



NIGER DELTA UNIVERSITY

WILBERFORCE ISLAND, BAYELSA STATE.

70th Inaugural Lecture

HEGEMONIC SYSTEMS AND THE LEFT-FIELD NARRATIVE/THEORY: A TRIPLE LEVEL ANALYSIS

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NIGER DELTA UNIVERSITY

Wilberforce Island, Bayelsa State, Nigeria

Motto

Creativity, Excellence, Service

Vision

To be a centre of excellence defined by well articulated programme that will produce creative and innovative minds

Mission

To strive to maintain an international reputation for high quality scholarship, research and academic excellence for the promotion of the socio-cultural and economic well-being of mankind

NIGER DELTA UNIVERSITY ANTHEM (THE BRIGHTEST STAR)

Like the brightest star we are, to lead the way
To good education that is all our due,
The dream of our fathers like the seed has grown;
Niger Delta University is here to stay.

In all that we do, let us bring to mind
Our duty as staff and students of N.D.U
Ev'rywhere to promote peace towards mankind.
Creativity, Excellence and Service

Let us build on this noble foundation
And with love, let our dedication increase,
To rise and uphold this noble vision
Ev'ry passing moment let our zeal never decrease.

CHORUS
Rejoice, great people old and new, rejoice
For the good fruit through us is shown;
Be glad in our worthy contribution
To the growth of humanity (x2)

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Dedication

This inaugural lecture is dedicated to my wife, children,
siblings and true friends, without whom, it wouldn't have
been possible

&

To God for the gift of life and the many things I take for
granted

PROTOCOL

The Vice Chancellor

The Vice Chancellor

The Deputy Vice-Chancellors

The Registrar and Other Principal Officers

The Provost, College of Health Sciences

The Dean Postgraduate School

Deans of Faculty

Directors of Institutes and Centres

Heads of Department

Distinguished Professors

Past Inaugural Lecturers

Heads of Administrative Units

Distinguished Academics and Administrators

My Family

Respected Chiefs and Elders

My Distinguished Friends and Guests

Great Niger Delta University Students

Members of the Press

Ladies and Gentlemen

Preamble

Vice Chancellor Sir, I thank you for this opportunity of sharing my thoughts with colleagues, honoured members of society, family and friends on this day. Across Google space, an Inaugural Professorial Lecture is explained as an event celebrating the promotion to full professorship, and it is marked by the celebrant sharing his expertise and research. Thus, it is a major milestone in an academic's career. I am indeed honoured and grateful for the support received that has brought me this far. As is the tradition on such an occasion, I am obligated to share my thoughts on my research in line with my expertise in International Relations. While I profess expertise in Peace, Security and Democracy in Africa as established in my publications, it should be noted that my journey in academics began with a Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy, an area in which I also hold a master's degree. This beginning remains visible in my discourses hence my publications are heavy on critical thought and theoretical cum pragmatic analysis. I am proud to identify as both a philosopher which enhances my proficiency as a theorist, and a political empiricist. This lecture brings these two disciplines into one as I examine *Hegemonic Systems and the Left-Field Narrative/Theory: A Triple Level Analysis*.

Introduction

The concept of a hegemon, a powerful, influential state with overarching authority over international politics at global or regional level connotes an aggressor, one in the mould of Machiavelli's Leviathan that is all powerful and thus, should be feared and obeyed. Contrary to this, hegemons have enjoyed immense focus in peace literature as peace facilitators and beacons (Nkumbe and Njie, 2021). In realist politics, the bigger and more powerful the nation, the more aggressive it is in global and regional affairs. Larger and stronger nations are more likely to stir up trouble to expand territory, bolster security, and build wealth through taxes and resource acquisition (Krickovic and Bratersky, 2019). Realist authors seldom place hegemons at the centre of regional stability, but this lecture avers that stability at all levels, from the international system to grassroots communities, is dependent on hegemons. This view is exemplified by examples from around the world and through time from the international to grassroots communities. Thus, the concept 'hegemon' is loosely used in this text, and rightly so, given that it still remains a general and hotly contested concept in international relations and so its usage is free of strict applications (Glassman, 2009).

Hegemons through history orchestrate any of three major systems: The first is the system where the values of the hegemon are imposed on smaller states within its sphere of influence. This is termed the hegemonic peace as seen today in Western hegemony that culminates in Pax Americana with the United Nations and the Bretton Woods global economic system being very useful tools in promoting a Liberal International Order (LIO) (Nicholas, 2015; Ikenberry, 2018; Mearsheimer, 2019; Alonso-Trabanco, 2023). Next is hegemonic pacifism where the hegemon interferes mainly to

keep the system stable. This interference usually leads to beneficial trade-offs for the hegemon that preserves its influence and keeps the peace within the system (Ryan, 2023). This was the case with Pax Britannica (1815-1914) and the balance of power at the start of the modern era where Britain, used its naval strength to intervene and suppress conflicts in Europe in order to maintain economic and political stability largely for its benefit (Goolding, 2023; Thompson, 2025).

The third is hegemonic benevolence where the hegemon takes it upon itself to ensure stability while allowing lesser states a lot of room to manoeuvre within its sphere of influence, sometimes at huge costs (Brooks, 2011). A good example of this is Pax Nigeriana that worked to keep West Africa stable (Adebajo, 2010). Long before the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) concept was birthed at the UN, Nigeria had acted in line with its tenets as West Africa's hegemon, sacrificing lives and bearing huge economic costs, with no tangible economic return to the country other than the stability of the region (Ojo, 1980; Johnson, 2021; Okoko, 2025). Sometimes, the actions of a hegemon could be a combination of all three scenarios (see Ataka and Caballero, 2006).

Through these holistic societal evolutions, the perspectives or experiences of the dominated or smaller groups are hardly heard. Much of the academia, social media and religious influences today are echoes of the hegemon's dominant narrative. While these terms are certainly not new, and may not be worthy of an inaugural lecture, I believe the 'Left-Field Narrative/Theory' certainly is.

What this inaugural lecture proffers, the Left Field Narrative/Theory, is a new ideological concept that attends to global, national and subnational minorities and presents an

interpretivist ideological avenue to share and educate the world about their ideas, views, grievances and experiences. Given that this dialogue begins with the broad international system and ends at the community level, the methodological structure employed is pyramidal and so interpretivist in nature, deductive in its analysis and qualitative through and through.

The Hegemonic Discourse

Basically, any dominant state in a region, whose power or influence equates or surpasses that of the other members of the region put together is a hegemon. A hegemon can be brazen using threats and war or be suave and diplomatic in interacting with its neighbours or regional members. The aim of this section is to show the hegemon as a vehicle of stability over and above other means. Hegemons facilitate peace in three ways, namely, the hegemonic peace, hegemonic pacifism and hegemonic benevolence.

