs qualifying for two reasons. The first is that CD had no monopoly in its advocacy. The second is that, initially at least, Christian Democracy itself was not unanimous on the European question’. (Arslan, 2011, p.310)

Arslan notes in his article that ‘For Christian Democrats, their conception of human beings and a society is the decisive motivation: a conception of persons concerned with the question of their destiny and the meaning of their existence, and a conception of society as a more humane and humanitarian community. [...] The human person is the basis, the subject and the purpose of the social order. [...] Society has the task of promoting the good of all’. (Arslan, 2011, p.312) ‘The philosophy of person also enriches the doctrine of human rights which is all too frequently understood as simply respect for bodily and moral integrity. The Christian Democratic doctrine brings in a new dimension when it commits itself to a development of human capacities through the establishment of economic and social rights’. (Arslan, 2011, p.312–313)

Noting that founding fathers of the European Community, namely Schuman, Adenauer, De Gasperi, were all Catholics and Christian Democrats, Arslan considers: ‘why Christian Democrats had been committed supporters of European integration [...] the over-riding motive had been political, namely anticommunism. [...] The Christian Democrats were determined to

build a liberal-democratic Europe in the void left by fascism and exposed to communism. [...] Although Christian Democrats would probably deny it, [...] they [...] had been motivated over the years more by fear of the Soviet Union and of Germany [...] than by ideals about the brotherhood of man or the values of liberal democracy'. (Arslan, 2011, p.315)

Arslan regards the theory of subsidiarity having a paramount importance in relation between the integration and Christian Democrats. 'The Catholic concept of subsidiarity received its classic formulation by Pope Pius XI in his 1931 encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*. [...] Subsidiarity is central to the debate on the future of the EU. It is widely seen as providing the theory for a new federalism – one which will allow the Community to 'widen' and 'deepen' without creating a 'superstate' progressively undermining national or local autonomy.' (Arslan, 2011, p.316)

Summarizing its findings related to Christian democrats, Arslan admits that 'Christian Democracy is both a theory and a movement that is a product of Christianity and also of a process of history reaching far back through the centuries. [...] Christian Democrats remain conscious of their religious origins first and foremost; they are in politics to express a Christian vision of humankind and its destiny. It is quite obvious that, CD has been playing a leading, if not always successful, role in political life on the European continent since WW II. [...] Christian Democratic Theory is therefore underpins the principles of European integration.' (Arslan, 2011, p.318)

However, he considers that '[a]s expansion of the EU continues, there is need for these principles to be expressed in less ideological ways. They should reflect a wider cultural and religious base to encompass those of other backgrounds and faiths already living within the EU as well as to enable expansion beyond existing boundaries. This should not pose a problem as the core values of CD go beyond not only Roman Catholicism but Christianity itself. These values are universal and all-embracing and the EU should ensure that it retains them. Although the main Christian values align with Islamic teaching, the ruling authorities of the EU should not insist on the term Christian values for example, which would come across as exclusive'. (Arslan, 2011, p.318)

According to Arslan's final conclusion, '[t]he CD movement advances towards the twenty-first century surrounded by challenges and questions. It has long been used to such pressure, although there is some doubt about its ability to cope with it. [...] CD will remain a major actor on the European stage for the foreseeable future. [...] the Europeans must make a distinction

between being a European and being a Christian, if they really want to make integration possible for all Europeans, whatever their religious beliefs might be, since the EU is not a local project but a supranational and multi-cultural one. Otherwise this will be a strict handicap for future of the EU.’ (Arslan, 2011, p.319)

It is clear that Arslan, while recognizing the Christian-democratic and even Christian origin of the principles of European integration, does not want to accept that Christianity belongs to the concept of 'Europeanism' in order to enable the Muslim population and countries to integrate. For this end, he basically gives two reasons: ‘these values are universal and all-embracing,’ and ‘the main Christian values align with Islamic teaching’. (Arslan, 2011, p.318) In any case, this shows that the Christian nature of core Europe is not seen as an obstacle to Turkey's EU accession.

Conclusion

In my opinion the case of Turkey is the most sensitive and complex issue in the EU-accession. The possible outcome of the Turkish accession process is still manifold, even though Turkey clearly wants full membership.

These include a solution in which Turkey participate in a financial co-operation in the context of enhanced cooperation, ensuring participation in certain ministerial meetings and, to a limited extent, it would also benefit from EU funds but would not become a full member of the European Union. Another option is that, in return for full membership, the Turks would have to abandon the free movement of labour for approximately 20 years. (Prieger, 2015, pp.347–371)

Beyond the political considerations, the religious-cultural determinants of societies should not be underestimated. In fact, European culture cannot be interpreted without Christianity; Europe's Christian roots, besides Roman law, Greek philosophy and the effects of Reformation and Enlightenment, appear to be an indisputable and decisive feature, and the philosophical thinking and views of Christianity still have a significant influence on European culture and identity as well as politics and law, despite the great secularization and the loss of religious conviction in the continent.

The Islamic Sharia has a similar role as a background in the Muslim-rooted Turkey, despite Atatürk secularism, and the Turkish and Byzantine roots that still exist in Turkish law and culture. It is not disputed that the teachings of Christianity and Islam are incompatible with each other not only in dogmatic or theological (especially Christological) terms, but also in many moral-ethical and anthropological issues. Therefore, in the relationship between a Christian-rooted Europe and the Muslim Turkey, the biggest, or at least the most difficult, challenges are the religious and cultural differences.

My personal opinion is that the different cultural and religious background cannot in itself exclude that Turkey, if it could not join as a full member, will establish at least a close, special partnership with the European Union.

*

References

- Arnold, H., 2007. Political Arguments against Turkey's Accession to the European Union, *Internazionale Politik und Gesellschaft*, 3/2007
- Arslan, O., 2011. Influence of the Christianity on the Development of the European Union. *Law & Justice Review*, 1(2)
- Balbisi, L., 2001. *A mediterrán országok gazdasági kitörési kísérletei az Európai Unió kibővülésének tükrében* [pdf] Available at: <www.phd.lib.uni-corvinus.hu/48/1/balbisi_1.pdf> [Accessed on 5 May 2015]
- Emerson, M., 2014. Has Turkey fulfilled the Copenhagen political criteria? *CEPS Policy Brief*, No. 48. Brussels: Centre for European Political Studies.
- European Communities, 1973. Declaration on European Identity, *Bulletin of the European Communities*, 13(12)
- Kertész Váradi, S., 2014. *Az Európai Unió bővítésének jogi aspektusai*, Budapest: Wolters Kluwer Kft.
- Merkovity, N., 2009. Európai identitás. A netpolgárok válasza egy nem létező fogalomra. In Szirmai É. and Újvári E. (eds.) 2009. *Nemzetiségi – nemzeti – európai identitás (Konferencia kiadvány)* A SZTE JGYPK Felnőttképzési Intézetében 2008. november 12-13-án tartott konferencia előadásai, Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Juhász Gyula Pedagógusképző Kar Felnőttképzési Intézet.
- Prieger, A., 2015. Törökország Európai Unióhoz csatlakozásának lehetősége gazdasági szempontok alapján. In Szabó M. (ed.) 2015 *Miskolci Doktoranduszok Jogtudományi Tanulmányai - Tomus 16*, Miskolc: Gazdász Elasztik Kft.
- Prieger, A., 2016. Törökország Európai Unióhoz csatlakozásának jogi kihívásai. *Európai Jog*, 16(2).
- Rostoványi, Z., 2008. Az európai muszlim közösségek differenciáltsága. In *Stratégiai kutatások: Kutatási jelentések: A Miniszterelnöki Hivatal és a Magyar Tudományos*

- Akadémia közötti megállapodás keretében végzett stratégiai kutatások főbb eredményei 2007/2008*, Budapest: MTA-Miniszterelnökségi Hivatal.
- Söylemezoğlu, S.H., 2014. Chapter 23, Judiciary and fundamental rights; the engine for the reform process in Turkey; *Law & Justice Review*, V(1)
- Tungul, L., 2013. Can ‘the other’ become ‘us’? European Identity and Turkey“, *Contemporary European Studies*, 8 (2)
- Varga, B., 2010. Az Európa-gondolat fejlődéstörténete a második világháborúig. In Háda B., Ligeti D., Majoros I., Maruzsa Z. and Merényi K. (eds.) *Nemzetek és birodalmak. Diószegi István 80 éves*, Budapest: ELTE Új- és Jelenkori Egyetemes Történeti Tanszék.

