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FOREWORD

The 3rd International Conference on Social Science and Law-Africa (ICSSL-Africa) was held at Nile University of Nigeria (NUN) in Abuja, Nigeria from May 10 to 11 2017. The international conference focused on new advance in research in the field of social sciences especially Business Administration, Finance, Accounting, Economics, Political Science, International Relations, Law, Mass Communication and Public Administration disciplines, and included representatives from academia, industry and government. The invited speakers presented new and original unpublished data as well as on-going controversies.

In order to close the gap between gown and town, beside the conference 2nd Entrepreneurs Trade Fair was organized. With the help of this fair not only academic side also practical side of life were included to this discussion as well.

Nile University of Nigeria established first conference on social science on May 2015 and the second one in May 2016. The aim of the conferences is help to bring up the leading academicians, policy makers, independent scholars, researchers and true scientists, who base their study and research on true reports, correct exposition, and scientific experiments. As a result, they have peace of mind and solve their problems with ease. It also provides a premier interdisciplinary platform for participants to present and discuss the most recent innovations, trends, and concerns as well as practical challenges encountered and solutions adopted in their fields.

ICSSL-Africa is organized in corporation with partner universities, companies and governmental and non-governmental institutions. As we multicultural, multilingual and multidisciplinary we pride ourselves on advancing the scholarly study of various scientific disciplines by encouraging and facilitating excellence in academic research worldwide. On behalf of the ICSSL-Africa conference organizers, I want to thank to partner universities, National Open University, Epoka University, North American University, Virginia International University, collaborators Abuja Chamber of Commerce, Furniture Republic, Baffi Furniture, Unique Technology Engineering and Construction. We hope that you enjoy reflecting and discussing the proceedings with your colleagues.

Finally, ICSSL-Africa organizing committee decided to organize 4th ICSSL-Africa on May 9 - 10 2018. We are very happy to invite you to our university again next year.

On the behalf of the organizing committee
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ibrahim KELES
THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL ELITES AND CONFLICT IN KADUNA METROPOLIS, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

In most instances, people have always held the view that conflicts in Nigeria and particularly in the Kaduna state owes its origin from ethnic and religious divergence. This study however is a departure from this thesis. It in fact was able to discover that actually most conflicts in Kaduna are a result of the influence of political elites, who more often than not manipulate opinions of members of the public for their personal benefits. The political elites in actual sense manipulate religion and ethnic sentiments as instruments to realise their own selfish interests of accessing power as a means of control over the material resources of the society. The findings discover that conflicts occur because political elites, among which are the state instruments lack keen interest in implementing measures to stop it because the elite group stand to gain politically and economically if the society is divided. The article begins with a review of the relevant literature on elite and conflict leading to the formulation of theoretical framework for the study. The methodology and techniques used in the data collection were stated. Using both quantitative and qualitative analysis, it tests the hypothesis to discover that there is a strong relationship between influence of political elites and conflict in Kaduna metropolis. Thus, among some of the various ways by which political elites influence conflict as noted in the study include, but is not limited to; not accepting defeat after election, bailing participants of conflict and other sundry criminals, engaging in do or die politics, hate commentaries in the media, and participating in corrupt practices and looting of public treasury, e.t.c.

Keywords: Influence, Conflict, Elites, Political Elites, Kaduna, Metropolis

Introduction

Since the time Nigeria transited from military regimes to multiparty democracy on 29th May, 1999, the country has been bedevilled by various forms of violent conflicts. Albert (2001) stresses that while some of the conflicts had their roots in the past historical circumstances of the affected communities some others are "manufactured" by the elite seeking to stretch the liberty enunciated in the new democratic process in Nigeria to a breaking, if not absurd, point. He then concludes that all these conflicts have continued to constitute a recurrent destabilizing factor and a serious impediment to the survival of democratic transition and order in the country. Clearly, the Kaduna Metropolis has become a hot-bed of violent conflicts with all its negative ramifications on lives and properties.
The government, being part of the elite formation, on its part has not shown serious interest to resolve conflicts in the area. This is clearly shown in its inability to implement the recommendations of the various committees set up (a clear example which is the 2011 election violence investigation panel) to investigate conflicts in the Kaduna Metropolis. Thus, aggrieved parties in conflicts felt that it is either the government does not have the willpower or seriousness to face the issues raised in conflicts, or it is holding some subterranean covert reasons that favour the elite class.