The Hegemonic Peace

The hegemonic peace is the peace plan embarked upon by the hegemon into which other states within its sphere of influence are compelled to abide by. It is the world/regional order contrived by the hegemon to which lesser members must fit into whether they find it suitable or not. On this, the Gramscian argument contends that it is better for states to believe that their consent is sought rather than coerced to fit into the structure created by the hegemon (Briziarelli and Hoffmann, 2017). While the hegemon considers it as engendering peace, other States within its axis feel threatened by the hegemon's overarching influence. In feeling threatened by the peace offered by the hegemon, they band together to defend against the hegemon, invite some external power to accentuate their force posture and so deter the hegemon from imposing itself. This of course is done through bilateral or multilateral pacts.

There are other strategies that lesser States apply to counter the influence of the hegemon and these include isolation and promoting nationalism across all spheres (Glăveanu, 2009; Varpahovskis, 2019).

As long as there are hegemons, there are States/groups of lesser relevance, some even bordering on the periphery of the system who are silenced, and this occurs across international, national and sub-national lines. Hegemons often weave the dominant narrative that usually becomes the ‘single narrative’. For centuries, the Western Narrative of white superiority was the accepted norm. This ideology was given credence by the misinterpretation of the bible verses about the ‘*curse of Ham*’ in the story of Noah as contained in book of Genesis: 9: 20-27. In this story, Noah was naked and in a state of stupor from too much wine. His son Ham, rather than clothe his father, found this amusing and called his brothers Shem and Japhet to see Noah in this state. On arrival, Shem and Japhet did what Ham should have done, they covered Noah to protect his dignity. For this, Noah cursed the sons of Ham, the black race, to perpetually serve the sons of Shem and Japhet the Caucasians who are also the descendants of Abraham. This narrative has been used through time to justify the subjugation of the black race, as witnessed in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, the brutal colonisation of Africa, apartheid within Africa and wherever racism against Blacks exists (The New Jerusalem Bible, 1985; Haynes, 2002; Evans, 2010; Kell, 2021). So deep is the feeling of inferiority among Blacks across the globe by virtue of this narrative that they go to great lengths to bleach their skin to achieve fairer skin tones. This craze for lighter skin tones was captured by Nigeria’s legendary musician, Fela Anikulakpo Kuti in his song-track done in Pidgin English ‘*who steal my bleacher?*’ Many women who shunned bleaching because of pride in their skin colour or its harmful effects, could however

not resist the use of wigs designed as Caucasian hair. This was usually the yardstick for being urban and modern and many African ladies felt demeaned to show-off their natural, short spongy hair in public. Modernisation among majority of urban Sub-Saharan Africans is measured by how Western they look. Culturally, it became a social crime to identify with African traditional spirituality or polygamy as Western culture took over (Affo, 2020; Etta and Ajima, 2024). Such social, cultural, political and economic changes are synonymous with the hegemonic peace (Chase-Dunn et al, 1994; Biziarelli and Hoffman, 2017). For these reasons, States sometimes band together to resist the influence of the hegemon (Varpahovskis, 2019; Eze-Okubuiro, 2020).

From the foregoing, the hegemonic peace obviously has inherent drawbacks. Rather than foster cohesion as Fukuyama (2006) enthused, it incentivises regional instability as the fear of being dominated compels smaller states to be wary of the hegemon. The hegemon's attempt, especially when it coerces members within its sphere of influence, often meets with resistance from those uncomfortable with the terms of the peace as seen in figure 1.



Figure1: Taming the British Lion
Source: Puck Magazine, 1888 (in Thompson, 2025)

The basis for resistance is hinged on the need for the weaker states to preserve their sovereignty, values and interests that may get corrupted by the hegemon. The hegemonic peace has also been known to be intolerant of dissent, to suppress resistance and exploit weaker states. Secondly, the need to stand up to the hegemon compels weaker states to adopt different strategies, one of which is, inviting external actors into the affairs of the region (Lobell, et al, 2015; Krane, 2022). The presence of an external actor often weakens regional cohesion bearing in mind that States in the international system are self-interested. So, the intervening State pursues its interest that would likely be at odds with regional cohesion (Egbo and Phillippe, 2025; Gideon et al, 2025; Opalo, 2025). In the final analysis, the prevailing instability serves the purpose of the external actor, regional cohesion is lost, and the region as well as the hegemon loses.

At the global level, the Liberal International Order (LIO) championed by the US is a good example. The peace offered by the US, the world's hegemon, is the LIO where democratic governance is seen as the norm along with the numerous 'rights' that now go with it. To make democracy globally acceptable, single narratives such as the 'democratic peace' were coined. These narratives contend that democracies never attack each other because democracy engenders peace and development in the countries that adopt it (Russet, 1993; Owen, 1994). Consequently, in order to stay aligned to the US most countries subscribe to running a democracy even when they are structurally and culturally unsuited for it (Layne, 1994; Oren, 1995; Rosato, 2003).

What then is the rationale for the claim that democracies do not attack each other? Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo are both democratic countries, but the former has

sponsored insurgencies in the territory of the latter for about three decades (France24, 2024; Aljazeera, 2025; Crowther, 2025). High tensions exist between Egypt and Ethiopia over the control and damming of the Nile River, and both are democracies (Mahlakeng and Solomon, 2023; Mlambo and Masuku, 2025). It is ironic that Africa's wars of liberation were fought against colonisers that ran democratic systems (such as Britain and France) that are meant to be peaceful. In 2021, Armenia and Azerbaijan, both democratic states in Europe, were involved in an interstate war. In 2025, President Trump of the US threatened to annex Canada. In light of the above, what is the rationale then for the claim that democratic States are peaceful? Since the advent of independent African States, Western democracies have engineered insurgencies and undermined regimes inimical to their interest much more than socialist or communist powers – China and Russia have (Perkins, 2005). The assassination of Patrice Lumumba (the first Prime Minister of Zaire in 1961), orchestrated by the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Murtala Mohammed (Nigeria's Head of State in 1976), orchestrated by the British Government (Reid, 2023), and the brutal end of Muammar Gaddafi (planned directly by the United States (US) led North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)) (Jackson, 2013), are just a few examples. These leaders were killed for failing to align with the order of the hegemonic peace and opting instead to carve a path for their countries. They were killed for being non-conformist with the peace of the LIO.

