

# Constraints and Possibilities in Creating a Sustainable Inclusive Society in Africa: A Philosophical Re-imagining of Coetzee's *Disgrace*

Mary Stella Chika Okolo

Department of Communication and General Studies,  
Federal University of Agriculture Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria.  
Corresponding author: mscokolo@hotmail.com

© Okolo

OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development, Ontario International Development Agency, Canada  
ISSN 1923-6654 (print) ISSN 1923-6662 (online)  
Available at <http://www.ssrn.com/link/OIDA-Intl-Journal-Sustainable-Dev.html>

**Abstract:** The question of an inclusive society is at the core of any meaningful imagining of a future for Africa that will recognize, accommodate and harmonize differences. To say this is to focus on how a 'society for all' can be created and sustained. This will require a social space that upholds and defends multiplicity of values rendered on the principle of equality and equity. Investigations, however, reveal that the notions of equality and equity are not treated as sacrosanct in most African societies. What societal arrangements favor the incorporation of all categories of interest in the society? To what extent does incorporation translate to active participation in societal affairs? In a knowledge economy, for instance, how do inheritors of Bantu education enter into a *truly* inclusive arrangement? What does the right to vote effectively translate to when the meaning of the right is mostly excluded through rigging as is the case in most modern African states? How and why does exclusion occur? How does 'society for all' become a *lived* concept for members living at the fringe of society like the poor, the homosexuals and other marginalized groups? How inclusive is the law that stipulates the standard for society? For example, how is the concept of equality between male and female engaged under Sharia law? To what extent does the 'handicap' to access the facilities of an inclusive society impede societal progress and fuel social and political insecurity? Is achieving a 'total' inclusive society a utopian goal? Is it possible to create an inclusive society where some members prefer exclusion? When, how and why should exclusion be preferred to inclusion?

To answer these questions will require disciplines working together to create a knowledge fusion cell. Philosophy with its insistence on analysis of concepts and critical evaluation of ideas and literature, here represented by *Disgrace*, with its focus on the individual, the society and how the private and public interact on daily basis provide excellent investigative tools in any attempt to interrogate and understand the multidimensionality of an inclusive society. Also as theoretical disciplines that operate outside stipulated laws and formulae, philosophy and literature can evaluate the past, examine the present and envision the future. As such, they can offer a comprehensive worldview on the constraints hindering the creation of an inclusive society and the possibilities that will enable its emergence and why we need to sustain it.

By situating the constraints and possibilities within a dialectical relationship, the paper teases out both the explicit and implicit elements of the two and their overlaps. The outcome will help in building a framework to support Africa to reinvent its future, redefine its priority direction and renegotiate its place in international relations and in the context of current global transformations.

**Keywords:** Inclusive society, Africa, Philosophy, Literature.

## Introduction: Imperative for an Inclusive Society

Creating a society where citizens can feel at home and can theoretically and practically participate actively in the affairs of the society is at the core of an inclusive society. To say this is to highlight the issue of how meaningful development can be achieved and sustained. Societies where rights and privileges, for instance,

are defined by race, class, gender, economic and political power are often fraught with security, political and social upheavals. Transforming African societies and consolidating the gains will depend *critically* on how truly inclusive African societies are arranged.

Coetzee's *Disgrace* throws open the multifaceted issues associated with a society struggling towards social inclusiveness. It reveals how the past can get into/control the present. It is important to recognize that imagining a sustainable inclusive society in Africa necessarily involves understanding its past, incorporating its present and envisioning its future.

The paper offers a philosophical re-imagining of Coetzee's *Disgrace*. This entails extracting the ideas contained in the novel and subjecting them to philosophical analysis, exposition and reconstruction. A philosophical reading also offers space to go beyond the ideas contained in the novel and examine variety of perspectives that can contribute to a detailed and deeper understanding in our reasoning about inclusive society. Importantly, a philosophical re-imagining allows through sustained reflection to 'see' how the issues raised in the novel play out in a wider context of African experience as well as create the future society Africa needs.

### *Disgrace*

The novel unfolds against the background of racist acts of violence and xenophobia that continued in South Africa's new rainbow age. People are caught in the change from one extreme to another. It is difficult to map out the parameters within which to operate in the new arrangement. Even words that once had stipulated meanings can no longer be relied on. Instead of the new political arrangement ushering in a new order, society is left in confusion.

By using daily activities of characters to recreate public demands, Coetzee uses the story of David Lurie, an adjunct professor of Communications at the Cape Technical University and his daughter, Lucy, who has taken up a country life. Lurie resigns his appointment with the university due to his involvement in sexual misconduct with one of his students, Melanie Isaacs. He seeks refuge in Lucy's smallholding in Salem rather than seeking new employment.

In Salem he encounters race, crime, poverty, violence and rape. Lucy is gang-raped by three black men which later results in pregnancy; himself locked up in the toilet and burnt. Without warning the journey which began as a retreat from society, opens a wider exclusive space in which neither him nor Lucy can ever hope to completely fit in.

Lurie's exclusion began even before his exile to Salem. Once a professor of Modern Languages, he is forced to become an adjunct professor of Communications as part of the great rationalization. In exchange for the closure of Classics and Modern Languages he is allowed to offer one special-field course a year as a morale booster.

Events in Salem serve to bring into sharp focus Lurie's displacement and even Lucy's. Petrus', Lucy's ex-farm hand and now co-owner, conveniently disappears on the day of the attack. Later, one of the men who raped Lucy turns out to be his relation. Petrus takes him in to live with him. Lurie's objection is swept aside. Instead Petrus offers to marry Lucy so as to prevent her from further attacks. Even through a marriage is offered, the real deal is to take over all of Lucy's land.

*Disgrace* exposes the absurdity of post-apartheid society. Where apartheid once ruled, its philosophy inspires imitation by blacks who were once at its receiving end. The new political order instead of acting as a vehicle for an inclusive society is manipulated to highlight old divisions and introduce new exclusions. Once again it is the victorious that appropriates logic and enforces his interpretation on others. The struggle between blacks and whites, rich and poor continue to be defined by rape, brutality and hatred.

*Disgrace* is clearly based on post-apartheid life in South Africa, yet its concerns transcend that. Other universal themes proliferate throughout the novel: the need for an inclusive society and the many elements that thwart its development; the elements that fuel exclusion whether based on the socio-political arrangement in place or brought about by an individual's values and preferences; and questions of racial and sexual criminalization against the backdrop of globalization.

### **Towards a Sustainable Inclusive African Society: Constraints and Possibilities**

Understanding the concept of an inclusive society is necessary for evaluating the transformations that have taken place in African societies. Inclusion promotes people's opportunity to actively participate in economic, social and civic activities and enhances their chance to pursue their goals, ambitions and realize their creative potentials. The changes that followed the dismantling of apartheid have significantly redefined people's choices, values, attitudes and orientations. Post-apartheid has thrown open a wide range of opportunities. These opportunities, however, are mostly not backed up with the correct tools that will guarantee their effective utilization. When a country is

arranged in such a way that more than half the population suffer disproportionate disadvantage; when blacks cannot participate effectively in the economic life of the country due to lack of capital; when blacks are mostly restricted to unskilled jobs due to an inferior and poorly resourced education system, society's full potential is locked up. Not only do the victims resort to acts of violence and crime contrary to modern society, but also society is shortchanged in terms of capable human capital and productive benefits. When inclusion fails, the achievement of comprehensive development in any society is critically undermined.