Isyaku (2001) found out that while discussing conflict, it is equally important to look at the strategic position of the Kaduna Metropolis itself as a former regional capital. Kaduna is a microcosm of Northern Nigeria, in particular, and Nigeria, in general. It is a melting pot for all the ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria. Virtually, most of the retired and serving military officers and civil servants, businessmen and other professionals from all over the country live and/or own properties in the metropolis. They influence events and decisions not only there but in the whole country. Hence, some of the power elite divided along religious lines, in one way or the other, help to fuel ethno-religious clashes, making Kaduna to remain in a constant state of religious tension. There is also an acknowledged competition among the religious elite in Kaduna to attain recognition and relevance from their teeming followers, which led to the springing up of various religious organizations and sects in different faiths, thereby leading to serious competitions and conflicts. Thus, with the involvement of the elite and the sensitivity of religion, governments always find it difficult to intervene (Abdullahi, et al, 2007).

The objective of this paper is to bring to light the nature of elite influence on conflict in Kaduna metropolis by examining the relationship between influence of political elite and conflict. To achieve this objective, relevant literatures in the area were obtained, information was collected from victims of conflict using survey questionnaire; tested, analysed and interpreted. Also, interviews were held with relevant stakeholders to obtain useful information for this purpose.

Review of Related Literature:

Another issue mentioned by Albert (2001) in explaining conflict in Kaduna is the role played by the elite in sustaining and fuelling the mistrust and intolerance of their people. For example, the southern Kaduna elite many of whom are retired military officers are said to have done nothing while in power to effect or influence government to improve the living standards of their people. Therefore, the allegation of domination of their people by the Hausa became an easy tool to be used to cover up or explain their inability to develop their respective communities. Thus, all the panels that investigated the respective clashes in the state convicted or indicted many of such officers, thereby creating more hostilities.

Nnoli (2001) found that the intemperate utterances of some Nigerian aspirants to leadership position arising from personal ambitions have contributed significantly to the growth of inter-ethnic hostility in Kaduna State and parts of Nigeria. He stated that some elites make instigative and irrational statements in order to win the support of a particular group of people, without minding what such statements could result to. Jega (2000) states the issue point blank when he notes:

In this context, the over bearing parochial and pettiness and irresponsible conduct by those who are supposed to be leaders have been major causal factors of ethno-
Also, while assessing the factors responsible for conflicts in Nigeria, Egwu (2001) linked conflict to the attitude of Nigerian leaders and said that some Nigerian leaders do not help matters whenever they want to make some statements. They make mindless statements just to favour their subjective greed, deep seated economic injustice and tendency for exploitation. There is also an acknowledged competition among the elites in Kaduna to attain religious perfection and relevance by promoting divisions between different religions or among religious sects. A typical example was given of the Jama’atu Nasril Islam (JNI), a Muslim body made up of emirs, and that of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). The attempt made by the JNI to get involved in some political issues on the side of the Hausa and Fulani Muslims, according to Egwu, made CAN shift its base to Kaduna, using Hausa and Fulani Christians to neutralise the JNI.

The Conflict Theory:

The conflict theory is considered important in understanding the conflict in the Kaduna Metropolis. First, the theory is very useful in the explanation of a variety of factors responsible for conflict in the area of study, and the seeming weaknesses of mechanisms employed to manage such conflicts. Second, it is assumed that most of these factors are in the end influenced by access to material condition of the society, which is a very important factor in daily struggles.

The conflict theory argues that the structure of social order is an outgrowth of the competing forces of harmony and disharmony, which in turn determine the course of social change. Thus, conflict is always a normal part of all capitalist oriented societies. The presence or absence or intensity of conflict depends on the class structure of the capitalist society. Thus, conflict is more prevalent in a society whose mode of production is structured on the capitalist system, because capitalism breeds competition, exploitation and alienation of the weaker class and individuals and a suppressive system based on the survival of the fittest.