A classic example of the hegemonic peace at regional level is China and its dominance in East/Southeast Asia. China's annexation of Tibet, control of Hong Kong and Xinjiang, its claim to Taiwan, as well as the maritime areas of Bhutan, India, Japan, South China Sea and the Philippines, and its territorial disputes with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Macau,

Mongolia, Myanmar and Nepal has kept East/South East Asia on edge as alliances are created and re-created to counter Chinese influence in the region (The Week, 2022; Center for Preventive Action, 2024). The annexed territory of Tibet and controlled territories of Xinjiang and Hong Kong have their socio-political structures over-shadowed and replaced by Chinese culture (Kai, et al, 2024). Taiwan, Japan and the Philippines have found the need to invite the presence of the US into the region as a means of deterrence. This has kept China at bay for half a century. Even India that aspires to be a regional power in the area, is accommodating of the presence of the US which has ensured that the dichotomy remains in Southeast Asia, while enabling the US spread its influence that far.

At national and grassroots level, this paper looks no further than Nigeria. During Nigeria's regional system, the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Ibo were the hegemonic groups in the north, west and east respectively, and these three acted on the maxim of the hegemonic peace. The fusion of the socio-political life and structures of northern Nigeria with Islam which was brought into the country by the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio lends credence to the hegemonic status of the Hausa-Fulanis (Njeuma, 1978; Sangare, 2019). Bayero University, Kano and Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria were both built in 1962. The first universities built in the minority areas of the North were the University of Jos and the University of Ilorin, both in 1975.

The story in Eastern Nigeria is similar in many respects as the revolution of Isaac Boro was the outcome of years of marginalisation of the Niger Delta ethnic groups under Ibo domination in the Eastern region. Marginalisation festered as political exclusion, cultural alienation and elite-driven ethnic

domination sidelined minority voices (Nnoli, 1978). The University of Nigeria Nsukka (UNN) was created in 1955 and remained the only university in the region until the creation of Rivers and Cross Rivers States in 1967 which served the interests of minorities in the former Eastern region and so birthed the Universities of Port Harcourt and Calabar in 1975.

In Western Nigeria there was the push for the advancement of the Yoruba without commensurate measures adopted for the minority groups in the region. Leaders from the west like Obafemi Awolowo saw the power of education and charted a course to empower their people accordingly. The University of Ibadan was established in Ibadan in 1948, then the establishment of the Obafemi Awolowo University in Ile-Ife in 1961, and the University of Lagos in 1962. The Mid-West region was created from the Western region in 1963, to enable minorities in the area chart a course toward self-actualisation, and Auchi Federal Polytechnic was founded immediately in the same year. The University of Benin came on stream seven years later in 1970. It is evident that prior to the creation of the Mid-West State, the concentration of development, exemplified by the citing of tertiary educational institutions, was in the Yoruba speaking areas. This is aptly captured in Figure 1 where Obafemi Awolowo is seen with staff and students of a school in Bomadi in the western Niger Delta. Would Awolowo have approved of and identified with such a school for his kinsmen?



Figure 2. Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Premier Western Region (arrowed) in the midst of primary school pupils in Bomadi, Delta Province, Western Region, 1952

Source: Patrick Cole, *The Guardian*, 2020.

The peace of the Yoruba that dictated developmental proceedings in the Western region met with the disapproval of the minority tribes and fuelled their agitation for a state of their own which was capitalised upon by the ruling party, the NPC, to create the Mid-West State for the minorities and to weaken Yoruba influence in the region (Okupu, 1982; Suberu, 1996).

Ironically, the hegemonic peace is usually a recipe for instability and conflict as shown in history's lessons from the global arena to grassroots politics. It works on the tenet of a zero sum game where it is the dominant group that really benefits from the peace it propagates, operating on a winner takes all approach. The hegemonic peace and the instability it promotes is evident through history from international to sub-national levels. Taiwan's invitation of the US into its international waters to keep it safe from the peace of the Peoples Republic of China (PRC) (Reuters, 2019; Masters and Mellow, 2024; Rudd, 2024). The breaking away of States in Eastern Europe at the end of the cold war from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the rush to join the EU to escape the peace of Russia (Moga and Alexeev, 2013; DW,

2021). The Isaac Adaka Boro revolt against the Nigerian State that was prompted by the Ibo marginalisation of minority groups in Nigeria's Eastern region (Suberu, 1996; Ajayi et al, 2025), are all indicators of how states/groups react to the hegemonic peace, and why instability is synonymous with these systems. The Antagonism of Russia and China to the LIO exemplifies reactions to the hegemonic peace of the US at global level (Morozov, 2023; Zimmermann, 2024)

Hegemonic Pacifism

Under this concept, the aim of the regional power is to assist the smaller states within its bloc in whatever way that is possible. It usually encompasses assistance, disaster relief, rebuilding or investment in infrastructure, providing aid or rendering some service to client states. It is often a gesture of assistance or goodwill from a major power to its smaller neighbours within a region or bloc. However, behind every benevolent act is a trade-off, sometimes unplanned and sometimes intentional where the hegemon benefits. This was the case with Pax Britannica and the balance of power at the start of the modern era. This system was anchored on hegemonic pacifism as Britain used its naval superiority to suppress piracy, eradicate slavery and secure global order. Britain did these to protect its own commercial interests that had shifted from slaves to Africa's raw materials (see Fig. 1) (Parchami, 2009; Ryan, 2023).

World War II (WWII) was extremely devastating for Europe, not just because it was brutal, but because it was the second extremely destructive war within twenty-two years that Europe was engulfed in. So, before the continent could recover from the destruction of World War I, it was embroiled in a second one. Beyond the increased sophistication in weaponry, the brief interlude between WWI and WWII, made

it more crippling. With Europe infrastructurally and economically decimated after WWII, the US stepped up with the Marshal plan to assist with the reconstruction of Europe. The US ploughed money into rebuilding Europe's infrastructure and kickstart its economy intending the United Kingdom (UK) and France to reclaim their place as the world's leaders while it goes back into isolation whence it came before the start of the war. But the more the US aided the rebuilding of Europe, the more dependent Europe became on the US to stand. The US could not return to isolation as Europe's dependence thrust it into the position as the world's dominant power, and the global hegemon (International Monetary Fund, n.d.; Eichengreen, 2010; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2025). In this scenario, the benevolence of the US toward Europe came with the unintended prize - global hegemony (Steil, 2018; National Archives, 2022).

China's assistance to its much smaller neighbours in Asia exemplifies hegemonic pacifism. Aside its industrial gains and size, China's assistance to much smaller States in Asia accentuated its influence as the regional hegemon. The assistance rendered by China was done with the intention of growing its influence in the region rather than a debt trap, and this has worked. Loans given by China across Asia (see Table 1) has seen it influence the economies of many Asian States such as Bangladesh, Krygyzstan, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Tajikistan, and so is influential in matters of power succession in these states (Cheong, 2022; Kaleji, 2024).