* * *

© ICRP 2017

<http://culturalrelations.org>
institute@culturalrelations.org

Prieger, A., 2017. The idea of the Christian Europe and the accession of Turkey to the EU. *Cultural Relations Quarterly Review*, Vol. 4. Issue 1–2. (Winter/Spring 2017) pp.19–28.

For more information concerning the article and citation please contact us via email at institute@culturalrelations.org.

BEYOND SLOGANEERING AND DAMAGE CONTROL MECHANISM:**THE VICIOUS CIRCLE OF ETHICAL TRANSFORMATION AND****VALUE RE-ORIENTATION CAMPAIGNS IN NIGERIA**

Mike Omilusi, PhD

Department of Political Science, Ekiti State University, Nigeria

watermike2003@yahoo.co.uk

ABSTRACT

Rebranding Nigeria every time a new government comes to power is becoming a permanent feature of country's political life. Ethical transformation and value reorientation have always been the fundamental focus of governmental agencies and institutions, organizations, and non-governmental agencies due to the decay in values, ethics and morality in the society. This essay examines the President Buhari administration's "change agenda" within the context of the new rebranding campaign and how monotonous such has become in the polity over the years. It attest to the fact that successive occupants of political offices in Nigeria have never been dialectical in thoughts and action, and thus, their campaigns have suffered from the limitations of superficial bourgeois solutions to deeply structural social problems. Beyond what now appears to be mere campaign sloganeering or conscientious/desperate attempt at redeeming the image of a government that is fast losing its popularity among the citizens, this essay contends that there is the need for a radical development strategy that guarantees inclusiveness as opposed to exclusiveness in governance and that is people-driven from conception to implementation.

Keywords: transformation, orientation, campaign, value, sloganeering

Introduction and statement of the problem

Nigeria is one of the most populous countries in the world, with a population of more than 160 million. The nation is immensely blessed with abundant human and material resources. The worrisome truth is that Nigeria, though a sovereign independent nation, is encumbered by a multiplicity of problems that has slowed down her advancement over the years. Some of these problems, unfortunately, are self-inflicted and flow from a morbid, deviant inclination of our politicians to unjustly and blindly engage in self-enrichment and general corruption (Kalu, 2016). It has great potentials in all fields of human endeavour, including the arts, music, sports, science and philosophy, but it has neither exploited them beyond occasional eruptions of creativity nor shown any indication it has the scientific competence to recognise and tackle its

challenges in ways that transcend its naturally emotive, violent and short-sighted approach to conflict resolution (Akinlotan, 2016, p.64).

The image of this country has been dragged in the mud as a result of the people's anti-social activities. Drug and human trafficking, militancy, advanced fee fraud and moral depravity have soiled the image of Nigeria. There is an unprecedented number of Nigerians sentenced to prison or death outside Nigeria for their involvement in criminal activities, immigration crimes, robbery, fraud, smuggling, arms running, prostitution and murder (Umeh, 2015). Nigeria's ruling class is, with few exceptions, notoriously corrupt and unresponsive to societal problems and needs (Kakhee, 2007, p.9). Thus, in every office, there seems to be a desperate drive by Nigerian leaders to corruptly enrich themselves and stash in foreign accounts huge sums of money. Leaders have turned themselves into sole heirs of public funds and property. Good and adequate healthcare is not without a big price attached to it. The fact that drug and human trafficking, advance fee fraud, anti-social and criminal activities have rocked the country, is now thread-bare (Fabamise, 2015). Many Nigerians have attributed these worrisome behaviours to socio-economic and political challenges bedeviling the country, including an unstable economy, hunger, unreliable power supply, corruption in high places, poverty, structural unemployment and a dearth of social amenities. As succinctly captured by Fayemi (2016, p.3):

The definitive elements of the national moral condition include a raging culture of instant gratification that feeds short termism, profiteering, and fraud. Without making unsustainable generalizations, we can all agree that too many of us are given to cutting corners and trying to attain inordinately disproportionate returns on relatively small investments. We are not as averse to cheating and exploiting our fellow beings as we should be. In fact, it has been argued that our social, civic, political and economic relationships in Nigeria are defined more by mutual predatory exploitation than anything else. We have succumbed to a feverish individualism that prioritizes the desire and gain of the individual no matter how illicitly pursued at the expense of the common good. The sense of communal being that used to be a cardinal feature of public life has been diminished by the rise of an "every person for themselves" ethos.

Nigeria's irreconcilable political elites have left the impression of Nigeria as a nation at war with itself as they endlessly engage in politics of expediency. While the majority of Nigerians reel under the yokes of poverty, disease and misery, the ruling elite has not demonstrated serious commitment, discipline and sacrifice in driving growth and progress. According to Obiozor

(2016), Nigerian politics and politicians have not developed appreciable level of ethics and moral to distinguish between right and wrong, good and evil in theory and practice. It is therefore, no exaggeration, to say that with the exception of only a few moments of peace, the country's political history since 1966 under military or civilian regimes has been a continuous failure to build a country with political stability, security or sustainable economy. Since then too, the country's constant experience has been that of fear, anger and various levels of political violence. And at the root of all these crises is the tendency and propensity to grab power by one political elite group or another with impunity, lack of tolerance, and lack of sense of kindredship.

The decay in the society has reached the point that human life is expendable for material gain. The disturbing aspect of this atrociousness is that it is acceptable. People applaud those who perpetrate evil acts for money. Wealth is idolized irrespective of how it was acquired. The consequence of our depraved attitude towards life has reflected in the demoralized state of the country. Social and political infrastructures have collapsed. Nobody engages in a meaningful agenda with the seriousness of mind to achieve public good. The decline of the common good as an anchor of public morality is coterminous with the ascent of money as the primary indicator of success in our society. The capacity for conspicuous consumption and reckless financial gratification has become the primary indices of status and accomplishment. According to Adesina (2016), "there has been a terrible wave of consciencelessness (sic) over the years, leading to an unprecedented impoverishment of Nigerians, their helplessness in the hands of insurgents who abduct, maim, rape, kill as well as occupy their territory. An epidemic of corruption enveloped the nation, afflicted its leadership recruitment processes, stunted its economic growth, crippled its fighting power and rendered the people hopeless".

Many years of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism have fundamentally altered the Nigerian value orientation, belief system, customs and traditions, including our dressing code, food or feeding culture, music, drama, entertainment, language, religion and substituted them with alien ones that constantly contradict and frustrate our development efforts and programmes, thereby giving rise to worrisome paradoxes that have become terrible features of Nigeria (Nwekeaku, 2014, p.427). Thus, ethical transformation and value reorientation have recently become the main focus or issue addressed by governmental agencies, institutions, organizations, individuals and non-governmental agencies due to the decay in values, ethics and morality in the society. However, as observed by Akinlotan (2016, p.64), while Nigeria blames every other person but itself for its woes, its leaders have not explained why for more

than five decades they have taken no step whatsoever in breaking down and remoulding the fundamental underpinnings of their country's existence, and delinking themselves from the (neo-colonial and neo-imperialist) apron strings of their pre-independence rulers. The colonialists expropriated their wealth and sucked them unfairly and unequally into the vortex of the world economic system, but Nigerian leaders have said, and thought, nothing of inheriting the abhorrent mantle of becoming the new exploitative and oppressive class to their own people.