In an era of global transformations, Africa needs to aim for sustainable inclusive society as development is a major factor in nation assessment. Creating an inclusive society, however, has two main aspects: constraints and possibilities. Constraints are the elements – explicit, complex, concrete and elusive – that hinder its achievement; possibilities are policies, structures and actions that enable its realization. Many points can be extracted from the novel in favor of each, but the paper adopts a dialectical approach that highlights each as a dynamic process that embodies the other. The reasoning that informs this method is that constraint discovered and corrected translates to a possibility recognized and realized.

### Race

*Disgrace* points to race as a key factor undermining any attempt to forge a collective identity in an inclusive and participatory manner in post-apartheid South Africa. Through daily activities of characters, Coetzee reveals the many divides that threaten inclusive existence in post-apartheid South Africa. Lucy's gang-rape, perhaps, best exposes the core of this problem. After the rape, one of the rapists, Pollux, came to live with Petrus. Despite Lurie's objection, Petrus *willingly* keeps Pollux because in Petrus words '[h]e is my family, my people' (201). There is no attempt to understand what Lucy is going through or the emotional strain she will be under living in the same farm with Pollux. The gap persists. The lack of inclusive disposition and attitude towards the *other* still predominates. Lurie and Petrus both hold to their different social identities.

Deep seated prejudice continues to govern race relations. It is important to note the social context of apartheid: the socialization, experiences under apartheid and the far-reaching effect of these on people's life – how they shaped peoples values, worldview, attitude and responses. Pusch Commey (2012:14) reminds us that '[t]he fault lines deepened in 1913 when the white races passed the Native Land Act which limited black land ownership to 7% of the territory, later to be increased to 13% of the most unproductive and resource poor portions.' Add this to the Bantu Education Act which *severely* curtailed the education given to the blacks. The Bantu Education Act of 1955 is described in *Mandela: The Authorised Portrait* (2006:67) as 'an attempt to imprison their [blacks] minds.' According to Commey (14) the Bantu Education Act 'created an inferior and badly resourced education system with a curriculum that taught blacks to be servants destined to minister to the needs of the white master.' Lurie, a representative of the white race is a professor; Petrus a representative of the black race is Lucy's farm-help and dog-man and with the collapse of apartheid a co-owner.

Far-reaching reconciliation cannot be achieved without justice. Commey (17) remarks that 'little has changed with respect to ownership of the economy and land. Whites with the power to leverage capital have prospered even better under liberation, as opportunities have opened up locally and internationally, where South Africa is no longer a pariah. So 95% of the economy remains in white hands, together with 83% of the land.' So even with a new social order, the essentials of white domination are retained. Differences in standard persist – there is one standard for those with wealth, mostly whites, and another, more rigid standard for the poor, mostly blacks. In effect, dismantling of apartheid has only succeeded in promoting a veneer of equality while in actual fact victims of apartheid are still crippled by it. Pollux, one of the rapists, is a jobless, school drop-out (200).

Commey warns that 'the greatest threat to the country [South Africa] is the inherited inequalities that are drawn along racial lines. It is a problem that can spark social upheavals.' *Disgrace* captures some of these social upheavals in the form of crime, rape, brutality and hatred. Recounting the experience of the rape to her father, Lucy observes that what stunned her most was that '[i]t was so personal...It was done with such personal hatred...But why did they hate me so? I had never set eyes on them' (156). Lurie's response is very enlightening: 'It was history speaking through them....A history of wrong....It came down from the ancestors' (156). Nothing, perhaps, captures the deep divide between the races better.

Apartheid was severely limiting. It critically undermined the interdependence of humanity. Challenge of post-apartheid era must involve expanding choices for the people. Critical to this is creating a *truly* inclusive society where there is free flow of interaction, accommodation, tolerance, mutual respect, and equality of opportunities. Mandela's example in appointing F.W. de Clerk as one of his deputies in the first democratic regime is instructive.

Such an example is expected from those who had hitherto enjoyed disproportionate advantage in terms of the resources of the country. Commey (17) notes that part of the problem of racist acts of violence 'is the generosity of spirit that is often lacking in the previously advantaged – the spirit of giving that will go a long way to managing a potentially explosive situation.'

*Disgrace* also shows that without a heartfelt desire to expand the metaphorical space, all efforts at structural inclusion will harbor the seeds of its eventual destruction. Instead of packing up and leaving after the rape as Lurie suggested, Lucy opted to stay. The choice is not without a price. Paradoxically as the community is finding its conscience, it is also losing it. Lucy is prepared to give up everything (205); Petrus is ready to take every thing from her, and turn her into one of his wives. Even at that she believes that 'that is a good point to start from again. Perhaps that is what I must learn to accept. To start at ground level. With nothing. Not with nothing but. With nothing' (205).

Also there is need to create safe space for people to expose and explore their vulnerability and make gradual adjustment towards accommodating and including others of differing race. Such environment is necessary to encourage post-apartheid progress. Clearly, post-apartheid gains are important. For the first time demands for equality, equal access to the country's resources and privileges are placed squarely on the table. In the old apartheid arrangement, Petrus was the 'dig-man, the carry-man, the water-man' (151) for Lucy. In the new arrangement he is a 'co-proprietor' (62). An inclusive society necessarily entails ensuring equal opportunities for all. A society still close to the tragedy and guilt that accompanies racial hatred should be in a better position to appreciate the dignity of all human life.

The point about race can also be placed within the bigger picture of the colonial history of most African societies. Just as deep seated prejudice cannot *melt* away because apartheid has officially ended, the colonial experience of most African states that foisted different ethnicities on each other has continued to dodge every effort at building and sustaining an inclusive society. Nigeria will serve as a good example. Nigeria consists of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious entities bunched up as a country. Chinua Achebe (1983:5) notes that '[n]othing in Nigeria's political history captures the problem of national integration more graphically than the chequered fortune of the word *tribe* in her vocabulary.' He, in fact, attributes the death of pan-Nigerian vision to tribalism. He recounts how 'chief Obafemi Awolowo "stole" the leadership of western Nigeria from Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe ... on the floor of the Western House of Assembly and sent the great Zik scampering back to the Niger "whence [he] came".' A society that places ethnicity above meritocracy is often fraught with deep distrust. Where trust is lacking, society is insecure as there is, often, no respect for diversity and tolerance – a prerequisite for an inclusive society.

The climax of this problem is, perhaps, best captured by the Nigeria-Biafra civil war which lasted for 30 months, claimed millions of lives, produced thousands of mentally scarred people, devastated many homes and left the country totally divided. Forty-four years after the war, Nigeria's legal icon, Ben Nwabueze, told *Sunday Vanguard*, March 30, 2014:43 that 'Nigeria is not one nation...we have in Nigeria over 350 nations, and the problem is to coalesce them into one.' Chinua Achebe (2012) titled his last book, an account of his personal history of the Nigeria-Biafra war, *There was a Country*. The National Conference inaugurated by President Goodluck Jonathan on March 17, 2014 to address core national issues and proffer suggestions on how best to move the country forward is equally enlightening. Otunba Gani Adams, a delegate and the National coordinator of the Oodua Peoples Congress, OPC, told *Sunday Vanguard* of June 15, 2014:32 that he was 'shocked that a human rights activist, who is a Yoruba person, told [them] that he doesn't believe in the Yoruba Agenda, that he is a Nigerian.' He sees the conference as Yoruba people's 'last chance in Nigeria to liberate [them]selves.' This is not an isolated case. After more than four decades of the end of Nigeria-Biafra civil war, the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) is still agitating for Biafra's sovereignty.