Table 1. Asian Countries Hugely Indebted to China

State	\$ in Billions	China's Pay-Off
Turkmenistan	\$12.2	Between \$8-10 billion was spent financing a 6,430km pipeline to carry natural gas from Turkmenistan to China's western province of Xinjiang.
Myanmar	\$13.7	China runs much of the Myanmar economy hence it seeks investments from other countries to reduce reliance on China.
Malaysia	\$15.9	China's influence over Malaysia is minimal because the monies borrowed were utilised on local stakeholder projects that have yielded returns.
Cambodia	\$16.3	Debt to China exceeds 20% of GDP thus creating an over reliance on China.
Uzbekistan	\$18	Production in Uzbekistan is largely tied to importers in China and availability of cheap goods for Chinese consumers.
Sri Lanka	\$19.5	Economic dependence on China
Bangladesh	\$20	China's loans have reduced poverty and it is now the country's largest trading partner.
Laos	\$20.6	Due to huge multiple investments in Laos especially through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), China exercises so much influence on Laos such that it is sometimes referred to as a vassal state of China (Lin, 2023a and 2023b).
Iran	\$28	Investments in Iran such as the steel project and Qom-Esfahan passenger rail-line provides huge employment for Chinese labour and market for Chinese materials.
Vietnam	\$28.8	China exercises huge economic and political influence from which Vietnam endeavours to break free as it grows wealthier.
Indonesia	\$55	Indonesia has benefited massively from China's loans that have created economic growth. This has seen China's influence in Indonesia soar (Buhdwar, 2023).
Kazakhstan	\$64.2	China currently controls a large share of Kazakhstan's oil industry.
Pakistan	\$68.9	Though groaning under China's debt, both China and Pakistan are chance allies when either has an issue with India.

Source: Robinson (2024)

It should be noted that the concept and practise of hegemonic pacificism is etched in the concept and practise of Liberal-Realism which in turn is best exemplified in the formation of many Inter-Governmental Organisations (IGO's). A hegemon, or an aspiring hegemon solicits the cooperation of smaller States to form an organisation for a noble cause such as the UN for global peace, or the EU to facilitate brotherhood in Europe. Beyond this liberal tenet of cooperation, the convener plans to grow power/influence using these organisations which amounts to real politics. Examples are the power wielded by

the US through the UN, through which it promotes Pax Americana and the LIO. The same applies to the Bretton Woods Agreement that metamorphosed into the World Trade Organisation with the US being firmly in control of its operations as these institutions are domiciled in its territory (Nicholas, 2015; Bangash, 2015; Sachs, 2021). France, a fading world power, planned to relaunch itself as a global power using the might of Germany. To do this, it advocated the formation of the European Community for Steel and Coal (ECSC) in 1958 and reached out to Germany first to be a founding member of the group (Dinan, 2004; Gilbert, 2012). The ECSC is today's European Union (EU) where France is a major player and through which France has stayed globally relevant.

The third hegemonic approach to stability is hegemonic benevolence. What separates hegemonic benevolence from the others discussed is the committed and no-strings-attached approach of the hegemon in its assistance to smaller states. The hegemon does not force its influence, values or interests on the system. This strategy, which is demanding on the hegemon, works best for stability. Two countries that stand out in this regard are Nigeria and Brazil. The approach of the US to rebuilding Europe as outlined in the Marshall plan, started off on this note as the US was committed to the project without envisaging global dominance.

In as much as my main discourse is Nigeria, permit a brief divergence to Brazil in order to strengthen my argument. Since independence in 1822, Brazil has never been involved in any interstate war despite having 47.7% of South America's land mass and more than half of the continent's population with an estimated 213 million compared to the rest of the continent's 200 million. See figure 3. From Independence in 1822, Brazil

adopted a culture of pacifism because it did not want to be seen as an imposing neighbour. Its 1934 constitution that influenced subsequent constitutions strongly states that Brazil will never engage in any war or conquest, and war shall not be launched until arbitration is exhausted. Although there have been provocations and slight skirmishes, Brazil has avoided interstate conflict because of its non-aggressive approach despite being the regions hegemon (Abdenur and Call, 2017; Martins and James, 2025; Worldometer, 2025).



Figure 3: Map of South America

Source: <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/interactives-extras/maps/map-south-america/2724/>

Brazil's benign approach to regional issues prioritises peaceful means and non-interference in the affairs of its neighbours. In many ways, this has curbed inter-state wars in South America as the region has only experienced one interstate war since 1960. Cocodia (2018) notes that peace operations have a much higher percentage of success with the presence of a lead state.

Similarly, sustaining peace in a region is hugely dependent on the presence of a peace inclined regional hegemon. Lead states are vital to peace sustainability at all levels. Brazil's benign approach is discussed here because there are no payoffs attached other than the stability that abounds for all States in the region.

Like Brazil, Nigeria is West Africa's largest country (population wise) and possesses the region's largest economy, which makes it the most influential actor in the region. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) runs largely on funds generated by Nigeria. In its effort to institute self-funding and consequently reduce financial assistance from the west (given the dictum that he who pays the piper dictates the tune), ECOWAS came up with a finance plan that was much later adopted by the African Union as the Kaberuka proposal. The proposal was named after Rwanda's Minister of Finance who presented it to the AU Commission much later after it had been in use by ECOWAS. The finance plan demands that all member countries of ECOWAS would remit 5% of import levies to ECOWAS. Given that Nigeria, by virtue of her population, imports much more than the other member countries of ECOWAS, its 5% remittance accounts for approximately 80% of the funding for ECOWAS (ECOWAS, n.d.; Ogundele, 2024; Oshewolo et al, 2024; Debrah, 2025).

THE LEFT FIELD NARRATIVE AS RESPONSE TO THE HEGEMONIC PEACE

From the discourse above and the examples provided, hegemonic benevolence and hegemonic pacifism accommodate minority norms, identity and experiences, but these are stifled in hegemonic peace systems. France's policy of assimilation in West Africa marks a good example. The fact

that Nigerians and Ghanians would generally support England in a match against France, while Ivorians and Togolese would support France in the same match is indicative of how Africans are still bonded to the colonial systems that shaped their thought patterns. If Nigeria, as influential as it is in African affairs, has its political gladiators vie for its presidency at London's Chatham House, how then can Africa's voice be heard or break free to tell its story devoid of Western influences? How can Africans have a voice in international affairs when foreign economic experts dictate how the continent grows its economy when it is obvious that the overall game plan of the West is to keep Africa poor? The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) has barely worked in any African country (Kousari, n.d., Oppong, 2014; Ogola, 2025), yet it is adopted by African leaders because it is prescribed by their Western patrons. When Africans trade, even with each other, it is in US dollars. In order to reach certain parts of Africa by air, it is easier to route the flight through Europe. African academics and elites alike root for democracy when it has failed in most developing countries given the rate of poverty globally and especially in Africa. 70 years is more than enough to know it won't work, yet the African academia - the custodians of knowledge and the continent's demagogues, and other experts keep routing for this system of government because it meets the approval of the overseers of the LIO.