The Relevance of the Conflict Theory of this Study:

This study on conflict has chosen the conflict theory because it provides a comprehensive, critical, creative and realistic knowledge on the subject. The topic falls under the conventional subject matter of political economy and criminology, as the issues border on the influence of the state elites – political, manipulation of religion and ethnicity to achieve selfish interests, class and the various struggles and squabbles for domination and how this has affected a majority of Nigerians and particularly people living in the Kaduna metropolis in terms of political instability and socio-economic crisis.

Thus, the conflict theory allows a comprehensive study because the perspective treats issues in their inter-connected totality. The basic issues involved in the topic have been theoretically clarified and include the notions of state inadequacies, class and class interests and clear struggles between ethnic, religious entities and ensuing conflicts. The conflict theory will allow a critical investigation and analysis of these through theoretical guidance, as it relates to selection of materials, methods and analyses.

The Thrust of the Conflict Theory:

The conflict theory lays more emphasis on the dynamics of change as a product of conflicts in a social system. To Simmel (1955), for instance, one of the conflict theorists, social order
is an outgrowth of competing forces of harmony and disharmony. Thus, the conflict theory believes that conflict, like consensus, is normal within a society under its system of values. But the presence or absence of conflict, its intensity and functions or dysfunction depend largely on the structure of the society concerned. The conflict school also criticised the functionalist conception of society as “Utopian” because it emphasises shared values, consensus, social integration and equilibrium. For example, Bercovitch (1984) precisely writes:

> It is customary to think of conflict as being undesirable and, on the whole, harmful and disruptive. It would be a fully... to regard conflict consequences entirely in this light. Conflict is not, as some functionalists would have us to believe, a manifestation of social pathology, a breakdown or a malfunction of a social system. It can have beneficial consequences both latent and manifest for the parties involved and the environment in which it occurs (Bercovitch, 1984:7-8).

Thus, according to Rummel (1997), conflict can be treated as a philosophical category denoting the clash of power against power in the striving of all things to become manifest. Or, conflict can be seen simply as a distinct category of social behaviour – as two parties trying to get something they both cannot have. As in the Kaduna Metropolis, Muslims agitate for Sharia implementation in their area of dominance under the secular state system and the Christian southern Kaduna ethnic associations claim for a separate state within Kaduna Metropolis itself and a change in the economic structure of the area, which is principally dominated by the Muslims Hausa ethnic group as a condition for Sharia implementation.

**Other Perspectives on the Conflict:**

In reaction to the radical ideology on conflict, as propounded by Marx, capitalism would produce its own gravediggers by creating the conditions under which class consciousness and a failing economy would come into existence that would lead to conflict, revolution and change. Weber saw that conflict didn’t overwhelmingly involve the economy, but that state and economy together set up conditions of its legitimisation. All the systems of oppressions must be legitimised in order to function. Thus, legitimisation is one of the critical issues in the idea of conflict.

Weber (1947) also saw that class is more complex than Marx initially supposed and there are other factors that contribute to social inequality, most notably status and power, which determine individual positions in the society. Conflict is thus the struggle over the exercise of power rather than over the determinants of material resources alone, for it is power that determines who gets what. A prominent idea about power, however, is that it does not last for ever in one area, as it pushes others to seek for it, which results in conflicts. Max Weber has thus defined power as:

> The chance of a man or a number of men to realise their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action (Weber in Geerth & Mills, 1948:37).

Thus the above definition shows that conflict is more importantly linked to suppressive tendencies of power. As one of the originators of social action theory, Weber believed that we need to see society as the result of the actions of man, hence conflicts result from social
actions that disagree. Most social conflicts, according to Weber, are based on the unequal
distribution of scarce resources.