Since the All Progressives Congress (APC) launched the change mantra in the run up to the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, the word, "Change", has become a household name. The change mantra was the magic wand with which the APC defeated the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). Nigerians swallowed change hook, line and sinker because of its irresistible attraction (Onyekakeyah, 2016). However, from the March 2015 elections emerged clearly defined national normative and ethical imperatives against historic impediments that have militated against the Nigerian sense of nationhood: ethno-regional and religious affinities. It may be surmised that a clear power transition from a very destructive status quo elite constituency has taken place in favour of a perceived progressive ethical political charge in Nigeria. This is ready to deconstruct the extant political settlement with a view to dismantling the entrenched regime of national governance as well as upending a political culture rooted in an atrociously efficient Nigerian national prebendal order. It is in this connection that, according to Muhammadu Buhari, his mission is to stop corruption and make the ordinary people, the weak and the vulnerable, the new top priority (Araoye, 2015). This essay examines the President Buhari administration's "change agenda" within the context of the new rebranding campaign and how monotonous such has become in the polity over the years. It attests to the fact that successive occupants of political offices in Nigeria have never been dialectical in thoughts and action, and thus, their campaigns have suffered from the limitations of superficial bourgeois solutions to deeply structural social problems.

Ethical transformation and value re-orientation: a conceptual note

Transformation is a fundamental shift in the deep orientation of a person, an organization, or a society, such that the world is seen in new ways and new actions and results become possible that were impossible prior to the transformation (UNDP-LDP, cited in Asobie, 2012). It also means the change of the moral character for better through the renewal of the inner-most nature.

Pfeiffes (2005) affirms that “national transformation happens when people managing a system focus on creating a new future that has never existed, based on continual learning and new mindset and apply various methods for its actualization”. It is a mandate for a radical, structural and fundamental re-arrangement and re-ordering of the building blocks of the nation. It portends a fundamental reappraisal of the basic assumptions that underlie our reforms and developmental efforts that will and should alter the essence and substance of our national life. The expectation of most Nigerians is for a development blueprint that will transform the economy, reinvent the politics of our nation, secure the polity, care for the underprivileged, and provide responsible, responsive and transformative leadership (Osisoma, 2012, p.8).

Reorientation on its part is the act of changing, adjusting, aligning or re-aligning something, in this case “social values” in a new or different direction. "Values-reorientation" is therefore, is conceptualized as "the act of deliberately attempting to change the direction which attitudes and beliefs in Nigeria are currently oriented or the act of adjusting or aligning behavior, attitude and beliefs of Nigerians in a new or different direction within the public discourse of contemporary Nigerian politics. This is articulated as a move away from corruption, embezzlements, dishonesty and general indiscipline to the direction of virtues of honesty, patriotism, hard work, and general abhorrence of social vices" (Okafor, 2014, p.22). Values reorientation, as understood by political actors, media practitioners and citizens, is therefore about changing both normative beliefs and practices with regards to behavior within civil society. This public discourse often conflates attitudes and behaviors (beliefs and practices) and articulates a lineal relationship between value change (attitudes and beliefs) and consequent behavior (practice).

Kluckhohn (2005 cited in Omoegun *et al* 2009) posits that no society is healthy, creative or strong unless that society has a set of common values that give meaning and purpose to group life. Values are principles, fundamental convictions, ideas, standards or life stances which act as general guides to behaviour or as reference points in decision-making or the evaluation of beliefs or action (Halstead and Taylor, 1996). Generally, the terms social transformation, social change and revival are used interchangeably to explain the significant alternation of social structures within a social system. The re-orientation of value system is conscious development of human resources through ideological appeals, planning, training, productivity and efficiency in achievements through corporate culture. Value re-orientation could therefore, be defined as the ability to bring back the good values of old back into existence. It could also be the efforts made towards re-enacting the good values and the ability to inculcate these values on the individual or members of a society.

National re-orientation campaigns in Nigeria: history and current issue

The need for attitudinal re-orientation had long been recognized as the best way to address the myriad of societal problems confronting the Nigerian society. Consequently, successive administrations have articulated and pursued re-orientation programmes in one form or the other (Agu, 2016). Bolarin (2005), identifies some dominant values which formed the core values upheld by a larger section of the Nigerian society to include the following; detesting laziness, dignity of labour, respect for parent/elders, hospitality, public spiritedness, respect for authority, hard work, respect for sanctity of life, honesty and truthfulness. When these values are grossly compromised, then what you get is greed, corruption, dishonesty, violent crimes, political killings, kidnapping and so many other antisocial behaviours.

The various drives for image transformation or re-branding project in Nigeria, in recent time, spring from the different efforts by Nigerians to address the image crisis in the Nigerian state. The re-branding project involves the use of jingles, rallies, mobilisation and articles in national and international media. In spite of the efforts to transform the image of Nigeria for the international community, reports in Nigerian dailies indicate a rise in the rates of criminal activities (Aboluwodi, 2014, p.528). Imaekhai (2010 cited in Saale, 2014, p.141) traced the history of Nigerian ethical revolution from January 15, 1966 when major Kaduna Nzeogwu seized power with the agenda to tackle the ills of tribalism, nepotism, corruption and favouritism. Yakubu Gowon from 1966 to 1975 also accused Aguiyi Ironsi of tribalism, favouritism and nepotism. He had as agenda, reconstruction, rehabilitation and reconciliation to maintain the unity of Nigeria after the thirty months of civil war. However during Gowon's regime the government became enmeshed in corruption.

Nigerians are used to sloganeering. It has never solved any problem. In the agriculture sector, for instance, the country had Operation Feed the Nation, Green Revolution, Back to Land, Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) etc, but hunger is still at the top of the challenges holding the nation from realizing its potential (Mahmood, 2016). During the Second Republic, the government of President Shehu Shagari proclaimed an "ethical revolution". The military regime of Major-General Muhammadu Buhari launched the War Against Indiscipline (WAI) 32 years ago. Mass Mobilisation for Self-Reliance, Social Justice, and Economic Recovery (MAMSER) was established by the military administration of President Ibrahim Babangida in the liberal bid to recast the Nigerian political economy. There was also the less remarkable "Not in Our Character" campaign of the regime of the maximum

ruler, General Sani Abacha (Komolafe, 2016). These different measures are meant to curb corrupt tendencies in Nigerians, to appeal to their conscience and to correct the negative perception of Nigeria as a corrupt and unreliable nation by the global community, a stigma that has led to a skeptic disposition by the international business community to Nigeria's suitability for business.