Without any doubt, Africans and indeed the developing world are victims of the hegemonic peace that is espoused in the sustenance of the LIO that they must adhere to. African leaders who have challenged this order have been systematically removed or killed and the true stories go untold. By virtue of being victims of the system, Africa and developing nations of the world constitute the global minority and are perched on the periphery of global affairs. This makes their voices muted even

on matters that concern them, and worse still, even on those issues that emanate from their regions. This is where the Left-Field narrative comes in as theory that attends to this deficit, and an analytical tool that captures silenced perspectives. These minority perspectives need not conform to the dominant narrative that is propagandised by the hegemon.

Origins of the Left Field Narrative

There is the saying that there is nothing new under the sun and this applies here. The basis for the Left-Field Narrative was derived from Adichie's (2009) lecture on 'The Dangers of a Single Narrative'. Adichie focused on the power of the dominant (Western) narrative and its tendency to corrupt other perspectives and world views. The message from that lecture was instrumental to the idea of developing a narrative that would express minority perspectives in such a manner that the norms and values of their experiences are preserved rather than corrupted through the lens of the dominant view. Several literary authors have expressed similar concerns as Adichie on the need to preserve the values, views and epistemics of groups on the periphery, and they include; Said (1978), and Thiong'o (1986) who argued against the dangers of the dominant Western narrative and how it suffocates the views of global minorities especially where Western paradigms and minorities cultures clash. Freire (1970), Smith (1999), Spivak, (1999), and Kessi et al (2020), speak of the benefits to education if and when paradigms are expanded beyond Western criteria to accept culturally relative perspectives and epistemics. This makes education more productive to the global minority and holistic to all groups. Fricker (2007) conceives it as injustice when a people's experience is misunderstood because they have been denied the power to produce and express knowledge on their own terms. So Fricker advocates that global minorities

should be given a voice in knowledge production. The Left Field Narrative is a response to the call of these great literary geniuses. The fears expressed by these authors of the dominant narrative, and what the Left-Field Narrative serves to achieve will be explained using the three levels of analyses as applied in the first section of this lecture.

The Left-Field Narrative and the Liberal International Order.

The LIO promotes its values and norms as more humane, and so superior to that of other cultures. The LIO, for example, condemns activities such as child labour, but Alagoa (2005) argues that such activities are processes of social integration, identity formation and communal responsibility in many African societies. Children in most African communities are encouraged to be active participants in the family and community economy and are made to know that they are integral to the survival of the household. Through this socialisation process, children develop skills and community responsibility. Arguing in tandem, Irikana and Irikana, (2025) contend that, rather than abandon local norms for global values, there should be balanced compromises that recognise local social-economic imperatives while safeguarding the children's health, education and wellbeing. So, what narrative can Africans employ to argue that what the LIO calls child abuse, is a process of socialisation and responsibility building? The Left-Field narrative fills this analytical gap.

Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi's crime for which they were deposed was challenging the dominance of the US dollar in international trade. Angered by the US led coalition on his country, Hussein sought to sell Iraq's crude oil using the euro rather than the dollar. The US could not afford to see the global dominance of the dollar threatened, so, fearing a

domino effect, it opted to attack Hussein a second time, but under the ruse of Hussein possessing chemical weapons. Gaddafi on the other hand pushed for Africa to integrate its economies and forge a common currency backed by Libyan gold with which African States would trade with each other and the rest of the world. The basis for this policy thrust by Gaddafi was to reduce dependence on the US dollar. Washington did not like this because its hegemony is tied to the dollar as the world's global currency (The Economic Times, 2008; Davidson, 2017; Brown, 2021; Cocodia, 2024). The US can place sanctions on almost any country based on the dominance of the dollar. It does this through starving the sanctioned State of its dollars and threatening same to any other State that attempts to trade with the erring State. This makes it difficult for the sanctioned state to do business because of the shortage of dollars, and trading partners who become wary due to the threat from the US (Sen, 2019; Letzing, 2022; Siripurapu and Berman, 2023). Had Hussein and Gaddafi succeeded in their quest, others would have followed, and the Hegemony of the US would have been seriously called into question. So, while the global media such as Cable New Network (CNN) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) pushed the narrative of Saddam having chemical weapons and Gaddafi killing his people, both of which were contrived and fatalistic falsehoods, these leaders were screened from telling their side of the story. Even now, after their death, so little attention is given to the reason behind US aggression on these leaders.

The dependency theory and its proponents such as Walter Rodney (1972) argue that the poverty of the developing world should be blamed on the West. Nicholas (2015) presents this in more specific terms as he argues from the perspective of international political economy that the West needs to keep

Africa poor in order to stay rich. This it does through the global financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), detrimental financial policies such as the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and other loans and forms of aid which they compel developing nations to take. The international economic system Nicholas (2015) argues is rigged to keep things this way. When these financial booby traps fail to keep developing nations from forging ahead in building wealth (which is seen as a challenge to Western hegemony), they interfere directly either through open warfare as seen with Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, or covert operations that spur military coups as witnessed in the overthrow of Patrice Lumumba of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Murtala Mohammed of Nigeria; or the subtle hijacking of electoral processes as was done in the elections that removed Laurent Gbagbo of Cote d'Ivoire and Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria (Davies, in Cocodia, 2017; Ogunjuyigbe, 2025). Piecing these events together in research, in as much as they have remained the unconventional, seldom heard story, adduces to the Left-Field narrative.

The Left Field Narrative at National Level

There is hardly any better allusion to draw at national level than the Nigerian Civil War where till date, there are two dominant narratives; The Federal narrative propagated by the Federal government of Nigeria that paints the proponents of Biafra as the antagonists, and the counter narrative pushed by the Ibo ethnic nationality where they portray themselves as victims of a genocidal campaign by Nigeria's federal government. Between these two narratives, where is the narrative of Nigeria's southern minority caught in the crossfire?