Weber (1958) identified positions such as class, status, and power. He also pointed out the
importance of the cross-cutting influence that originates with the different structures of
inequality. Thus, different status positions of these two people may cut across their similar
class interests. Thus, what becomes important as a source of conflicts in the Kaduna
Metropolis is the covariance of these three systems of stratification, where the minority tribes
of southern Kaduna perceive that the same group (Hausa Muslims) controls access to all three
determinants (i.e. class, status and power). Hence, they utilized any slight provocative chance
(like the request for Sharia implementation for the Hausa Muslims) to question the legitimacy
of the whole system because they perceive that their social mobility is hampered. The southern
Kaduna indigenes (most of whom are Christian) in this case are agitating for many
things, viz: – greater access to political power; equal distribution of positions between Hausa-
Muslim and southern Kaduna-Christians; more independent and elevated chiefdoms; and so
on. One of the songs chanted by the Christians on the March to State House in the 2000
Sharia crisis is the notion of a free and liberal society, where no religion is to be made as a
reference ideology.

Thus, according to Otite and Albert (2004), it is obvious from research findings that
Nigeria’s social structure is inherently prone to generate conflict from diverse ethno-
religious, cultural interests and goals and from the political and economic necessities of
survival, as individuals and as identifiable autonomous social groups struggle for advantages.
Crucial in this respect is the world of work to achieve subsistence in the economic order and
sphere of material and physical resources. The most fervent factor identified by Otite and
Albert as the source of conflict in the Kaduna Metropolis is ethnic and individual or sectional
competition over access to scarce political and economic resources. Here contestants for
various positions mobilise members of their ethnic groups for support in the competition to
hold such positions through election or appointment. Naturally, in the Kaduna Metropolis
divergent interests and inter-ethnic or sub-ethnic and town conflicts occur. It is generally
assumed under such circumstances that the winner in any competition, and thus the
incumbent of any high office, represents and promotes the interests of his people (Otite,
2004:21).

**Criticisms of the Conflict Theory:**

Most criticisms of the conflict theory emerged from Weberian thinkers over how best to
conceptualise class and other conflictual relations in society and the functionalist theories
who argue that the conflict theoretical perspective has not really broken out of the mould of
functionalist. Mann (1986), arguing from the Weberian point of view, said that it is not
possible to explain all forms of power as flowing from economic activity, since the key to
power in modern societies is control of the state. He points to the fact that the state elite are
different from, and to some degree independent of, economic classes.

From the functionalist camp, Craib (1992) argues that all that the theory does is to argue that
conflict is possible and it develops no further than this, since it does not provide a causal
theoretical mechanism, which would allow us to decide whether conflict were endemic to the
system or not. Alexander (1995) argues that the problem with the theory is that if it is taken
as theory, it is viable to explain the degree of stability in society other than by recourse to
some notion of power and domination, but this moves the analysis away from being based on
action by groups, which is seen as the basis of conflict. For a conflict theorist, a situation
where there is a genuine consensus might outwardly look exactly the same as where people
are coerced somehow to behave in certain ways.
Methods:

This study utilized both quantitative and qualitative techniques to obtain data for analysis. The primary sources of data for the research include victims of conflict, people living within Kaduna metropolis, who have experienced conflict, and other stakeholders that include officials of government and non-governmental organisations and the development partners involved in conflict studies and peace building.

The Study Population, Sample Size and Sampling Techniques:

The population of this research is the entire people living in the two local governments (i.e Kaduna North and Kaduna South), which according to the 2006 census result stood at 767,306. A total sample of 486 respondents was selected from the total population to represent the entire population of the area. Thus, 336 respondents of ages 18 years and above were selected for the survey based on Wiseman (1999) table of sample size which proposed ten percent sample as representative of a population. The remaining one hundred respondents were considered for in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Thus, ninety respondents were covered in nine FGDs and twelve respondents in IDIs. The identification of the respondents for the interviews was based on availability and locations. A total of one hundred and ninety three respondents were selected for the purpose of survey questionnaire in each of the two LGAs in this study.