At the onset of this fourth republic, Olusegun Obasanjo, as President, launched "Heart of Africa" and also formed an elite team tasked with supervising the project implementation, promoting virtues and urging Nigerians to better behaviour. They took the project to the United Kingdom and the United States but neither launch went too well. Obasanjo massively pumped money into the international media to advertise HOA, positioning himself as the Face of Nigeria; just what the world needs to see to come and invest in Nigeria. The programme was eventually dumped after his tenure expired (Adelakun, 2016). Despite the glaring lessons, Nigeria soon embarked on a similar drive with "Rebranding Nigeria" launched by the late Minister of Information and Culture, Prof. Dora Akunyili. Despite armed with a cheap logo and a feel-good slogan, "Good people, Great nation," the project never really took off. Those who conceived it with Akunyili said it was because it never received adequate support by the government but in reality it could not have taken off if Nigerians did not invest in it emotionally (Adelakun, 2016). Akunyili posited that the re-branding project was motivated by the need to find out why some earlier intervention measures to transform Nigeria's image failed and some succeeded but are not sustained. (Aboluwodi, 2014, p.530)

On his part, the transformation agenda of President Goodluck Jonathan sought to transform the Nigerian people into a catalyst for growth and national development. Under the transformation drive, government was expected to guide Nigerians to build an industrialized modern state that will launch the nation into the first 20 economies of the world by the year 2020. As later witnessed, the transformation agenda brought about a situation in which the government defended and protected corruption to no ends. Indeed, arguably, more than any administration in the history of Nigeria, corruption was more or less the official policy of the state. It was a government that liked to hear the echoes of its panegyrics. It was a government that always played to the gallery and threw money at everything. This was even more noticeable during the 2015 general elections, where raw cash was made available to every Dick, Tom and Harry by the ruling party in a desperate bid to retain political power at all cost.

With the ousting the Jonathan government, Nigerians are confronted again with the latest in the series of vicious cycle of *transformation and re-orientation campaigns*. While officially launching the current initiative- aimed at educating and enlightening Nigerians to appreciate the values of accountability and integrity- President Muhammadu Buhari (2016) affirms that the long-cherished and time honoured, time-tested virtues of honesty, integrity, hard work, punctuality, good neighbourliness, abhorrence of corruption and patriotism, have given way in the main to dishonesty, indolence, unbridled corruption and widespread impunity. He submits further:

The resultant effect of this derailment in our value system is being felt in the social, political and economic sphere. It is the reason that some youths will take to cultism and brigandage instead of studying hard or engaging in decent living; it is the reason that some elements will break pipelines and other oil facilities, thus robbing the nation of much-needed resources; it is the reason that money belonging to our commonwealth will be brazenly stolen by the same public officials to whom they were entrusted; it is the reason why motorists drive through red traffic lights, it is the reason that many will engage in thuggery and vote-stealing during elections; it is part of what has driven our economy into deep problem out of which we are now working hard to extricate ourselves. Every one of us must have a change from our old ways of doing things, we cannot fold our arms and allow things to continue the old way.

As many commentators, critics and supporters of the re-launched campaign have indicated, the All Progressives Congress (APC) government will not be the first to embark on a campaign to change public attitude to life, governance and public service. And so whether ethical revolution or national orientation, Nigerian governments are skillful in producing slogans and mantras whose conceptual foundations are sometimes amateurish and often war against facts and reality (Akinlotan, 2016, p.64). Thus, from Babangida's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) through Abacha's Vision 2010 to Jonathan's Transformation Agenda, the nation has only moved one step forward and two steps backward. Part of the problems was that the implementers of the reform programmes paid more attention to popularizing their agenda than summoning the sincerity of purpose needed to drive the process (Mahmood, 2016). Past campaigns of national mobilisation hardly worked and slogans of national orientation soon became unsustainable.

Attitudinal change and re-orientation campaign: the realities and gaps

Imaekhai (2010) observes that each succeeding government in Nigeria promised to eradicate corruption and other social ills and improve on our ethical values but this has been impossible. In 2015 again, the President Muhammadu Buhari-led administration rode to power on a sweeping mandate to give the country a new direction, inject a sense of urgency and purpose into the business of governance. Political analysts believe Nigerians chose the All Progressives Congress (APC) candidate above former President Goodluck Jonathan, because of the perception that as a former military leader, he has the experience and better positioned to tackle Boko Haram insurgency, growing insecurity in the East and the unrest in the Niger Delta region. There was a high expectation that corruption would be tackled head on and policies initiated to create employment opportunities (Mordi, 2016).

The official flag off of the “Change begins with me” campaign brought back memories of the much controversial War Against Discipline crusade that marked the high point of Buhari’s tenure, as a military dictator between December 1983 and August 1985. Thirty-three years after, 2016, Buhari tells his country men and women to unite, as one to make Nigeria great once more, by flushing out indiscipline, corruption and other ills that make us not the giant, but almost the laughing stock of Africa. He calls the new campaign: ‘#ChangeBeginsWithMe’ (Osagie, 2016). Buhari, at the launch of the sloganeering campaign, was naturally enthusiastic about it and thus promised to return Nigeria to the path of discipline and truthfulness. To him, a disciplined and truthful people will record far less of the vices that have crippled the country. The new campaign seeks to use persuasive – rather than coercive – means to achieve attitudinal change in all facets of society. The essence is to emphasise the place of citizens in the attempt to address the decadence of present-day Nigerian society and enthrone the positive change that the country craves.

The challenge of a new Nigeria therefore, places a big responsibility on the current administration of President Muhammadu Buhari who inherited an economy that was over the years badly managed and normal standards characteristics of good governance and high moral grounds were obliterated while anti-social patterns of behavior became very pervasive. Nigerians from all works of life, irrespective of ethnic and religious affiliation invested their trust by voting President Buhari to power. That trust was borne out of their sincere and genuine desire to see a new Nigeria where unemployment, corruption, insecurity, violence and other forms of social vices which pervaded the polity will be fought to a standstill (Agu, 2016).

Suffice it to say that successive leaders, at all levels of government, have been indicted in the court of public opinion for having gone into “service” to empower themselves, families and cronies, while impoverishing the rest of the citizens! (Ukwu, 2016)

Indeed, it is a public knowledge that each change of government- military and civilian- since 1966 had been justified by the need to fight corruption, except the change of the military dictatorship of Mohammed Buhari, justified by his removers on account of fostering intolerable tyranny. It is, therefore, not illogical to claim that it is not the average citizen that has brought Nigeria to this low ebb; it is those in positions of leadership and the system and style of governance they have pursued, as well as rulers’ myopic vision about the eternal power of oil to mask all political, economic, and social problems. Emphasis has been for too long on celebration of power at the hands of those who have it and without regard to the feelings of the average citizen far removed from the corridors of power (Sekoni, 2016, p.14). The change of leadership and administration via electioneering in 2015 - anchored on the promise “to kill corruption before corruption kills Nigeria”- appeared to be a turning point in the political history of the country. The fight against corruption is the sixth issue in All Progressive Congress’ manifesto, which has virtually occupied the attention of the government. That corruption is endemic in Nigeria is not in doubt. That the present government, more than any other past administrations, is committed to fighting corruption is also a common knowledge.

As a matter of fact, since the Buhari administration came to power, it has earned the people’s confidence with its anti-corruption efforts. The President has seized every opportunity to reiterate his disapproval of the ills that bedevil the nation while warning officials working in his government that he would not tolerate corruption in any form. Nigerians have witnessed in this dispensation criminal charges leveled against professional politicians, amongst whom are legislators. With the anti-corruption drive, a number of highly placed government officials, politicians and former officials had been handcuffed and brought to trial to answer corruption charges. Also, a lot of money illegally taken from the public till has been recovered. What Nigerians are skeptical about is an anti-corruption crusade that starts and completes its trials on the pages of newspapers without any fundamental conviction. It is even observed that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) “have, instead of fighting corruption, ended up as the actual victims of the fight. The greed and avarice of the political class have added up to continually frustrate the efforts by the two bodies to stamp out corruption from our body politic” (Kalu, 2016). Even now, there is growing fear that with the help of clever lawyers, poorly prepared prosecution

cases and potentially buyable judges, the culprits might ultimately go free or get light prison sentences (Mordi, 2016).