While the two dominant narratives of the civil war are relatively true, they are both guilty of the fallacy of exclusion, and deliberately so. Envisaging war and attempting to whittle the influence of the Ibo who were agitating for secession and who were also the major group in Nigeria's Eastern region, the military regime of Yakubu Gowon forged Nigeria into a federal structure and created Rivers and Cross Rivers States for the minority groups in the East. The core areas inhabited by the Ibos were carved into the two states of Anambra and Imo. This did not go down well with the Ibos who considered the oil rich states of Rivers and Cross Rivers, and the oil rich fields of the coastal regions of the Mid-West State as part of the Eastern region given their kin (the Ase people) who reside in some of those areas (in today's Delta State). Oil politics pulled the trigger for war in Nigeria's ethnically charged polity of the 60s.

To buttress the version of genocide, the Ibo account tells of the massacre of thousands of Ibo's in the north which forced those who were resident there to return home in the South-East. Of course, it is the Ibo's telling their story, so the account is Ibo-centric, but the hardly spoken fact remains that, minorities from the southeast, whether Efik, Ibibio, Ibirom, Ijaw, Ogoni, etc and even some from the Midwest, were victims of the pogrom in the north. As long as they were not Hausa or Yoruba, the irate, highly illiterate mob of northern youths hardly cared to differentiate the southeastern minorities from the Ibos. So, all southeastern groups suffered casualties, but, there is no disputing that the Ibo's suffered heavier losses in view of their knack for commerce that compels them to travel and settle far from home in large numbers. However, while accounts of Ibo travails abound, South-Eastern minority experiences are barely visible (see Omaka, 2014; Akpan, 2021).

Extant literature relating to Nigeria's civil war is filled with the victimisation of the Ibo's, but there is an old saying that 'in war, there are no saints' and this held true for Nigeria's civil war. Accounts show that southeastern minorities were of three factions. Those who supported the 'One Nigeria' concept and sided with the federal government. Those who supported secession and were on the side of Biafra. And those who were unsure or untrusting of their fate under either outcomes and so stayed neutral through the conflict. Minorities in support of Biafra and those who stayed neutral faced persecution, or sometimes outright execution from federal troops when they took control of the area. Similar persecutions were purported to have been meted out to groups who supported federal troops or stayed neutral in Biafra controlled areas (Omaka, 2014). Accounts by Omaka (2014), BBC (2018), Emah and Osadola (2021) and Emah and Adebayo (2022) tell of the resistance by minorities to the presence of Biafra troops in their communities. These views question the conventional narrative of comprehensive support for Biafra in Nigeria's Eastern region. Unfortunately, there are too few accounts of minorities experiences of the civil war. Rising up to this challenge of capturing silenced minority narratives means espousing the Left-field narrative.

A major thrust in minority discourses should revolve around documenting the heroics of its heroes. Nigeria's civil war has been documented by members of the major ethnic groups or foreign scholars. These accounts such as Olusegun Obasanjo's 'My Command (1999), Frederick Forsyth's *The Biafra Story: The Making of an African Legend* (2015); Ekwe-kwe *The Igbo Genocide, Britain and the United States* (2015); and many more, recount the bravery and astuteness of actors from the dominant ethnic groups, or their miscalculations and suffering.

In as much as Isaac Adaka Boro is revered among the Ijaws and a lot of oral reference is made to his twelve-day revolution, very little is known about his exploits fighting on the side of federal forces during Nigeria's civil war. One of the very few accounts of Boro's contributions to the liberation of Port Harcourt and the overall outcome of the war was provided by Rtd. Brigadier General Godwin Alabi-Isama, an indigene of Ukwani, Delta State, in his book *The Tragedy of Victory: On-the-Spot Account of the Nigeria-Biafra War in the Atlantic Theatre* (see Alabi-Isama, 2013; Obilo, 2025). What has the Ijaw ethnic group done to promote and preserve Boro's (battlefield) legend and so establish the contributions of the coastal minorities to national unity beyond oil? Such research, when carried out, falls within the purview of the Left-Field Narrative at sub national level as it enables local minorities express and promote their culture, values, identity, and heroes.

Beyond the popular accounts of Nigeria's civil war, the experiences and values of minorities have been distorted overtime. Unfortunately, too little has been done to counter the dominant narratives. The Ilesanmi Social Studies book that was used across primary schools in Nigeria through the 70s and early 80s carried a picture of a wooden shack on stilts pitched in the middle of a large creek with the caption, 'An Ijaw House on Water.' Then the paragraphs that followed justified the picture that Ijaws generally live on water. This view was never countered so the book was never retracted for bearing such gross misrepresentation of a people. Given the topography of some Ijaw speaking areas that experience low and high tides (for saltwater areas), or seasonal flooding (for freshwater areas), such habitations exist. This is however akin to a small proportion of the Ijaws, the majority of whom live on land and in large thriving communities. Keeping mute in the

face of such misrepresentations rubs off negatively on the identity and dignity of a people, an entire ethnic group. The Left-Field Narrative therefore calls for an awakening of the consciousness of minorities to promote their norms, values and identity, redress such imbalance and preserve their dignity.

The Left Field Narrative at Subnational Level

From the foregoing presentation of the Left-Field Narrative as an interpretivist research analytical tool and as theory (depending on the context of its usage), the same entails at subnational level. A good example is the once disputed Oloibiri oil fields. Extant literature and Nigeria's oil history refers to Oloibiri as host to the first oil well. There has however been an agelong claim that the first oil well was actually sited at Otuabagi. This matter was put to rest on March 14, 2024 in favour of Otuabagi, and without the right of appeal (Igoni, 2024; Osahon, 2024). Several cogent reasons can be adduced for this misrepresentation. First, when oil was discovered on January 15, 1956, Otuabagi was a part of the Oloibiri District, in Brass Division of Nigeria's Eastern region. That the district was named after Oloibiri is indicative of the dominant clan in the area, and not necessarily the precise location of the discovery. Although no oil-well is cited at Oloibiri till this day, the community had all along exploited its dominance (as the miniature hegemon) of the area to control the narrative in order to reap the benefits that would accrue to oil bearing communities. It is necessary to note here that politics in Nigeria operates on a zero-sum-game principle where the winner takes all. This explains Oloibiri's actions, so what had all along been its gain, had all along been Otuabagi's loss. Another possible factor for the skewed narrative is that Isaac Adaka Boro, arguably the most iconic Ijaw hero in modern time, was born in Oloibiri. So, the support given to Olobiri

over its oil-well ownership narrative, at the expense of Otuabagi, could have been considered as a tribute to Boro and one that would go down well with the Ijaw ethnic group. Pushing Otuabagi's untold story which would rewrite Nigeria's oil history is adopting the Left-Field Narrative. In providing a holistic view to an issue, the Left-Field Narrative becomes an apt analytical tool in interpretivist research for setting records straight through urging silenced voices to be heard.