The drastic increase in the insurgence of Boko Haram since President Jonathan assumed office in 2011 also highlights this point. Jonathan's ascension to the office of the president following the death of Yar'Adua on May 5, 2010 unleashed political tension in the country. Jonathan is a Christian Southern Nigerian while Yar'Adua was a Moslem Northern Nigerian. Common knowledge in Nigeria is that the Northern people see the North as the only region that can produce the president following the tradition set by the colonial master. Boko Haram activities due to its Moslem affiliation and Northern-Nigeria base are seen as Northern-Moslem effort to make the country ungovernable and undermine Jonathan's administration. *Sunday Vanguard* of July 6, 2014:30 reports that '[i]n just four weeks, between May and June, 2014, 562 persons were systematically killed by Boko Haram sect – there were many more unrecorded deaths.' A society fraught with insecurity and discriminatory practices can only alienate its

citizens. Achebe (1983:7) observes that no modern state can support the practice of regarding some of its members as 'outsiders' or 'strangers' without undermining its own progress and civilization.

Building an inclusive and sustainable African society amidst the hang-ups of colonialism will take time. Conditions that will meet this challenge should be based on a long-term vision. In this regard, the National Conference set up by President Goodluck Jonathan as afore-mentioned as part of the moves to expand the space for political and social discourse, determine the future of Nigeria and create a new political direction for Nigeria, is a good idea. Good ideas, however, can be subverted in practice. Critics of the conference view it as primarily set up to address the president's hidden agenda (Obi Nwakanma, 2014; Ben Nwabueze, 2014). Even if that is the case, its gains are still important. It provided a safe space for people to air their views and vision about their future Nigeria. Issues handled by the delegates ranged from immunity for elected public officers to compensating the South-east over civil war killings. What is needed is for the shortcomings of the conference to be carefully studied and corrections effected where necessary and the gains expanded. Debate of that nature and guaranteeing safe spaces for their conduction should be integrated into national institutions, making them a part of the national consciousness. Achebe (2012:252-3) sums up, debate about a nation's future 'should continue for decades, in small forums, in schools, offices, on the radio, on TV, in markets, in our newspapers, and on the streets, until we get things right.'

### Law

An inclusive society recognizes the need to treat every member of society as an equal under the law. In *Disgrace*, Coetzee introduces the reader to how the double-edged nature of law which blights most apartheid society metamorphoses into a collapse of order once the status changes under post-apartheid. A character observes that under apartheid, 'whatever the rights and wrongs of the situation, at least you knew where you were....Now [under post-apartheid] people just pick and choose which laws they want to obey. It's anarchy' (9). Worse, the law enforcement officers have lost total control. One character tells Lucy and Lurie that he goes about armed with a gun 'because the police are not going to save you, not any more, you can be sure' (100). Lucy prefers to keep her rape from her police report because '[i]n another time, in another place it might be held to be a public matter. But in this place, at this time, it is not' (112). Even though police presence and commitment never offer sufficient reprieve to victims of atrocities, they should provide the needed guarantee that the cause of justice will be served. They should provide a measure of security and safety for victims, serve as a comfort and contribute towards the establishment of peace in conflict situations. This comfort is lacking in post-apartheid South Africa. In its place there is neighborly distrust and distrust for government institutions. The characters rely on informal channels, a practice that diminishes cohesion and fragments society. Such attitudes thwart orderly and responsive public administration and prevent a community from forging a sense of oneness and building circles of support – all of which are essential for inclusive society.

Building an inclusive society in a post-apartheid environment, however, demands that some factors be taken into serious consideration. I select only three to highlight the point. First, it is *very* difficult to *jump* from one extreme to another. In a society, such as post-apartheid South Africa, where law had been subverted for a long time in favor of select members of the society it is difficult to achieve a total reversal *simply* because of a change in regime and the introduction of a new constitution. Where this is not *sufficiently* recognized a 'jump' will critically undermine the intermediate spaces between the two extremes. Two points are worth noting. One, it is difficult to stipulate how people should think. Given the particularly obnoxious nature of South African apartheid some attitudes must have hardened. To 'unfreeze' such difficult memory will require time and patience. Two, gaps persist between laws put in place to ensure racial equality and the implementation. For instance, what is the practical utility of equality of opportunities when the starting point is disproportionately unequal? According to Nadine Gordimer (1999:107), 'Black men do all the physical labour...because no white man wants to dig a road or load a truck. But for every kind of work a white man *wants* to do, there are sanctions and job reservations to shut the black man out. In the building trade, and in industry, the Africans are the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and they cannot, by law, become anything else.' Commey (17) informs that the law backing nationalization is treated with disdain in South Africa because 'Blacks without capital to leverage cannot participate in a capitalist South Africa.' Having a right, exercising that right and that right counting in the way society is structured, handled and represented is the true hallmark of an inclusive society. Equally, in knowledge driven economy how do inheritors of Bantu education *effectively* compete? Law is incapacitated where a beneficiary cannot utilize it. Interrogating the intermediate spaces is important in building new channels of acceptance. A sustainable approach necessarily will involve a gradual process.

Second, it is important not to confuse the need for a new constitution with the frustrations involved in achieving an *instant* compliance. In aiming for social inclusion it is the long term vision that should be held. Incremental progress on the part of erstwhile marginalized group will eventually bridge the gap and give full meaning to inclusive society. After Mandela became the first democratic president of South Africa on May 11, 1994, a new constitutional democracy was enacted which gave equal rights to all citizens, with property rights guaranteed. In *Disgrace*, Petrus is able to secure an official land transfer (124). In a post-apartheid society new legal instruments that normalize relationship point to the new direction the society is heading, and how it *should* get there.

Third, to prevent partial interest masquerading as law depends critically on civil society, how far it can push. Given how far-reaching apartheid laws were, it is important that post-apartheid laws and their implementation correspond. In this regard, it is important that civil society exercise constant vigilance to ensure that the state and its institutions comply with the law. People should continuously interrogate and re-interrogate the law and how it applies in practice. Policies that guide institutions, values and relations should enable all people to enjoy equal rights to participate in political, social, economic and cultural life in the society without compromising their dignity. It is instructive that civil society played a key role in the fight against apartheid in South Africa. Also external support for the dismantling of apartheid came mostly from civil society in places like Britain and America rather than their governments. Post-apartheid society needs secure, healthy and sustainable institutions in which people can have confidence and in which inter-racial understanding are built into daily activities if the wrongs of the past are to be consistently and gradually erased.