The fundamental question that seems to be agitating peoples' minds is: How can a government impose the virtues of patriotism into people born and bred within a country that has never held up its share of their social contract with them? In his analysis of this seemingly vicious circle of value change mantras in the country, Akinlotan (2016, p.64) refers to the Frenchman, Jean-Baptiste Alphonse Kar, who coined a fitting epigram in the 19th century to capture the wastefulness and futility of such idealistic campaigns. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même*, he moaned, roughly translated as: 'The more things change, the more they remain the same', it suggests that when change comes at all, it sometimes does so gradually and incrementally, almost imperceptibly. Yet, whether revolutionary or incremental change, over the centuries and from the experience of many nations, the *status quo* has yielded only few inches to the most assertive campaigner. On the on-going change-begins-with-you campaign of the Buhari administration, Akinlotan (ibid) submits that:

President Buhari merely restated the symptoms of Nigeria's diseased past and present. But the nation ought to have got a gleamer of understanding of what he thinks is really the problem with the national attitude. Had he been able to fairly accurately state the conceptual foundation of the issues that war against the needed new national ethos, Nigerians might be fairly confident that the solution they dream about would not remain the chimera past governments had embraced and choked on for nearly 60 turbulent years.

Perhaps, that is why the campaign is seen in many quarters as an afterthought; a calculated diversion from the socio-economic crises that pervade the country; a mere response to grave political pressures from civil and political society; a conscious attempt at rebranding the seemingly resented regime rather than the nation or more likely that, as Agbese (2016) put it "the government was forced to reach for this straw to mollify public feelings for its inexplicable tardiness in marketing its cardinal objective". With many citizens charging the government with a betrayal of fundamental obligation and poverty of emotional intelligence, this new effort at national mobilization may be an uphill task for the government. The renewal and rejuvenation of national consciousness, according to Alamu (2016), "cannot begin at the deck of the pyramid of fraud. The dominated cannot be made to bear the burden and dereliction of the dominant. Hunger and burning resentment do not conduce to rational and respectful citizens. if President Mohammadu Buhari expected the Nigerian populace to show gratitude and admiration of for

the new “Change begins with me” campaign, he must have been appalled and dismayed by the fury and ferocity of the return to sender response”.

The basic flaw of these efforts at forging national orientation is the mismatch of the objective and subjective factors of change. According to Komolafe (2016), “you don’t change a society by merely moralising (worse still with a tinge of hypocrisy); you have to do something about the social structure”. It becomes clear that much of the country’s progress and achievements have been beclouded and damaged by the acts and actions of few individuals, corporate organisations and public officers whose activities have wreaked havoc on the reputation of the largest black nation in the world. The problem of image building of a country like Nigeria, just like any other African country, is a very arduous task and must be tackled with utmost caution. What makes news from Africa, including Nigeria in foreign broadcast stations and print media are gory tales of war, hunger, disease, communal clashes and endemic corruption. These and other innate problems have undeniably bedevilled the level of our progress. All these do not augur well for a nation seeking favourable image. However with better leadership now in place, Nigeria must be rebranded to a model which socio-economic cum political modernity and glamour would attract love, dignity and respect rather than disdain, name-calling and disrespect (Fabamise, 2015).

For Agbese (2016) therefore, what the country needs is regimentation, not empty sloganeering. Leaders drive regimentation by demonstrating their discipline, their incorruptibility, their obedience to the rule of law, their respect for the rights of others, including and especially the poor. Lack of all these, no doubt, has exacerbated the level of injustice in the country, precipitating self-determination agitations from various militant ethnic groups. Little wonder, that “Nigerians are politically angry, economically hungry and socially militant. Millions of hapless Nigerians are wallowing in abject poverty, existing under primal standards of living. No jobs for teeming youths and graduates. Individual and ethnic interests reign supreme” (Ukwu, 2016). This may have informed the pessimism expressed by Adelokun (2016) with regards to the success of the campaign:

It is very tempting to relate the many problems of Nigeria to our personal and collective faults; to blame our lack of ethics, and then propound the theory of attitudinal change by telling us that the change will change our circumstances if we gave up parts of ourselves. The truth is, until the immediate concerns of the citizen and the many challenges that confront them are addressed, we may as well be wasting time.

The United Nations is an example of how the global order can restructure itself in response to international pressures. But this has not stopped international conflicts as new forces of history come into collision with old forces (Alamu, 2016). In Nigeria, it is 46 years that the last shot was fired in a tragic civil war with the following slogan from federal side: *To Keep Nigeria One is a Task that Must be Done*. Today the separatist impulse is prevalent more than ever before in parts of the country. Ethnic and regional champions are fundamentally questioning the structure of the federation. Underlying issues of injustice and underdevelopment have been eclipsed by worsening insecurity in the Niger Delta. So the simple lesson of history is this: mere slogans are not enough to keep a nation united. Material conditions need to be created and structural tasks have to be performed to achieve the desirable goal of unity (Komolafe, 2016). The same point could be made of subsequent campaigns and slogans.

Focus on the real drivers of change and other allied institutions

Nigeria is passing through difficult times. But, perhaps, more worrying is the fact that the capacity of the government that promised to change the situation is increasingly being called into question. Change was the fulcrum of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and Buhari's message to Nigerians while they were campaigning for the 2015 general election, which they won overwhelmingly. But one year after that victory, Nigerians are almost despairing of seeing any change in the attitudes and circumstances that had caused them to reject the People's Democratic Party government of former President Goodluck Jonathan (Obia, 2016). Nigerians have never been in doubt how their country's ills manifest symptomatically. Nor have they ever lacked adequate platitudes to hurl at the combustible follies and foibles that manifest as their country's soft underbelly. What befuddle them, on the contrary, are the conceptual foundations of those ills, and how to engineer the right tools to combat them. Political malfeasance is not Nigeria's exclusive preserve, nor is it the cause of the ills a re-orientation programme can affect with platitudinous change (Akinlotan, 2016, p.64).

Today, the word, *change*, has become a cliché in both private and government circles. It is not because it is a new word; it is based on the thinking that, the present time is different from the past times. It is saying that, the way things are being done now is different from the way they were done in the past. As a point of fact, there has to be dedicated pragmatism for change to occur in any situation. It entails making conscious efforts directed at solving problems in practical ways. It means people have to start thinking and acting differently from the way they

used to think and act. This is where orientation comes in; because it is believed that for change to occur, good orientation has to be ingrained in the lives of the citizenry. In essence, if the aims of government and individuals are directed towards particular goals changes will occur. It also implies that, for one to move across divides, change must be present.

President Buhari is of the view that the derailment in ethical values is connected directly to social crimes of whatever hue, insurgency, economic sabotage and corruption. Perhaps, he is correct, if he were to be looking for immediate causes. But a more critical appraisal of the national derailment he talked about could accommodate far more fundamental reasons beyond issues of ethical disorientation (Williams, 2016). According to Sekoni (2016, p.14), if the new slogan is to have noticeable traction, efforts need to be made to convince citizens that the government is not passing the buck. Nothing changes people's attitude faster than the power of example. In other words, the ball is in the court of the government at every level to right the wrongs of the past and in the process raise the level of morality through examples from those in power and with access to the nation's resources. All of the persons standing or awaiting trials for corruption, lack of integrity, transparency and accountability so far have been members of the country's elite: top politicians, top military men, top bureaucrats.