What the Left-Field Narrative is and What it is Not

The Left Field Narrative is designed to serve a dual purpose in research.

1. It is a tool of analysis for interpretivist research. The Left Field Narrative fulfils this potential given that research analysis is the process of collecting and interpreting data to identify patterns, test propositions, draw conclusions and gain new insights.
2. It can also be applied as theory knowing that theories provide predictions, frameworks and evidential explanation of events relating to our social world (Patton, 2015; Creswell and Creswell, 2018). As theory, it captures the silenced events synonymous with minority suppression, whether brazen like the deposition of Muammar Gaddafi, or subtle as evidenced in the Otuabagi oilwells.

There are many concepts in academic research such as problem-solving theory and grounded theory that serve the dual purpose of 'theory' and 'research analysis. Table 2. highlights the differences and similarities between theory and research analysis and provides vivid description, based on the discourse of this lecture, why the Left-Field Narrative can be

applied as theory and research analysis. From the table, it is apparent that though serving different purposes in research, theories and research analyses are not widely varying and have a lot in common. So, when applied as theory, the Left-Field Narrative would take on the appellation, the Left Field Theory’.

Table 2. Difference and Similarities Between Theory and Research Analysis

Aspect	Theory	Research Analysis	Similarity
Purpose	Explains phenomena, provides frameworks	Examines data to understand phenomena	Both aim to increase understanding of a subject
Foundation	Built on previous knowledge and evidence	Uses data and findings, often from empirical sources	Both are grounded in systematic knowledge
Logic & Reasoning	Involves deductive or inductive reasoning	Also uses logical reasoning to interpret data	Both rely on logical, structured thinking
Use of Concepts	Develops or uses abstract concepts	Tests, explores, or refines those concepts	Both involve working with theoretical constructs
Interdependence	Guides the design of research and hypotheses	Results from analysis can support, refute, or refine theory	Theory informs analysis; analysis informs theory
Systematic Approach	Built systematically through review and synthesis	Follows systematic procedures for data collection & analysis	Both are structured and methodical
Critical Thinking	Requires evaluating assumptions and frameworks	Requires evaluating evidence and interpretations	Both demand critical evaluation and reflection

Source: ChatGPT, N.D. Similarities and Differences Between Theory and Research Analysis’

The usage of the Left-Field Narrative/Theory is not strictly about minority populations. It is known that sometimes, in cases of role-reversal-minority, the narrative of the influential minority dominates popular opinion and extant literature as well. In such cases where the view of the subdued majority is suppressed, the Left-Field Narrative attends to, and promotes the suppressed experience. Whether as research analysis or as theory, it attends to the silenced views irrespective of whether

it emanates from a minority or majority ethnic, racial, religious or social group. Much of what is read today about northern Nigeria is the narrative of the Fulani, who have dominated the socio-political and cultural space of the region. It is argued that the term Hausa-Fulani is a contrivance of the minority Fulani who control socio-political affairs in the north but need affiliation with the Hausa to swell their figures to give them the advantage in national politicking. While this has been beneficial especially to the Fulani, it has been subversive to the other ethnic groups in the North of Nigeria who can hardly rise to places of national prominence without the consent of Fulani elites. Ideology, culture and emotions are never quantified, they are expressed, and where this expression is stifled, yet needs to be heard, the Left-Field Narrative embodies and promotes it.

Summary of Argument

Vice Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen, there has been so much discourse of systems in political science especially in the realm of International Relations. In most of these systems there is a hegemon or a group of hegemons. Extant literature presents a hegemon as a major power (which it really is), but then, when contextualised, multiple hegemons can exist, each with its own sphere of influence. Thus, they exist at the state, regional/continental or international/global levels. It is for this reason too that the term regional and sub-regional hegemons exist, and I dare extend this to local communities and families as well. In light of the above, I have decided to employ the term hegemon/hegemony in this loose sense for the purpose of this lecture.

Hegemons through history orchestrate any of three major systems: The first is the system where the values of the hegemon are imposed on smaller states within its sphere of

influence. This is termed the hegemonic peace as seen today in Pax Americana. The second is the system where the hegemon interferes mainly to keep the system stable. This interference usually demands trade-offs to the benefit of the hegemon to keep it happy and preserve its influence within the polity and so keep the peace. This system is anchored on hegemonic pacifism. Thirdly and finally, is hegemonic benevolence where the hegemon takes it upon itself to ensure stability within its sphere of influence and does this sometimes to its own detriment. A good example of this is Pax Nigeriana that kept ECOWAS stable and buoyant for much of its existence. While these terms are certainly not new, and so possibly not worthy of an inaugural lecture, the ‘Left Field Narrative/Theory’ is.

In so far as hegemons exist, there are States/groups of lesser relevance (some bordering on the periphery of the international system) who are silenced, and this occurs across international, national and sub-national spectrums. Hegemons often weave the dominant narrative that usually becomes the ‘single narrative’. This is synonymous with the hegemonic peace and the perspectives or experiences of the smaller groups are seldom heard or given much value. Much of the academia, the social media and religious influences today are echoes of the dominant narrative.

What this inaugural lecture proffers is a new ideological concept - the Left Field Theory/Narrative, that attends to the global, national and subnational minorities and presents an interpretivist avenue to share and educate the world about their ideas, views, grievances and experiences. This Left Field concept is contrived to serve the dual function of theory and research analysis since it possesses the features of these research tools as it explains phenomena, provides frameworks

based on the evidence of past experiences, and identifies trends. The Left Field concept, either as a narrative (research analysis) or theory, offers to reverse decades and centuries of minority silencing across the three levels of socio-political existence. The term 'Left Field' is adopted due to its conveyance of unconventional narratives that offer alternatives to the dominant/conventional narrative.

Conclusion

As a child growing up, we got used to the statement, 'the first to speak wins the case.' This in many ways is reminiscent of the dominant narrative. Others are rarely keen to hear the other side of the story. In many ways, this is how the international system works. The Western viewpoints and experiences reverberate the loudest through having control of the global media who usually have the first word, the first narrative out. 'Breaking News' is a familiar term from the major international news stations, and until they are heard from, the world hardly believes the story. But these news stations function to protect the interests of the LIO or that of the group that benefits from the dominant narrative spun. As such, they are not always disposed to present comprehensively factual reports of events. So, sometimes, behind the stories told, there are other narratives that speak of suppression, manipulation and neglect of a silenced group. The function of the Left-Field Narrative is to bring these obscure views and experiences to the fore and draw attention to them. Unconventional views and experiences deserve as much right to be heard like the conventional ones. Unfortunately, the influence of the dominant narrative that dictates international norms and perspectives, plays out at national and sub-national levels as shown in this lecture, and even within families and our homes. As long as there is some powerplay, those who dominate the narrative usually explore and exploit their advantage in zero-

sum fashion. The Left-Field concept (rightly so coined), because it attends to unconventional experiences and viewpoints, focuses on creating space in academic research for these unheard experiences lest they fizzle out.