The double-edged character of law in frustrating the establishment of an inclusive society in Africa is not restricted to post-apartheid societies. How, for instance, is the concept of equity engaged in most African countries? According to DESA (2009:9) 'legal instruments ensure the guiding principles that will guarantee equity, justice and equal opportunities for all citizens.' Further it defines equity as 'a condition in which society is characterized by justice, equity, impartiality and fairness, including fair and equal distribution of power, economic resources, opportunities, goods and services across the social spectrum.' In Nigeria, for instance, where the Sharia law is allowed to work alongside the National Constitution, how can a woman kept in purdah be classified as enjoying 'fair and equal distribution of power, economic resources and opportunities?' How can a child-bride claim any of these? When ex-governor of Zamfara state, Ahmed Rufai Sani Yerima, was indicted for violating Nigeria's Child Rights Act of 2003 by marrying an under-aged girl, the investigation was dropped because under Section 262 Subsection 2 of *1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria* the Sharia court of Appeal has the power to legislate on 'any question of Islamic personal law regarding a marriage concluded in accordance with that law.'

Importantly, Sharia furthers exclusion. Two examples will suffice. One, under Sharia law theft is punishable by amputation of the right hand. An amputee may end up a beggar. Poverty enhances exclusion. As such instead of creating space for offenders to review their conduct, accept their mistake and re-join society on basis of its defined rules and principles, the severe body injury acts as a stamp for significant exclusion in most societal activities.

Two, while a non-Muslim is allowed to convert to Islam, a Muslim who becomes a non-Muslim is punishable by death. Meriam Ibrahim's case, perhaps, helps to underscore this point. She was sentenced to death for apostasy in Sudan. She had to give birth to her daughter in prison. She was released after intense international pressure on June 23, 2014, upon which she and her family left Sudan. In an interview, the Sudanese ambassador to Nigeria, Tagelsir Mahgoub Ali, told *Sunday Vanguard* of June 22, 2014:22 that 'a Muslim cannot convert. This is the difference. A Christian can convert to Islam....But for a Muslim to convert to Christianity after becoming a Muslim, in the Islamic religion that is not allowed.' Such an arrangement destroys any pretense of equality between the two groups. Instead it creates an environment for mutual suspicion and tension between people from the two religions. Since Nigeria's amalgamation in 1914 the unity of the country has been under siege due to the mutual distrust and conflict associated with Moslem-Christian relationship. The polarization is such that to win or lose an election in Nigeria depends substantially on one's religion and ethnicity rather than ability. Under such arrangement, society loses as people's potentials are misdirected, unutilized or at best underutilized.

Given that law may not always guarantee and sustain an inclusive society there is need to constantly interrogate its make-up. While it is easy to detect the inherent biased character of law in extreme cases like apartheid law where such bias is subtle it may go undetected for a long time. An obnoxious ideology in the hands of a law maker can seep into the make-up of law and order, and provide an institutional frame for ordering society.

## Poverty

*Disgrace* suggests that poverty threatens peaceful co-existence. Where there is no harmony, society fragments and attempt at building an inclusive society becomes a mirage. The attack on Lurie and Lucy ‘happens every day, every hour, every minute,...in every quarter of the country’ because it is ‘[a] risk to own anything: a car, a pair of shoes, a packet of cigarettes. Not enough to go around, not enough cars, shoes, cigarettes. Too many people, too few things’ (98). Indeed, one of the people that attacked them, Pollux, ‘has dropped out of school and can’t find a job’ (200).

How can those left at the fringe – those whose economic power bar them from even paying school tuition be *true* members of an inclusive society? Far more important is the institutionalized nature of poverty in post-apartheid South Africa. Comney (14) observes that ‘South Africa is still grappling with poverty and massive inequalities. A huge educational deficit means blacks will continue to struggle in the economic arena, because of lack of skills.’ Without skills an employee is mostly confined to work in the informal sector. Post-apartheid South Africa aside, in most African states the poor earn their living in the informal sector. As such social inclusion that should come from work force participation is almost non-existent. Without social protection the poor are often left at the mercy of their employers. There is need for government to have a policy guiding employment security for private investors as part of the condition for giving approval for them to set up their establishment. This will go a long way to protect workers in such sectors from being exposed to arbitrary dismissal and being paid salaries that are incompatible with economic reality. Although this may not totally eliminate the challenge of how to reconcile social inclusion with the preservation of private sector liberties it will help to ameliorate its devastating effect.

Also accommodating members of other vulnerable groups is essential for an inclusive African society. *Disgrace* points to how family support is very vital in this regard. Petrus willingly accepts responsibility for Pollux’ action and well being, ‘[h]e is my relative....Now I must tell him to go away because of this thing that happened?’ (201). Lurie, on the hand, sees Pollux as ‘[d]eficient. Mentally deficient. Morally deficient. He should be in an institution’ (208). Petrus’ and Lurie’s position are both important for a deeper understanding of an inclusive society. Petrus’ stance helps to highlight an important strand of social inclusion. This is that ‘there will always be some people in society who will need a lot of support and assistance, no matter how much education, training, encouragement or coercion is provided’ (National Pro Bono Resource Centre 2011:13). This is, particularly, important as people with mental illness in most cases have lower rates of educational attainment and are mostly unemployed. With social security package lacking in most African countries these people often turn to begging. The plight of such people is, perhaps, best captured in the action of Governor Babatunde Fashola of Lagos state, Nigeria towards some destitute in his state. On July 24, 2013 he dumped some Igbo destitute in Onitsha, Anambra state. Fortunately the need for a state policy to cater for the disabled is been recognized. *Sunday Vanguard* of July 13, 2014:42 reports that members of the National Conference set up by President Jonathan voted that government at all levels should grant allowance to people living with disabilities which will be equivalent of government workers on grade level 06 as that would enable them employ aides to assist them carry out domestic activities. It is, however, important to point out that welfare programs can at best provide some protection without tackling the fundamental root of poverty.

Equally David’s position helps to capture one important element of social exclusion. This is that ‘people tend to avoid contact and personal relationships with those who are disabled’ (DESA 2009:25). Such disposition presents an invidious challenge towards building an inclusive society. What kind of inclusive policy, for instance, will address such interior and personal preference? While it may be difficult to legislate discrimination out of people’s minds, a lot will depend on the state and all its institutions ensuring that such individuals are completely integrated in public space. This will entail that government should provide and ensure that such people have *real* access to quality and affordable food, health, education, housing, water, sanitation and transportation services. This will also help to break the cycle of intergenerational poverty.

In most African countries, however, most public facilities do not factor in the needs of people with disabilities. Public transports in Nigeria, and even public buildings, typically are such that people on wheelchairs cannot access them on their own except with people’s assistance. To feel included, a person should be able to access state facilities without depending on the goodwill or otherwise of others. This will help to balance out the problem created by people who prefer not to associate with disabled people.

## Sexual Criminalization

*Disgrace* reveals that criminalizing homosexuality discourages openness. Lucy refuses to press charges after her rape. Instead she regards what happened to her as ‘a purely private matter’ which in ‘another time, in another place it might be held to be a public matter. But in this place, at this time, it is not....This place being South Africa’ (112).

Lucy's remark is particularly significant given that South Africa's post-apartheid constitution which was already in effect before *Disgrace* was written gave men and women equal rights and also gave equal rights regardless of sexual orientation. In reality, however, sexual criminalization continues. *Disgrace* sums up the rape as Lucy's 'disgrace' and notes that the story of her rape is not even 'her story to spread but theirs (the rapist): they are its owners. How they put her in her place, how they showed her what a woman was for' (115). Writing on Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Act, 2014, *Wikipedia* notes that 'the government of South Africa and of Namibia are the only official entities to support LGBT rights, but even there curative rape is used against men and women... and sometimes met with police inaction and apathy.' Indeed *Disgrace* suggests that even though Lucy did not lay charge with the police concerning her rape that the policemen were aware of it. Instead of finding ways to make her open up they were 'edgy of her..., as if she were a creature polluted and her pollution could leap across to them, soil them' (108). When they got to Lucy's room where 'the double bed is stripped bare...the policemen avert their eyes, pass on' (109).