Multi stage cluster sampling technique was adopted to identify the samples drawn for the study. A combination of random and purposive sampling techniques was used to select six political wards from each of the LGAs. At the second stage, eight clusters were selected in each LGA. These were selected based on the conflicts that occurred in the area and for their heterogeneity, homogeneity and to ensure equal representation and coverage of the elements selected. In the third stage, a sample of three hundred and thirty six respondents was drawn using households located in the selected clusters. The households were sampled through systematic technique based on household listing obtained from the National Population Commission.

Accidental sampling technique was used to identify and select respondents for the survey as only victims available at the time of visits were consulted. While for the qualitative data, purposive sampling technique was used to identify and select the individuals and groups for IDIs FGDs.

Findings of the Study:

Section I: Political Elites and Conflict:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role of Political Elite</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>81.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>386</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 1 above, opinions were sought on the political elites and conflict in the Kaduna Metropolis. The table indicates that a scant 18.1% of the respondents say the political elites are not to blame, where as an overwhelming 81.9% say traditional elites cause conflict in the area. It can be deduced that the political elites influence conflict in various ways, including unguarded statements, fuelling aggression and division among people through rumour-
mongering, nepotic approach to the sharing of resources and other sundry national issues, engaging in do-or-die and winner-takes-all politics, election rigging, holding illicit and illegal rallies, bailing criminal elements and encouraging youths into drug consumption and abuse, etc.

A discussant in the Kakuri Youth Development Association Focus Group held explained this further:

The political elites are instigating both ethnic and religious groups against each other as an opportunity for them to divide and rule over the people so that they can continue to exploit them economically and politically without them being aware.

When asked how the political elites are able to do this, another discussant from a focus group of coalition of NGOs in Kaduna said that they use people’s lack of awareness of their rights and collaborate with some religious groups to achieve their purpose. Thus:

These people want to be relevant at all times, they want people to respect them, they collaborate with some religious organisations, state and security agents to cause trouble whenever they realised that they are loosing relevance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roles of political elite</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not accepting defeat after election</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bail participants in conflicts due to political inclination</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engage in do or die political rivalry</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrupt practices</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>386</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Opinions were sought in Table 2 above from the victims of Kaduna Metropolis conflicts, on the roles played by the political elites in promoting conflict. 35.8% of the victims indicate that political elites cause conflict by not accepting defeat after election. A lesser 8.8% indicate that they promote conflict by bailing perpetrators of conflict with whom they share common political inclinations. But a bigger 36.5% say that they promote conflict by engaging in do-or-die political rivalry and 17.1%, through corrupt practices during elections to favour their candidacy, while a scant 1.8% mentioned other reasons for promoting conflict.

Thus, it can be noted that the most salient role played by the political elites in causing and promoting conflict in Kaduna Metropolis is by engaging in do-or-die political rivalry which may incite other followers of opposition parties to do the same by not conceding defeat in elections, as confirmed by 72.3% of the respondents. This more often than not causes violence.

A participant in the youth group FGD said:

The political elites find unemployed youths readily available to be used to create violence which the elites bank on for their selfish ends.
Table 3: The Allocation of Positions in Government and Conflict in the Kaduna Metropolis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allocation of Positions</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 above shows the responses of the victims of Kaduna Metropolis on the allocation of positions in government and conflict in the area, 36.0% of the respondents say that it does not cause conflict, whereas a bigger 64% disagree as such. As suggested by a respondent in an IDI interview:

Most people engage in politics because of the material gain they are likely to obtain and because Kaduna is a multi ethnic and their religious, the struggle for political positions is always a common source of conflict.

This confirms the reason why the political elites engage in do or die politics so as to have control over authority to share positions for economic advantage. Even among members of the winning political party, there used to be squabbles over who should have what position, thereby resulting in conflict.

An official of state emergency relief agency in an IDI mentioned that:

I think the causes of conflict in Kaduna are hidden and perpetrated in the guise of ethnicity or religion. But the underlying motive is struggle for the control over political positions, economic values and relevance.