Since re-branding greatly hinges on changing the psyche of the nation and her people, it requires a multi-sectoral approach to tackle (Alyebo, 2012, p.104). This paper focuses on some fundamental areas of our national life like Responsive and Value-Oriented Leadership, Vibrant and Pro-Active Mass Media, Symbiotic State-Citizen Relations, Responsible Family Foundation, Cultural Re-Orientation, Value-Inclined National Policy on Education and Religious Institution for further discussion.

Responsive and value-oriented leadership

Apart from the real art of governance which, includes among other things, electioneering, stability of democracy, depends on so many variables. In the first place, there is supposed to exist forward and backward linkages between the rulers and the ruled in the socio-political scheme of things. The leadership concern for the followership reduces suspicion on the part of the latter. This in turn spirals into building a more enhanced culture of trust, harmony and peace between and among the political class and the entire citizenry. Severing the relationship between the people while in office means that social contract is no longer respected, and this

could lead to unwanted friction in the society (Erunke, 2012, p.71). Transformational leadership is valued centered, sharing of vision, values, respect, and trust, between the leader and followers and achieving unity in diversity (Carey, 1992). Human relationists confirmed that the coming together of the values of the leader and the followers is morally acceptable only if it comes from participative decision-making with consensus between leaders and the led.

Ozumba (2014, p.151) identifies two elements are critical in any effort at ethical re-orientation that are also germane to this paper. One is leadership and two, is enforceable laws. As rightly noted by Aboluwodi (2014, p.538) the effectiveness of the re-branding project in Nigeria rests on leadership rather than rhetoric. Nigerian leaders need to change their value orientation, and understand the essence of governance. They must be able to understand that the central concern of government is how to meet the needs of the people. For the masses, re-branding project begins with the provision of social amenities such as electricity, good schools, drinkable water, good roads, health facilities, and employment opportunities. For Igbuzor (2013), what is required are good values, correct ideas, appropriate strategies and policies, strategic leadership, good institutions, political will, state capacity and accountable governance.

It is believed that leadership will necessarily play a leading role in bringing about the much-needed change. The reorientation must start from the top of governance and leadership as an example for citizens to follow. The campaign for “change”, as emphasised in the Vanguard editorial (September 15, 2016) “will fail if the citizenry continue to see a leadership that preaches one thing and does another. Nigerians will ignore the Information Minister, Lai Mohammed and his team of “change” campaigners unless they see a great change in the nepotism and inequities in the selection of people manning sensitive government posts. Nigerians must have a sense of belonging, and only government can provide it. The role of leadership in changing Nigeria for the better cannot be over-emphasised. Once this is done, Nigerians will eagerly key into it”. Thus, Nigeria needs a new ethos and a new political culture. To satisfy these needs and to break the mould, new leaders with fiery intellect, deep intuitive grasp of the complex issues shaping the 21st century, and instinctive feel of the yearnings and aspirations of the people whose disparate needs are sometimes too abstract and formless to put in words, must emerge. The new leaders, detribalised and large-hearted, are the ones to act on the demands of the moment. They are the ones to drive the great processes needed to tackle the present challenges as well as brilliantly anticipate the future challenges still embedded in the womb of time (Akinlotan, 2016, p.64).

Vibrant and pro-active mass media

According to Voelker (1975, p.22), the mass media are important forces in our society. They provide information and entertainment and, at the same time, have persuasive powers that are capable of effecting radical changes. Akinfele (1995) observes that the mass media are effective tools for creating linkages between the society and the type of socio-political ideology- whether democracy, autocracy or socialism- that is in operation. In rebranding Nigeria, the mass media is expected to ensure objective reportage of issues, avoiding sensationalism; bearing in mind that false reportage undermines the democratic experience. The entertainment and art industries are expected to produce art that showcases the exciting mix of Nigeria's cultural diversity and the very values that hold the African society together (Umeh, 2015).

Cultural, moral and community opinions have been changed largely by the fact that the mass media can provide seemingly uninterrupted news that has influenced community life, indigenous culture and morals as well. The Nigerian media over the years has demonstrated its capacity to galvanize public opinion and engender public discourse among Nigerians. Nigerian media has continued to play significant role in the overall development of the nation. The media can also play a very important role in elevating issues to the systemic agenda and increasing their chances of receiving consideration on institutional agendas. However, since the achievement of the change agenda and ethical transformation depends essentially on the government's ability to integrate and coordinate policy making and implementation across the public sector, as well as the social, economic and environmental policy portfolios, all the relevant public and private institutions should be actively involved in the mobilization, public education and orientation.

Symbiotic state-citizen relations

Nigeria, according to (Moghalu, 2016), needs to create a social contract between the state and its citizens. This involves, primarily, the obligations of citizens (such as paying taxes) in exchange for the protection of life and limb, civil liberties and its limits, as well as the sustainable provision of basic infrastructure and social safety nets by the state. This gives citizens a sense of belonging, with mutual accountabilities between the government and the governed. For Komolafe (2016), it is the responsibility of government to create the conditions for socio-economic actors to operate in their legitimate quest to meet their needs. Change cannot

begin with a people with increasingly limited access to basic needs such as food, water, healthcare, basic education and decent housing. The leadership preaching change would rather find a better audience in a people that could take basic needs for granted.

When citizens see public servants, politicians and senior government officials abusing national laws and getting away untouched, they get the message it is alright to perpetrate crimes against the society (Obijiofor, 2016). Crime and other social vices multiply when the people are suffering. But someone who is comfortable is less prone to crime. Nigerians in the developed countries are more law-abiding than Nigerians at home simply because they are more comfortable than those at home. It is counterproductive to demand fundamental attitudinal change from a mass of hungry, unemployed and dejected population (Onyekakeyah, 2016). The point is that, the psychological impact of a failing state on the behaviour of citizens is so strong it can create dissonance in a time of reorientation. That is why many do not want to hear about the change Mr. President is talking about (Williams, 2016). Thus, there is the need for a radical development strategy that guarantees inclusiveness as opposed to exclusiveness in governance and that is people-driven from conception to implementation. This development strategy must be sustainable with the genuine desire to end poverty, provide productive employment, and satisfy basic needs of all categories of citizens and fair sharing of surplus value. Fortunately, the nation's democratic experiment provides political platform to meaningfully engage the citizens because representative democracy creates an opportunity for groups and individuals to have a voice in government, even though they cannot participate directly in government. However, the mere existence of representative institutions is not enough for meaningful democracy. The real challenge is to forge a link between a society's numerous and diverse policy preferences and the representatives who govern. This link requires some entity to mediate between citizens and state institutions.

Responsible family foundation

Throughout history, strong families have helped to make strong societies. The family therefore remains the best arrangement for bringing the children to be mature and credible adults. The family is the first social contact the child has and his experience in the process of development matters a lot because such early experiences are hard to erase. The onus still lies on the president to re-invent the wheel and realize that the greatest resource for national development is human resource. Attitude can be taught, once learnt, they are difficult to change (Agu, 2016). The

family's affective role of nurturing and supporting its individual members includes promoting and safeguarding the health of children as well as instilling moral and social values in them, with the overall goal being to ensure that the next generation is productive and socially responsible (Perrino et al, 2000; Peterson, 2009). Among the social factors that affect individual people in particular are social groups with which a person comes into contact. The most important social group to influence individual's development, however, is the family. Functioning family environment has in the process of socialization of the individual irreplaceable importance. During socialization one becomes a cultural and social being who acts according to recognized rules directed their behavior towards socially accepted value and meet individually modified roles and expectations. Family provides initial human behavior patterns in an orientation and initial interpersonal relationships. According to Archbishop Akubeze (Vertican Radio, 2016), "if the family is dysfunctional, society and nation will also be dysfunctional... any country that wants to build its capacity for development must start with the family. The family is the first place where children are taught values such as honesty, hard work, trust in God, love of neighbour and society"

Cultural re-orientation

Others, like Ayakoroma (2015), have also advocated for "cultural re-orientation" considered to be capable of creating a process of positive impact on national development. The strategies of national development would thus depend on the understanding of the culture, the adaptation of its elements for political, educational and economic development, as well as its strengths for social integration and development. According to him, if the Federal Government of Nigeria under the leadership of President Muhammadu Buhari makes culture the centre-piece of its national orientation, the country stands to benefit economically, socially, politically and otherwise. The question is: What then is the caveat? The advice has always been for us to go back to our roots; to our core values system. This is a situation where the citizenry imbibe Nigerian, nay African, culture which encapsulates genuine love for people and the country, knowledge of Nigerian indigenous languages, promoting Nigerian dress culture, respect for elders and constituted authority, hard work, honesty, fear of God, integrity, humility, craftsmanship, accountability, transparency, being our brothers' keepers, just to mention few. Unarguably, these are attributes that can be used, maximally, for the development of the nation.