Importantly, in most African countries there is an official ban on homosexuality. According to *Wikipedia* (2014:1) '[t]hirty-eight of fifty-three African nations criminalize homosexuality in some way.' Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Act, 2014, signed into law by President Yoweri Museveni, stipulated life in prison for offenders. Nigeria's *Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act 2013*, Section 5 Subsection 1 stipulates that '[a] person who enters into a same sex marriage contract or civil union commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a term of 14 years imprisonment.' Further Subsection 2 and 3 stipulates that a person who directly or indirectly mixes up or aids a same sex relationship is liable on conviction to a term of 10 years imprisonment.

In this kind of environment, as witnessed in Lucy's case, offenders will opt for silence even when their 'accepted' fundamental right is violated. Without openness society will fragment into cliques. In such a setting, establishing and sustaining an inclusive society becomes a near impossibility due to built-in fears, distrusts and hatred. The challenge, then, is how to forge an inclusive society in the absence of shared common values and understanding. Difficult as this challenge is, there is a far more intractable one: how to meet the challenge of not excluding such people from some significant life opportunities and the activities of society on an unfair basis. How feasible is it for a person in a same-sex marriage, setting sexual criminalization aside, to win election as the president of an African country? Even countries that are in full support of the freedom for one to pursue his sexual orientation may draw a line when it gets to such a high stake. How plausible is it for Mr. Obama to be the president of America if he is married to a 'Michael' instead of a 'Michelle'? In such situation, perhaps, the equality that should govern relationship in an inclusive society will always be abridged.

### **Societal/Individual values and Preferences**

*Disgrace* suggests that societal/individual values and preferences matter in establishing or preventing an inclusive society in Africa. Lurie's exclusion began even before his exile to Salem. Once a professor of Modern Languages, he is forced to become an adjunct professor of Communications who is allowed to offer one special-field course a year as a morale-booster. His department, Classics and Modern Languages, was closed down as part of the great rationalization. His Cape Town University College was changed to Cape Technical University. In his own admission, '[h]e has never been much of a teacher; in this transformed and, to his mind, emasculated institution of learning he is more out of place than ever' (4). His thoughts, which he keeps to himself, is the very opposite of the university synopsis of Advanced Communication Skills which he is expected to teach. As such '[b]ecause he has no respect for the material he teaches, he makes no impression on his students' (4). By the time he gets into an affair with one of his students and opts to resign instead of accepting counseling it is clear that his decision is based on something bigger than the offence. He tells Lucy, 'I was having less and less rapport...with my students. What I had to say they didn't care to hear...perhaps I'll enjoy my release' (63).

Lurie's plight demonstrates how structural exclusion can occur even within the 'included' group. The novel portrays him as a displaced scholar: 'By profession he is, or has been, a scholar, and scholarship still engages intermittently, the core of him' (2). By pointing to this strand of exclusion, *Disgrace* directs attention to the need to reassess the type of equality that exists within the included group. For instance, to what extent does government policy on education help to create a truly inclusive environment? C.B.N. Ogbogbo (2000:49-50) underscores 'government policies that tend to scrap the teaching of history at the junior secondary school level' as a cardinal reason for the dwindling enrolment of Nigerian students to study history at the tertiary level. Such restrictive policy ends up alienating the affected person(s), as in Lurie's case, and invariably undermines attempt at building and sustaining an inclusive society.



*Disgrace* also shows that individual's values and preferences can go a long way in ensuring or frustrating the emergence of an inclusive society. Lurie's sexual escapades and its eventual disastrous implication for his job show how an individual's value can lead to exclusion. He resigns and retreats to Salem rather than accept any form of institutional correction. Lucy chides him for being 'so unbending' (66). Lucy, on the other hand, is prepared to stay with Petrus and his people after her rape. The two contrasting values point to some vital elements for building and sustaining or dismantling an inclusive society. Lurie's attitude shows that values of rigidity, non-compromise and contempt for societal expectation are anti-inclusive. Lucy's action on the other hand, reveals that inclusive society is achievable through tolerance, connective linkages and dialogues, and respecting and accommodating differences. Petrus commends her for being 'forward-looking' (136). In this vein, creating an inclusive society has a lot to do with individuals and the choices they make.

Going slightly beyond the scope of *Disgrace*, there are instances where a person prefers to be excluded because of the inclusion of another. A good example is Wole Soyinka's rejection of the Centenary Award to be conferred on him by the Federal Government of Nigeria because of the inclusion of Nigeria's late military dictator, Gen. Sani Abacha. According to *Sunday Punch* of March 2, 2014:3 Soyinka in a statement entitled 'The canonization of terror' stated that 'it was an insult for him to be listed alongside Abacha for the award,' and that he 'can think of nothing more grotesque and derisive of the lifetime struggle of several on this list, and their selfless services to humanity.'

Soyinka's may be an individual case. On a broader scope, inclusion when exclusion is preferred can have cataclysmic consequences for societal harmony. In the Memoranda of Meetings between ex-Biafran war leader, Odumegwu Ojukwu, and a delegation of the National Conciliation Committee contained in Awolowo's (1981:68) book, Ojukwu stated that 'the East has made a categorical point. A meeting convened by Ademola [sir Adetokunbo Ademola] is not one that the East can participate in.' The purpose of setting up the Committee was to find ways and means of bringing an end to the conflict between the North and the East and also to address the demands of all the regions for mutual and peaceful co-existence within the Nigerian Federation. The extent to which Ademola's inclusion prevented the East from attending the committee meeting and the eventual consequence which was the Nigeria-Biafra civil war will always be a matter of historical speculation. The devastating effect of the war and its continued effect in keeping Nigeria deeply divided are real enough. Emefiana Ezeani (2013:205) observes that '[t]he unjustifiable hatred of the Igbo by certain Nigerians is a point acknowledged by a number of commentators on Nigerian affairs.' Michael Gould's (2012:206) view is worth quoting at length:

'No victor no vanquished' was the slogan promoted by Gowon's administration at the war's conclusion and arguably the Igbo people should have had their position secured as a major contributor of the Nigerian Republic. However certain factors ensured that this was not to be a reality. The North defeated her recalcitrant neighbor and since the war there has been a political determination that no other part of Nigeria would be allowed to challenge the authoritative power of the North. Therefore, considering the period from the end of hostilities to the present, constraints have been imposed on the East to secure the North's ascendant position. Looking at three main areas relevant to a country's successful development and sustainability, politics, education and economics it would seem that restrictions have been imposed on the Igbo people, in all these areas.

One of the key issues discussed at the National Security Council presided by President Jonathan on July 21, 2014 was the discrimination of some Nigerians in parts of the country. *Nigerian Tribune* of July 22, 2014:2 reports that the 'Federal government has ordered a stop to any attempt by states to deport, register and provide identity cards to non-indigenes resident in the states, as a way to check the influx of suspected Boko Haram members.' It is very instructive that the same paper reports that the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) 'had cautioned the Igbo in the South East against maltreating northerners, warning that such could endanger the multi-billion naira investment of the Igbo in the North.' Returning to the point on inclusion where exclusion is preferred: the pull from the two extremes – to include and to exclude – tears society apart. Total and sustainable development is possible in a condition where inclusion is not treated just as a concept but as a concrete utility.