Table 4: The Type of Conflict Caused by the Allocation of Positions in the Kaduna Metropolis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Conflict</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political division</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial division</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic sentiment</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious favouritism</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Opinion was sought in Table 4 above on the type of conflict the allocation of positions cause. 31.9% of the victims indicate that the allocation of positions causes political division among the people, 11.4% spatial division; cause ethnic sentiment; 26.2%; done to please or favour a particular religion, 30.6%, but political division, having a slightly higher frequency and percentage is the greatest cause of conflict.

A religious leader in IDI session mentioned that:

More often than not most conflicts in this area are given ethnic coloration by the elites so as to hide the salient reasons of neglect, poverty, poor social services and bad leadership.

Section II: Hypothesis Testing:
Hypothesis: There is no significant relationship between influence of political elites and conflict in Kaduna Metropolis.

Table 5: Religion by Roles of Political Elites in Promoting Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Not accepting defeat after election</th>
<th>Bail participant in conflict due to political inclination</th>
<th>Engage in do or die political Rivalry</th>
<th>Corrupt practices</th>
<th>Other Reasons</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>68 (38.6)</td>
<td>16 (9.1)</td>
<td>56 (31.8)</td>
<td>31 (17.6)</td>
<td>5 (2.8)</td>
<td>176 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>48 (28.7)</td>
<td>15 (9.0)</td>
<td>69 (41.3)</td>
<td>33 (19.8)</td>
<td>2 (1.2)</td>
<td>167 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>22 (51.2)</td>
<td>3 (7.0)</td>
<td>16 (37.2)</td>
<td>2 (4.7)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>43 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>138 (35.8)</td>
<td>34 (8.8)</td>
<td>141 (36.5)</td>
<td>66 (17.1)</td>
<td>7 (1.8)</td>
<td>386 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi –Square (X²) Cal = 2.639
Chi –Square (X²) Cri = 15.510
Crammer V Value = .138

Opinion on the role of the political elites in promoting conflict was sought in Table 5 above. The responses show that 38.6% of the respondents who are Christians believe that the political elites contribute to conflict by not accepting defeat after election, while a smaller 9.1% believe that the political elites bail participants in conflict due to party inclination; 31.8%, by engaging in do-or-die politics; 17.6% engage in corrupt practices whereby resources meant for social services are siphoned by the political class. Only 2.8% Christians blame the political elites due to other reasons. A total of 176 Christians were sampled in the study.

Victims that were Islamic religious adherents also present their opinions on the issue in which 28.7% indicated that the political elites don’t concede defeat and strive to capture power by all means, thereby causing chaos among people. 7% said the political elites contribute to conflict by bailing participants in conflict; 37.2%, by engaging in do-or-die politics; 19.8% by operating in corrupt practices. Only 1.2%. State other reasons. A total of 167 Muslims were studied in the sample. 51.2% of the respondents who practice traditional religion indicated that the political elites do not accept defeat after election; 7% said the political elites bail culprits; 37.2%, engage in political rivalry, thereby investing their energy in conflicts; 4.7% engage in corrupt practices of resources belonging to the public being stolen, thereby creating poverty, since services are not provided for members of the public.

The calculated chi-square (X²) value 24.639 is greater than Chi-square (X²) calculated value 15.510 at the 0.05 level of significance under df 8 (X² cal 24.639 > X² cri cal). The null hypothesis, which stated there is no significant relationship between the influence of the political elites and conflict in the Kaduna Metropolis, is therefore rejected.