All of humanity, irrespective of where, or at what level, is entitled to be heard. Peaceful and meaningful co-existence at all levels demand that hegemons should allow the expression of minority views and act on them for the greater good of all of humanity. Conflict usually emanates as processes of emancipation to break the shackles of suppression ironically hoisted through the hegemonic peace, but where mutual respect thrives, peace pervades. This is the aim of benevolent hegemons hence under their watch, smaller States/groups flourish as well as their narratives. Hegemons should therefore adopt cultural, moral and ideological considerations in their interactions with smaller groups. This ensures that ensuing relationships are conducted from the perspectives of consent of the lesser groups rather than from the point of coercion of the dominant group. This approach which is based on mutual respect will allow for the inclusivity of minority values and views which the global community can learn and benefit from and keep conflict at bay.

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NDU 70TH INAUGURAL LECTURER



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ABOUT THE INAUGURAL LECTURER

Professor Jude Kurodorkumo Cocodia was born to the family of Sir Alexander Ekayamaowei and Princess Agnes Adaeze Cocodia. He was the eighth of nine children in a home that was filled with love and discipline. Whenever asked about his family, he often quipped with the joke that “we are a complete football team without reserves”. He attended Emotan Nursery and Primary schools in Benin from 1975-1983, and Immaculate Conception College also in Benin City from 1983-1988. He is a graduate of the University of Ibadan where he got his B.A. Philosophy degree in 1993. He received his MSc in International Relations from the University of Benin in 2001 and began his lecturing career with the Niger Delta University as a pioneer staff of the Department of Political Science in 2002. He proceeded to Erasmus University in the Netherlands for an M.A. in Philosophy which was awarded in 2004. He received his doctorate degree from the University of Nottingham, UK in 2016.

Professor Jude K. Cocodia rose through the ranks of the Niger Delta University where he served as Acting Head of the Department of Political Science from 2018 to 2021 and attained the rank of Professor in 2023. Professor Jude Cocodia is a 2014 Research Fellow of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) USA. In 2016, he obtained the award of Associate Fellow of the Higher Education Association (HEA) in the United Kingdom. He has been a Research Fellow of the University of the Free State, Blomfontein, South Africa since 2022. In 2024 he was a Visiting Scholar at the National Chung Hsing University, in Taiwan, and he is a Taiwan Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) Fellow. He remains a Visiting Scholar of the Advanced Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences, National Chung Hsing University in Taiwan.

In service to the profession, Professor Jude K. Cocodia was instrumental to the revival of the South-South zone of the Nigerian Political Science Association and became its Zonal Secretary in 2018. In 2021, he was elevated to the National Executive Committee of the Nigerian Political Science Association and he is currently the National Assistant Secretary. He has reviewed numerous manuscripts for major Political Science Journals that cut across SAGE, Taylor and Francis, JSTOR and Elsevier, and he has been an Official Reviewer for *Insight on Africa*, a SAGE journal, since 2020. He is the immediate past Editor of the Wilberforce Journal of the Social Sciences (WJSS) which is the flagship journal of the NDU's Faculty of Social Sciences. He stepped down from the editor's role having been in the saddle for five years. During his tenure, he got the journal indexed across six academic databases and secured funding from TETFUND for the Journal. Today, the WJSS is the only journal of the NDU that is funded by TETFUND.

Professor Cocodia is a Global Politics Examiner for International Baccalaureate, a prestigious Geneva based Diploma Awarding institution that prepares students for entry into universities in Europe. Acting in line with the dictum – '*charity begins from home*', he has supervised hundreds of undergraduate projects at the NDU and successfully supervised five PhD and six MSc students, all within the PG School's allotted timeframe of three and two years respectively. He has twice served as undergraduate External Examiner to the University of Africa Toru-Orua, Nigeria. He is an External Examiner for PhD candidates at the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, and the Durban University of Technology, both in South Africa.

Professor Cocodia is well published and has three books to his credit all of which focus on African Security and were published by major publishers. His first book, *Peacekeeping in the African Union: Building Negative Peace* was published by Routledge in 2018. Based on data from the World Libraries Catalogue (see <https://search.worldcat.org/title/1004968891>), this book is on the shelf of 162 libraries across the world, inclusive of the African Union Library, United Nations Geneva Library, and the European Parliament Library. His second book, *'African Security in the Anthropocene'* was published in 2023 by Springer Nature, Switzerland. This book was launched in New York, USA by the United Nations Think Tank - *Global Action to Prevent War*. His third book - *'Complex Solutions to Local Problems: Constructed Narratives and External Intervention in Somalia's Crisis'* was published by Anthem Press UK in 2024. This book has been reviewed in two high profile journals namely; *Africa Review*, and *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. Professor Cocodia has been a guest writer for the Annual Bulletin, *'Africa! Year in Review'* which is published by the Wilson Center in Canada. Between March and August 2025, he worked in collaboration with the Centre for Gender and Africa Studies, University of the Free State, South Africa, on a Sahel Security Project.

Beyond the global spread of his books, Professor Cocodia's articles have served as Recommended Readings in universities in South Africa, the United Kingdom and Turkey. His article, *'Local Women and Building the Peace: Narratives from Africa'*, published in August 2022 by *Insight on Africa*, was downloaded approximately 700 times in three years on the SAGE website alone. On ResearchGate, this article commands a score of 84% on citations as it is cited once for every four times it is read. A second article, *'Civil Society and Peace Transformation in Sudan's Darfur Region'* was among the top

20 articles published by *Africa Insight*, a SAGE journal, in 2023. Professor Cocodia has published in *E-International Relations*, which according to Google, is the world's leading open-access website for students and scholars of International Politics.

Outside the academia and in contribution still to society, Professor Jude Cocodia was the Coordinator in Nigeria for the London based Charity, Everyone Counts International (ECI) from 2010-2012. He was the Secretary and Events Coordinator of ECI in London from 2013-2016 while running his PhD programme at the University of Nottingham.

Professor Jude K. Cocodia is married to Dr Mrs. Kelechi Iheoma Cocodia and they have been blessed with three children - Anne-Marie, Adrian and Audrey, all of whom have been immense blessings and shining stars in their own right.

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