### **Gender Discrimination**

*Disgrace* points to how gender discrimination helps to perpetuate inequality. Lucy agrees to hand over her land to Petrus and become one of his wives without which she faces the danger of being raped again. When Lurie subtly reminded Petrus that Lucy is not interested in men because she is a lesbian, Petrus acknowledges that he 'knows' but

points out that 'here...it is dangerous, too dangerous. A woman must be marry' (202). Lucy, in her own objective assessment of the situation, notes that she is a 'woman alone' (204), 'without protection' (203), a 'fair game' (203). Lurie equally realizes that, '[a]s a woman alone on a farm [Lucy] has no future, that is clear' (134). More telling is the fact that the only thing in the entire novel that touched Lurie to the point where 'he heaves and heaves and finally cries' is the realization that he is '[a] father without the sense to have a son' (199).

Lucy's case is not peculiar. Gender discriminatory practices that help to create adverse inequality against women are entrenched mostly through religion and marriage in many African countries. In African countries where Islam is practiced, like Nigeria, a Muslim woman is expected to cover every inch of her body and in some cases including the face. A woman who goes about hooded is already significantly excluded from most societal activities. Add to this the fact that under Islam there is no age limit for marriage of girls. The marriage contract can be with an infant girl and consummation can take place at age 8 or 9. Under such arrangement, the child bride is denied the right of consent that should inform such union. In April 2014, a child marriage arrangement in Kano state, Nigeria, ended with fatal consequences. Wasila Umar, a 14-year-old child bride killed her 35-year-old husband and three of his friends through food poisoning justifying her action on the grounds of forced marriage to a man she did not love. *Sunday Vanguard* of April 13, 2014:9 quotes her as saying that she has 'never enjoyed the opportunity of going to Islamic school or acquiring western education. My father forced me into a relationship I was not prepared to live in.' She was arrested and kept in detention by the police. *Sunday Vanguard* of June 1, 2014:24 reports that '[i]n the event [Wasila] wins the case against her by the state, she might not have a home to return due to the tension generated in her in-law's Yansoro village by her alleged killing of her husband and three friends.' On July 6, 2014:6 *Sunday Vanguard* again reports that Kano state is seeking death sentence for Wasila. Whichever way, she will lose. If she escapes death sentence, she will have to face exclusion from her community.

Importantly, Wasila's case is, perhaps, newsworthy because of the turn it took: the husband as victim. In most cases, it is usually the child bride who bears the brunt. Most suffer from complicated birth-related issues like Vesico Vaginal Fistula (VVF) and Recto Vaginal Fistula (RVF). In such cases the child bride will be unable to continue to fulfill her marital obligations as a wife. When this happens she can be unilaterally divorced by her husband. Susan Edeh (2012:1) reports that according to the National Demographic Health Survey 'no fewer than 12,000 women develop Vesico Vaginal Fistula (VVF) every year in Nigeria.' She further reports that 'VVF accounts for 75% of loss of babies and is responsible for 55 – 60% of divorce rates in the country.' Besides, under such health condition the child bride cannot be an effective mother in cases where the baby survives. In extreme cases, some die in child-birth or from complications from child birth. Usually such cases are passed off as part of statistics.

Gender discrimination at times finds its way into schools through religion. At Crescent University, Abeokuta, Nigeria, a woman, irrespective of religious affiliation, is not allowed into the premises without covering her hair. How can a Christian woman or a non-believer get a job in a place with such policy? To be included in such a society, one has to abandon some fundamental ideas of person-self. Even at that there is always the possibility that the person will still be excluded even while being included as such policies often tend to be far more rooted than the superficial covering of hair. Issues such as these pose significant difficulty in formulating specific measures to eliminate gender discrimination. Gender issues need to be understood as they affect a specific group. What works to enhance inclusion for Christian women may not work for Moslem women.

Gender discrimination also manifests in the type of respect given to unmarried men and women in most African societies. While the man, whether married or unmarried, is referred to as Mr.; the woman is always made conscious of her marital status. The married woman is usually referred to as Mrs.; the unmarried Miss; and the gender neutralization Ms is hardly used. In cases where Ms is used it is often used in a derogatory sense. In Nigeria, Ms stands for 'Miserable Spinster' (Okolo, 2011:71).

### Language

*Disgrace* demonstrates that language can act as both a vehicle of inclusion and exclusion. During apartheid era, language was used to stigmatize blacks and exclude them from social privileges. Fortunately words erected to maintain the superiority of the white during apartheid fail to sustain the new post-apartheid reality. When Petrus refers to Lucy as 'our benefactor' Lurie, a communication expert, is aware that 'the language [Petrus] draws on with such aplomb is ... tired, friable, eaten from the inside as if by termites' (129). For Lurie the solution lies in 'starting all over again with the ABC' (129) in order to create the language that will be adequate to carry the new reality. Even at that Lurie keeps going back to the memory of apartheid days in his relationship with Petrus, '[j]ust like the old days: baas en klaas' (116); '[t]his is not how we do things. We: he is on the point of saying, *We* Westerners' (202). Petrus on his part also remembers. He informs Lurie, 'I am going to dig the trenches....That is not such a

skill job, that is just a job for a boy. For digging you just have to be a boy' (152). Importantly, there is no communication between the two. The potential of language when oriented towards reaching understanding is (deliberately) stifled in communication between Lurie and Petrus. Instead of promoting healthy interaction between people, apartheid with its defining motif to establish in *all things* the inferiority of the blacks, ends up as a tool of exclusion. One way out is 'to change the meanings and values which are associated with unfavorable characteristics and the culture which they are embedded within, including unequal power relations' (DESA 2009:22). In reality this may be very difficult. Peoples' psyches are not so easily overhauled. For people who had lived under apartheid for so long, some attitudes might have become a way of life. While government policy may be directed towards building an inclusive society, peoples' inner disposition may continue moving towards exclusion. Unfortunately there is no policy that will unearth the thoughts people harbor. If those thoughts conflict with societal harmony whatever inclusive benefits that are achieved will remain fragile.

Shifting the focus slightly outside *Disgrace*, language can pose a threat to a repressive regime when it succeeds as a weapon of inclusion among different groups. A good example is the fate of Kamiriithu experiments and search for peasant/worker-based language of African theatre in Kenya. The Kenyan government tried to stop the project in 1977 by withdrawing the license for any public 'gathering' at the centre. In 1982 the government outlawed the project and sent three truckloads of armed policemen to raze the open-air theatre to the ground. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the brain behind the project, was imprisoned by the Kenyan regime on December 31, 1977 and again on February 25, 1982. Ngugi (1986:58) sees the government action as 'attempting to stop the emergence of an authentic language of Kenyan theatre.' More instructive is the fact that by using the language that is accessible to both peasants and workers the project was able to usher in 'an important alliance from all nationalities of workers, peasants and progressive teachers and students' (59). Under a repressive regime structures that help to promote inclusion pose a significant threat. Under such arrangement, creating and sustaining an inclusive society rests on a delicate balance: a pull between anti-government policies put in place to thwart it and the efforts of civil society to bring it about.