In his analysis, Obiozor (2015) contends that the Change Agenda should now, while redefining our national priorities, emphasise ethics and morals:

As a nation, Nigeria should adopt the principle of “applied ethics” in all aspects of our national endeavours, from politics to economics, culture to sports, etc. Applied ethics attempts to apply ethical and moral theories to real life situation; and, as a discipline has been successfully utilised by several countries from China to Malaysia. Indeed, it was labour ethics and morals through the strategic discipline they inculcated on the citizens that gave rise to the “Asian Tigers.” Thus, applied ethics which is used in some aspects of determining public policy as well as by individuals facing difficult decisions, will be a useful instrument for implementing the ‘Change Agenda’ of the Buhari administration.

It is a truism that culture can be found in our political institutions, our ancient traditions, our literature, our languages and even in our moral values. The moral value of a particular group of people is an embodiment of their culture. There are many cultural agencies and institutions that are entrusted with the enormous responsibilities of sustaining, packaging, promoting, marketing and protecting Nigeria’s cultural heritage. In achieving these goals, the various cultural agencies have to partner with the media for proper packaging, dissemination, orientation, education, propagation and marketing of the ‘Change Agenda’.

Value-inclined national policy on education

Education is a crucial sector in any nation. Being a major investment in human capital development, it plays a critical role in long-term productivity and growth at both micro and macro levels. According to UNESCO (2000), “education refers to the total process of developing human ability and behaviours”. It is an organized and sustained instruction designed to communicate a combination of knowledge, skills and understanding value for all activities of life. Education and society are inseparable. Society equips education with the values to be transmitted while education exposes each generation of young people to the existing beliefs, norms and values of their culture (Schafer, 2000). Fafunwa (1974) defines education as what each generation gives to its younger ones which makes them develop attitudes, abilities, skills and other behaviours which are the positive values to the society in which they live. As a matter of fact, education develops in individuals those values which make for good citizenship, such as honesty, selflessness, tolerance, dedication, hard-work and personal integrity, all of which provide the rich soil from which good leadership potential is groomed.

The National Policy on Education (NPE), (2004) also specified values system acceptable in the country. This should therefore, be inculcated in the learners through the quality of educational instructions. These include moral/spiritual values, dignity of human person, self-reliance and communal responsibility, amongst other; It particularly tasks tertiary institutions to “develop and inculcate proper values” implying that there are improper or negative values that should be nipped in the bud. As earlier indicated, transformation can also be social when talking about the improvements that have taken place in the realm of the way of life of a people, their social etiquettes, their modes of dressing, food types and the like. It is individuals who have been positively transformed who can transform the society. It is from this perspective that it can conveniently be argued that education can transform a society.

Religious institution and moral teachings

The religious beliefs, values, and practices held by the mainstream in a society are an expression of their basic worldview, a manifestation of assumptions about what exists outside the narrow confines of everyday experience. In most societies, religious leaders provide guidance on interpreting these beliefs and traditions and articulate the appropriate values and correct moral behaviour for living in alignment with these beliefs (Report from an International Inter-Religious Peace Conference, Sweden 2005, p.7). Religious institution- a place where people seek solace and show penitence- should therefore, preach the right values missing in the society. Religious leaders should place less emphasis on materials things and focus more on teaching their followers how to live an impactful life.

Religion has rules about conduct that guide life within a social group and it is often organised and practised in a community, instead of being an individual or personal affair. All African societies view life as one big whole and religion permeates all aspects of life. Mbiti (1999, p.1) asserts that Africans are notoriously religious. According to him, religion permeates all departments of life to such an extent that it is not easy or possible to isolate it. Although the African religious consciousness was initially derived from the practice of traditional religion, Christianity and Islam have given further impetus to this consciousness. Conversely, however, as the unfolding of a natural cultural process, both Christianity and Islam have in turn been influenced by traditional religion (Muzorewa 1985, p.31). Religion plays an indispensable role in fostering values such as honesty, integrity, openness, forthrightness and tolerance (Tsele 2001, pp.210–211). Such values are crucial for the development of good economic and

democratic political systems. . Religious leaders and traditional rulers are thus, expected to inculcate moral education in their various programmes and extol the spirit of service and excellence in their congregations and subjects respectively.

Conclusion

It is argued in this paper that one of the most daunting problems which have stunted the growth of Nigeria democratically and advance its stability is the lack of adherence to ethos, rule of law and constitutionality. Curiously, it is universally agreed that Nigeria's woes are self-inflicted and, therefore, substantially amenable to functional solutions. Successive occupants of political offices in Nigeria have never been dialectical in thoughts and action. Hence their campaigns have suffered from the limitations of superficial bourgeois solutions to deeply structural social problems. The nation's socio-political history is replete with campaigns, slogans and rhetoric of change to better ways. In other words, and as established in this essay, Nigerians are used to sloganeering. But, it has never solved any problem.

However, it is widely admitted by both Nigerians and foreign actors alike that the Buhari administration's choice of anti-Corruption as one of its cardinal agenda is a timely important decision to confront an issue that has dented the image of the country and its citizens world-wide. While it is admitted that it is only individuals who have been positively transformed who can transform the society, there is the need for a radical development strategy that guarantees inclusiveness as opposed to exclusiveness in governance and that is people-driven from conception to implementation. This development strategy must be sustainable with the genuine desire to end poverty, provide productive employment, and satisfy basic needs of all categories of citizens and fair sharing of surplus value. Lastly, the role of leadership in changing Nigeria for the better cannot be over-emphasised.