Table 6: The Educational Attainment of Victims and the Roles of the Political Elites in Promoting Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Not accepting defeat after election</th>
<th>Bail participant in conflict due to political</th>
<th>Engage in do or die political Rivalry</th>
<th>Corrupt practices</th>
<th>Other Reasons</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inclination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qur’anic</td>
<td>11 (28.9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>5 (22.7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary incomplete</td>
<td>3 (37.5)</td>
<td>5 (12.5)</td>
<td>13 (59.1)</td>
<td>3 (13.6)</td>
<td>1 (4.5)</td>
<td>22 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary complete</td>
<td>7 (38.9)</td>
<td>1 (5.6)</td>
<td>9 (50.0)</td>
<td>1 (5.6)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>18 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary incomplete</td>
<td>24 (57.1)</td>
<td>3 (7.1)</td>
<td>8 (19.0)</td>
<td>6 (14.3)</td>
<td>1 (2.4)</td>
<td>42 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary complete</td>
<td>26 (34.2)</td>
<td>6 (7.9)</td>
<td>24 (31.6)</td>
<td>19 (25.0)</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>76 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>62 (34.1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>138 (35.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 above is on the opinions of the victims based on their educational level on the roles of political elites in promoting conflict. 28.9% who attended Qur’anic schools said political elites do not accept defeat after election; 13.2%, they bail the culprits of violence if they belong to their political inclination; 44.7%, engage in rivalry in the course of struggle for power control, which causes enmity between their followers and that of other politicians; 13.2%, engage in rivalry. A total of 38 victims with Qur’anic education were studied, 22.7% who didn’t have any type of education indicated that politicians don’t accept defeat after elections while a bigger 59.1% said they engage in political rivalry; 13.6% engage in corrupt practices, only 4.5% stated that political elites do not promote conflict. 37.5% whose educational status is primary incomplete have shown that politicians do not accept defeat after elections; 12.5%, they engage in corrupt practices, an action which leads to the wastage of resources meant for social amenities, resulting in economic hardship to many of the people; 38.9% who have completed primary education expressed their opinions that politicians don’t accept defeat after election, but only 12.5% claimed that politicians bail participants in conflict due to party inclination. 50% stated that politicians engage in political rivalry and 5.6% that they engage in corrupt practices. A total of 18 victims who have complete primary education were studied.

Respondents with incomplete secondary school education (57.1%) indicate that politicians do not accept defeat after election; 7.1% that they bail participants of conflict; 19% said that they engage in political rivalry; 14.3%, that they operate on corrupt practices, while only 2.4% believe that they promote conflict. A total of 42 victims who have incomplete secondary education were studied.

Similarly, respondents who have complete secondary school education (34.2%) said politicians do not accept defeat after election; 7.9% that they bail culprits of violence due to party inclination; 31.6% that they are engage in do-or-die political rivalry; 25% that they operate on corrupt practices and only 1.3% said the political elites encourage conflict through other means. A total of 76 victims who have complete secondary school education were studied.

In the same vein, (35.8%) who attended tertiary education claimed that politicians do not accept defeat after election; 9.9% that they bail culprits of conflict due to party inclination; 36.8%, believed that they engage in do-or-die political rivalry; 17% that they engage in corrupt practices and only 2.2% mentioned other ways in which a political elites promote conflict.
The analysis showed Chi-square ($X^2$) calculated value 38.752 is greater than Chi-square ($X^2$) critical value 36.420. The null hypothesis, which stated there is no significant relationship between the educational attainment of victims and influence of political elites in the Kaduna Metropolis conflict, is therefore rejected.