Beyond the importance of language in achieving an inclusive society for Africa there is need for a comprehensive view. To what extent does language function as a tool of inclusion or exclusion of Africa in the global committee? To answer this question at least two more questions need to be posed: What type of image does Africa occupy, for instance, in the English language? What types of words are associated with the black man in, for instance, the English language?

In the imagination of established western scholars (Joseph Conrad, 1899; Frederick Lugard, 1922 and 1968; Georg Hegel, 1991; Immanuel Kant, 1960; David Hume, 1964) Africa is a continent of subhuman creatures. Equally the word black in standard English dictionaries (*Oxford*, 1989; *Chambers*, 1998; *Chambers 21<sup>st</sup> Century Dictionary*, 1999) refer to horrible, dirty, bad-tempered, malignant among others. On the other hand, the same dictionaries pass white off as pure, unblemished, reliable and such like. MSC Okolo (2005:92) observes that 'words relating to black are still made to reflect the black man's inferiority in character and intellectual endowments when compared to the white man. Language, in this perspective, becomes a seal of shame, a mark of inferiority, a pointer to a people's subordination, rather than a mode of communication between human beings united by common humanity, shared interest, and practical activities.' In the context of on-going global transformations, it is important that linguistic imbalances targeted at Africa and its people be reviewed and corrected. This will enhance Africa's integration in the international community. Such inclusion will create room for the maximization of our modern resources.

### **Generational Gap**

*Disgrace* reveals that building an inclusive society will depend on some certain recognition and respect accorded to generational differences. Lurie's attempt to side-step generational gap in his affair with Melanie is fiercely resisted. Melanie's boyfriend, Ryan, cautions him to 'stay with [his] own kind' (194). Lurie himself realizes that '[b]etween Lucy's generation and mine a curtain seem to have fallen. I didn't even notice when it fell' (210).

Lurie's exclusion is partly due to his inability to understand the often unstated, but very real, social parameters governing social identities. By holding them as fluid he disregards the collocation that should exist between societal perception and individual perception. To perceive oneself as being acceptable to a group does not translate to actually being so accepted. To belong there should be an identical or near identical correspondence between individual and group perception. Where this is disregarded, as in Lurie's case, social harmony is disrupted which in turn can lead to conflict which is anti-inclusive. Building and sustaining an inclusive African society will, then, depend on people recognizing and respecting that there are multiple layers of inclusion, some to which one can be

admitted; some to which one will be excluded. The important thing is for the different layers to co-exist in mutual respect.

### **Africa and Globalization**

In an era of globalization it is important to review the issues raised in *Disgrace* from a transnational perspective. For instance, to what extent did external influence collude with internal influence to foster apartheid and direct its post-apartheid fall-outs? Commey (15) informs that 'Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain and President Ronald Reagan of America draw ire, in their staunch opposition to economic sanctions against the racist regime.' Even with the end of apartheid, a good chunk of South African economy remains in the hands of its white shareholders locally and abroad. Commey (17) further notes that '[o]n the issue of land, the ANC Charter of 1955 called for redistribution, and not nationalization, but even that has become an intractable problem,' because 'with the Zimbabwe example as a guide, where land reform was severely punished by western power, the ANC is afraid to take radical steps on land reform.'

The ANC's fear is, most probably, anchored on the fact that 'Aid serves as an *instructor* of what *will happen to Africa*. Things that the donor or initiator wants to see happen, especially *in the way* the donor wants to see them take place' (MSC Okolo, 2008:328). The members of Steering Committee on *Can Africa Claim the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (World Bank, 2000:238) equally report that 'Aid has gone to Africa for many purposes – only one of which is development. Donors use aid to advance their values, their commercial interests, their cultural aspirations and their diplomatic and political objectives.' Commenting on South Africa, Commey (16) remarks that '[t]here is Anglo-Saxon insurance in a system tailored to trigger a collapse in the form of capital flight if there is any threat to white capital and interests. Black governments have had to tread carefully because there could be a political fall-out from economic collapse. Thus black economic oppression is perpetuated till kingdom come.'

Creating an inclusive society necessarily entails ensuring equal opportunities for all and granting people adequate social space to realize their full potentials in life. Given the above scenario, how can people whose starting points are severely disproportionate enjoy equal opportunities? How can one achieve full potential in life in a situation where social space is overtly guaranteed but covertly denied? In such a case the marginalized people may resort to crude actions and invectives inconsistent with a new civil society as witnessed in *Disgrace*. Petrus and his people resorted to forceful inclusion using crude actions such as rape, brutality and hatred. By the time the story is suspended (it does not end) all that remains is for the imploding situation to curve inwards and feed on itself.

Extending the issue beyond *Disgrace*, globalization also acts as a positive force. It creates a common arena where ideas, actions, values, ideologies, can be pooled and assessed by a transnational public. Such assessment often leads to positive intervention. There are many of such interventions including: (i) the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa; (ii) the lifting of death sentence imposed on Meriam Ibrahim for apostasy in Sudan; and (iii) resolving the Kenyan and Zimbabwean political crises of 2007 and 2008 respectively.

Globalization also opens up silent spaces. Of particular interest in this regard is the new openness regarding homosexuality. The anti-gay laws in countries like Nigeria and Uganda notwithstanding, gays and other minority groups have become more assertive in their demands for recognition and rights due to the support they enjoy from global opinion leaders. The United States government and its allies severely criticized Nigerian and Ugandan government over their anti-gay laws.

Also by bringing different cultures together globalization prompts international comparison. African countries can evaluate their performance in any area – health, educational, political, economic, and social, among others – based on international standards. Such evaluation helps to reveal the extent the continent is measuring up, the gaps that need to be filled, how best to address them and the direction to take. The assessment, of course, will have to be context and country specific as there are varieties in the make-up of most African societies.

The point, however, is that external influence plays a significant role in determining the degree of harmony and even prosperity in African societies. In creating a sustainable inclusive society in Africa there is need to pay serious attention to the degree to which globalization can act as both a positive and negative force.

### **Conclusion**

The position of this paper is that any concrete measure that will produce an inclusive society in Africa and any theoretical analysis that would support it, must involve an interpretative and interdisciplinary approach that will interrogate complex issues and offer imaginative and critical insights into the constraints and possibilities in creating a sustainable inclusive society in Africa. A philosophical reading of African literature, *Disgrace*, provides both

imaginary and practical perspectives needed to tackle the conflicting and interlocking issues associated with creating an inclusive society in Africa. How people with radically different values can be lead to cooperate, holding their values in a way that do not conflict societal interest is at the core of crisis in Africa. In cases where there are barriers created by race, gender, class, sexual differences, among others how can these be dismantled to make room for inclusion. How can those living in society's fringes, for instance, the mentally disturbed people, destitute, old people be totally included? Instances like these highlight inequality in social arrangement which severely undermines inclusion. It also points to the gap between the ideal and realities of persist social exclusion.

Creating an inclusive society, however, does not require that theory and practice must have a *strict* identical correspondence. A theory is important in itself as a compass to guide and inspire practical deeds. Ngugi (2008) avers that 'there is no reason why art will not always express our ethics or ideals....The struggle to transform ourselves will always be there and that struggle will always be expressed in art.' What is, therefore, needed is a more nuanced understanding of the constraints and how they can be translated into possibilities. Only then will the distinction between theory and practice be seen as a dialectical interaction, a result of overlaps and interconnected relationships that unite to create a total and sustainable inclusive society in Africa.