*

References

- Aboluwodi, A., 2014. Nigeria's Image Crisis and Lessons from Obafemi Awolowo's Leadership and Education Ideologies. *Journal of Education and Human Development*, Vol. 3 (2), June 2014.
- Adelakun, A., 2016. Dear Lai, Change does NOT begin with me. *The Punch*, September 8, 2016.
- Adelakun, A., 2016. Relaunch of WAI: Buhari Plays His Last Hand. *The Briefing* [online] Available at: <<http://www.thebriefng.com/2016/08/11/relaunch-wai-buhari-plays-last-hand-abimbola-adelakun>>
- Adesina, D., 2016. Failure of Kindness, Failure to Rescue. *The Guardian*, 12 September 2016.
- Agbese, D., 2016. Na slogan we go chop? *The Guardian*, September 18, 2016.
- Agu, F., 2016. Urgent Need For Value Re-Orientation. *Leadership*, August 18, 2016.
- Akinfele, R., 1995. *Nigerian Mass Media and National Crises*, Lagos, Nigerian Press Council
- Akinlotan, I., 2016. Future more Uncertain than the Troubled Past. *The Nation*, October 2, 2016.
- Akinlotan, I., 2016. Plus ça change. *The Nation*, September 11, 2016.
- Alamu, T., 2016. The Nation in Question: Some Conceptual Clarifications. *The Nation* September 18, 2016.
- Alyebo, N.O., 2012. The Re-branding Nigeria Project: The Sociolinguistic Imperatives of Nigerian Indigenous Languages. *Journal of Igbo Language & Linguistics* No. 5, 2012.
- Araoye, A., 2015. Normative and Ethical Imperatives of Change in Nigeria's Democratic Consolidation. *The Thinker*, Volume 66.
- Asobie A., 2012. "Challenges of Governance: Need for Transformational Leadership", Presented at National Conference of ANAN, Held at Abuja, October 9, 2012.
- Ayakoroma, B.F., 2015. National Orientation as a Catalyst for Change: Thoughts on Some Cultural Imperatives, Paper Presented at the 11th All Nigerian Editors Conference (ANEC) Organised by Nigerian Guild of Editors (NGE) At the Banquet Hall, Government House, Yenagoa, Bayelsa State On 27 August 2015.
- Bolarin, T. A., 2005. Values disorientation in the Nigerian System. In: U.M.O. Ivowi, (Ed.) *Education for value*, Lagos, The CIBN Press Limited.
- Buhari, M., 2016. Full Text Of PMB's Speech At The Launch Of 'Change Begins With Me', Leadership, September 8, 2016.
- Carey, M.R., 1992. Transformational Leadership and the Fundamental Option for Self-Transcendence. *Leadership Quarterly*, 3, pp.217–236.
- Erunke, C.E., 2012. Consolidating Democratic Governance in Nigeria: Analysis and Suggestions. *African Journal of Social Sciences*, Volume 2 Number 2 (2012), pp.67–73.
- Fabamise, O., 2015 Can Buhari Rebrand Nigeria? [online] Available at: <<http://newstrack.ng/business/economy/7044-can-buhari-rebrand-nigeria>>
- Fafunwa, A.B., 1974. History of Education in Nigeria. Ibadan: NPS Educational Publishers Ltd.
- Fayemi, K., 2016. Crisis of Values: Reclaiming our Society, Women in Management, Business and Public Service (WIMBIZ) March 10, 2016, Lagos, Nigeria
- Halstead, J. and Taylor, M., 1996. *Values in Education and Education in Values*, London: Falmer Press.
- Igbuzor, O., 2013. Value Re-orientation and Transformation: A Panacea for Growth and Development, A Paper Presented at the Institute of Strategic Management, Nigeria (ISMN) FCT Chapter 2013 National Conference.
- Imaekhai, F.J., 2010. The Nigeria society and Ethical Revolution, in C.O. Isiramen, F.J Imaekhai and B.O. Igboin (Eds.) *Religion and the Nigerian nation: Some topical issues*, Ibadan: En-Joy Press and Books.

- Kalu, O.U., 2016. Challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria. *The Sun*, August 13, 2016.
- Khakee, A., 2007. EU Democracy Promotion in Nigeria: Between Realpolitik and Idealism, *FRIDE's Working Papers*, No 47.
- Komolafe, K., 2016. On the Origins of Change. *This Day*, September 14, 2016.
- Mahmood, A., 2016. Diversification: An Agenda for Buhari. *Leadership*, September 15, 2016.
- Mbiti, J.S., 1999. *African Religions and Philosophy*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Heinemann.
- Moghalu, K., 2016. The Path to Inclusive Growth. *This Day*, June 21, 2016.
- Mordi, R., 2016. Buhari: Beyond the 'Change' mantra. *The Nation*, May 26, 2016.
- Muzorewa, G.H., 1985. *The Origins and Development of African Theology*, Maryknoll, NY: Orbis.
- National Policy on Education, 2004. Federal Republic of Nigeria, Lagos: NERDC Press.
- Nwekeaku, C., 2014. The Challenges of Cultural Agencies and Mass Media in Promoting The Transformation Agenda in Nigeria. *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, 2014, 4(3) pp.422–433.
- Obia, V., 2016. The 'Change Begins With Me' Campaign. *This Day*, September 11, 2016.
- Obijiofor, L., 2016. When Citizens no Longer Believe in Change. *The Sun*, 14 September 2016.
- Obiozor, G., 2015. Moral, ethical imperatives of Nigeria's change agenda. *The Guardian*, November 19, 2015.
- Okafor, G.O., 2014. The Nigerian Mass Media and Reorientation of Values: Problems and Prospects. *American Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2014, pp.21–28.
- Omoegun, O.M., Longe, O.O., Ahimie, B., and Agbogidi, C.K., 2009. "Effecting Values Re-Orientation among Primary School Children through Story Telling". *Journal of Social Science*, 19(1), pp.63–69.
- Onyekakeyah, L., 2016. Thoughts on Change. *The Guardian*, September 20, 2016.
- Osagie, E., 2016. Nigeria: The challenge of change. *The sun*, 12 September 2016.
- Osisioma, B., 2012. Nigeria's Transformation Agenda: The Management and Leadership Challenges, Paper Presented on the Occasion of 2012 NIM South-East Zonal Management Summit Held at King David Hotels, Regina Caeli Road, Awka.
- Perrino, T., Gonzalez, S.A., Pantin, H., and Szapocznik, J., 2000. The role of families in adolescent HIV prevention: A review. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 3, pp.81–96.
- Peterson, R., 2009. *Families first: Keys to successful family functioning* [online] Available at: <www.ext.vt.edu> [Accessed on 20 September 2016]
- Rapheal, O.J., 2014 Religion, National Transformation and the Nigerian Society: Some Reflections. *International Journal of Gender and Women's Studies*, Vol. 2(2), June 2014.
- Report from an International Inter-Religious Peace Conference, 2005. Tools for Peace? The Role of Religion in Conflicts, 21–24 November 2004, Söderköping, Sweden.
- Saale, L.B., 2014. Prayer and Social Transformation in Nigeria: A Christian Perspective. *African Research Review*, Vol. 8(4), Serial No. 35, September, 2014.
- Schacfer R.L., 2000. *Sociology: A brief introduction*. United States of America: McGraw Hill Company Inc.
- Tsele, M., 2001. The Role of the Christian Faith in Development. In: Belshaw, D, Calderisi, R and Sugden, C., (eds.) *Faith in Development: Partnership between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa*, pp.203–218, Oxford: Regnum.
- Ukwu, D., 2016. Posterity and Buhari's Fight with Corruption. *The Guardian*, September 14, 2016.
- Umeh, J., 2015. How to rebrand Nigeria, *The Nation*, October 15, 2015.
- UNESCO, 2000. Nigerian Human Resource Development and civilization: Education and World Affairs, New York.
- Vanguard Editorial, 2016. Buhari's "Change begins with me" September 15, 2016.

- Vatican Radio, 2016. *Nigeria: Family as Agent of Mercy and Harmony*. April 26, 2016.
- Voelker, F.H., 1975. *Mass Media: Forces in Our Society*, Atlanta: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc.
- Williams, A., 2016. To Communicate Real Change. *The Guardian*, September 18, 2016.

* * *

© ICRP 2017
<http://culturalrelations.org>
institute@culturalrelations.org

Omilusi, M., 2017. Beyond sloganeering and damage control mechanism: The vicious circle of ethical transformation and value re-orientation campaigns in Nigeria. *Cultural Relations Quarterly Review*, Vol. 4. Issue 1–2. (Winter/Spring 2017) pp.29–52.

For more information concerning the article and citation please contact us via email at institute@culturalrelations.org.