## References

- [1] Achebe, C., 1983, *The Trouble with Nigeria*, Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension.
- [2] Achebe, C., 2006, *There was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra*, London: Allen Lane.
- [3] Awolowo, O., 1981, *Awo on the Nigerian Civil War*, Ikeja, Nigeria: John West.
- [4] *Chambers English Dictionary*, 1990, Edinburgh: W & R.
- [5] *Chambers 21<sup>st</sup> Century Dictionary*, 1999, Edinburgh: Chambers Harrap.
- [6] Coetzee, J.M., 2000, *Disgrace*, London: Vintage.
- [7] Commey, P., 2012, '100 years of the ANC.' *New Africa*, February, No.514, pp. 12 – 17.
- [8] Conrad, J., 1899, 'Heart of Darkness', in Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness and the Secret Sharer*, New York: Signet Classic.
- [9] DESA, 2009, 'Creating an Inclusive Society: Practical Strategies to Promote Social Integration, Draft. [www.lopdf.net/d/creating-an-inclusive-society-practical-strategies-to.pdf](http://www.lopdf.net/d/creating-an-inclusive-society-practical-strategies-to.pdf). Accessed May 20, 2014.
- [10] Edeh, S., 2012, '12000 women develop VVF every year in Nigeria,' *Vanguard News*, July 20. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/07/12000-women-develop-VVF-every-year-in-Nigeria>. Accessed August 4, 2014.
- [11] Ezeani, E., 2013, *In Biafra Africa Died: The Diplomatic Plot*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, London: Veritas Lumen.
- [12] Gordimer, N., 1999, *Living in Hope and History: Notes from our Century*, Cape Town: David Philip.
- [13] Gould, M., 2012, *The Biafran War: The Struggle for Modern Nigeria*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris.
- [14] Hegel, G.W.F., 1991, *The Philosophy of History*, Trans. J. Sibree, Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books.
- [15] Hume, D., 1964, 'Of National Character', in Thomas Hill Green and Thomas H. Grose, eds., *The Philosophical Works*, Darmstadt 3 (1).
- [16] Kant, I., 1960, *Observations on the Feelings of the Beautiful and Sublime*, Trans. J.I. Goldthwait, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- [17] Lombe, M., 2007, Presentation given at *Expert Group Meeting on Creating an Inclusive Society: Practical Strategies to Promote Social Integration*, Paris, France, 10 – 13 September.
- [18] Lugard, F.D., 1922, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons.
- [19] Lugard, F.D., 1968, *The Rise of our East African Empire*, Vol. 1, London: Frank Cass.
- [20] Mandela, N., 1965, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, England: Heinemann.
- [21] Mandela, N.R., 2006, *Mandela: The Authorised Portrait*. London: Bloomsbury.
- [22] National Drug Law Enforcement Agency Act, 2014, *Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act 2013 & Miscellaneous Offences Act*, Federal Republic of Nigeria.
- [23] National Pro Bono Resource Centre Occasional Paper #1, 2011, 'What is Social Justice', The University of New South Wales.
- [24] Ngugi wa T., 1986, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, London: James Currey; Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya and Portsmouth N. H.: Heinemann.
- [25] Ngugiwa T., Interviewed on his new novel, *Wizard of the Crow*. [http://www.socialistworker.co.uk/article.php?.article\\_id=10062](http://www.socialistworker.co.uk/article.php?.article_id=10062). Accessed July 15, 2008.
- [26] *Nigerian Tribune*, 2014, 'FG Stops Deportation of Non-indigenes,' July 22, No. 16027, p.2.

- [27] Nwakanma, O., 2014, 'The President's conference: Between monarchy and secession', *Sunday Vanguard*, April 6, Vol. 24, No. 10691127, p.9.
- [28] OECD/Noya A. and Clarence E., 2008, 'Improving Social Inclusion at the Local level through the Social Economy,' 12 September, working document, CFE/LEED/OECD .www.oecd.org/dataoecd/38/3/44688716.pdf?content id=44688717. Accessed August 4, 2014.
- [29] Ogbogbo, C.B.N., 2000, 'The Nigerian Historian and the challenge of the Twenty-first century,' *Current Viewpoint: A Review of Culture and Society*, Vol.2, Nos.1&2, pp.47 -52.
- [30] Okolo, M.S.C., 2005, 'Reassessing the Impact of Colonial Languages on the African Identity for African Development,' *Africa Media Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp.85-103.
- [31] Okolo, M.S.C., 2008, 'Document 15: Responding to the Imperatives of Decolonizing the Social Sciences in Africa: a Philosophical Contribution,' International Colloquium, CODESRIA Interventions Series: Decolonizing the Social Sciences in Africa: The Unfinished Agenda, Darka, Senegal, May, pp.321 – 340.
- [32] Okolo, M.S.C, 2011, 'Me, MS', in MSC Okolo, *Gates of Dawn*, Britain: Pearl Press, pp. 71 – 84.
- [33] *Sunday Punch*, 2014, 'Sharing Centenary Award with Abacha, an insult – Soyinka,' March 2, Vol. 19, No. 19782, p.3.
- [34] *Sunday Vanguard*, 2014, 'Sunday Interview: This National Conference is waste of time – Prof. Nwabueze', March 30, Vol. 24, No. 10691126, pp. 42 – 44.
- [35] *Sunday Vanguard*, 2014, 'Killer Child-Bride speaks: I regret killing my husband, 17 days after wedding', April 13, Vol. 24, No. 10691128, p. 9.
- [36] *Sunday Vanguard*, 2014, 'Suspected Killer Child-Bride begs Court: Set me free!', June 1, Vol. 24, No. 10691125, p.24.
- [37] *Sunday Vanguard*, 2014, 'Some Delegates out to Sabotage S/West Agenda – Gani Adams', June 15, Vol. 24, No. 10691127, p. 32.
- [38] *Sunday Vanguard*, 2014, 'Nyanya Bombing Suspect uses British Passport – Sudan Ambassador', June 22, Vol. 24, No, 10691128, pp. 21 – 22.
- [39] *Sunday Vanguard*, 2014, 'Kano seeks death sentence for alleged bride-killer', July 6, Vol. 24, No. 10691130, p.6.
- [40] *Sunday Vanguard*, 2014, 'Hell in Borno: Four weeks of horror, by elders,' July 6, Vol. 24, No. 10691130, p.30.
- [41] *Sunday Vanguard*, 2014, 'As CONFAB Ends: How Kutigi, Akinyemi handled the North/South divide', July 13, Vol. 24, No. 10691131, p. 42.
- [42] *The Chambers Dictionary*, New Edition, 1998, Great Britain: Chambers Harrap.
- [43] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 1989, Vol. 11, 'B.B.C. Chalypsography', Oxford: Clarendon.
- [44] Wikipedia, *The Free Encyclopedia*, 'Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Act, 2014.' file:///G:/Uganda\_Anti-Homosexuality\_Act,\_2014.htm, Accessed May 20, 2014.
- [45] World Bank, 2000, *Can Africa claim the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?*, Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- [46] *1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*, 2011.