### Table 7: The Income of the Victims and the Roles of the Political Elites in Promoting Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income per Month</th>
<th>Roles of Political Elites in Promoting Conflict</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not accepting defeat after election</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 5,000 – ₦ 15,000</td>
<td>70 (41.2)</td>
<td>170 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 15,001 – ₦ 25,000</td>
<td>39 (39.4)</td>
<td>99 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 25,001 – ₦ 35,000</td>
<td>11 (24.4)</td>
<td>45 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 35,001 – ₦ 45,000</td>
<td>6 (18.2)</td>
<td>33 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over ₦ 45,000</td>
<td>12 (30.8)</td>
<td>39 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>138 (35.8)</strong></td>
<td><strong>386 (100.0)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bail participant in conflict due to political inclination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 5,000 – ₦ 15,000</td>
<td>11 (6.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 15,001 – ₦ 25,000</td>
<td>12 (12.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 25,001 – ₦ 35,000</td>
<td>5 (11.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 35,001 – ₦ 45,000</td>
<td>3 (9.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over ₦ 45,000</td>
<td>3 (7.7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>34 (8.8)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Engage in do or die political Rivalry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 5,000 – ₦ 15,000</td>
<td>56 (32.9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 15,001 – ₦ 25,000</td>
<td>33 (33.3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 25,001 – ₦ 35,000</td>
<td>19 (42.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 35,001 – ₦ 45,000</td>
<td>18 (54.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over ₦ 45,000</td>
<td>15 (38.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>141 (36.5)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corrupt practices</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 5,000 – ₦ 15,000</td>
<td>30 (17.6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 15,001 – ₦ 25,000</td>
<td>13 (13.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 25,001 – ₦ 35,000</td>
<td>8 (17.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 35,001 – ₦ 45,000</td>
<td>6 (18.2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over ₦ 45,000</td>
<td>9 (23.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>66 (17.1)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 5,000 – ₦ 15,000</td>
<td>3 (1.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 15,001 – ₦ 25,000</td>
<td>2 (2.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 25,001 – ₦ 35,000</td>
<td>2 (4.4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>₦ 35,001 – ₦ 45,000</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over ₦ 45,000</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7 (1.8)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi–Square ($X^2$) Cal = 41.201
Chi–Square ($X^2$) Cri = 36.42
Crammer V Value = .109

The table above presents the opinions of the victims on the roles played by political elites in promoting conflict. 41.2% whose earning is ₦5,000-₦15,000 per month said political elites cause conflict by not accepting defeat after elections; 6.5% that they bail culprits of violence based on political inclination of party; 32.9% that they operate on do-or-die political rivalry; 17.6% that they engage in corrupt practices, while only 1.8% blamed political elites for other reasons.

Similarly, 39.4% of the victims within the income level of ₦15,001 – ₦25,000 indicated that the political elites cause conflict because they don’t accept defeat after election; 12.1% that they bail culprits of violence; 33.3% that they are engaged in do-or-die political rivalry; 13.3% linked the elites’ role to corruption and only 2% said political elites have a hand in promoting conflict due to other reasons, such as unguarded statements against opponents, the use of thugs for aggression during election campaigns and buying drugs for criminal youths to cause violence. 24.4% of the respondent whose income falls within ₦25,001 – ₦35,000 said political elites don’t accept defeat after election; 11.1%, that they bail culprits of conflicts; 42.2%, that they engage in do-or-die political rivalry; 17.8% that they operate in corrupt practices, while only 4.4% showed that politicians promote rivalry, which lead to conflicts. In the same vein, 18.7% who have a monthly income of between ₦35,001–₦45,000 said that politicians don’t accept defeat after elections, 9.1% that they bail culprits of violence; 54.5% that they engage in a do-or-die political rivalry and a scant 18.2% behave...
that politicians operate in corrupt practices. A total of 33 victims within income level were studied respectively.

Similarly, of those respondents whose monthly income level is N45,000 and above, 30.8% indicated that politicians do not accept defeat after elections; 7.7%, that they bail the culprits of violence; 38.5%, that they engage in do-or-die political rivalry and 23.1%, they operate in corrupt practices. A total of 39 victims within the income level were studied.

The calculated $X^2$ value 41.201 is greater than $X^2$ critical value 36.42. The table indicated that majority of the respondents who fall within the lower monthly income category of N5,000 – N15,000 and have indicated that political elites have influenced the occurrence of conflict in the Kaduna Metropolis. The null hypothesis, which stated there is no significant relationship between income per month and the influence of the political elites, is therefore rejected.

Table 8: The Occupation of Victims and the Roles of the Political Elites in Promoting Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Not accepting defeat after election</th>
<th>Bail participant in conflict due to political inclination</th>
<th>Engage in do or die political Rivalry</th>
<th>Corrupt practices</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>18 (43.9)</td>
<td>4 (9.8)</td>
<td>15 (36.6)</td>
<td>3 (7.3)</td>
<td>1 (2.4)</td>
<td>41 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil service</td>
<td>37 (34.3)</td>
<td>9 (8.3)</td>
<td>44 (40.7)</td>
<td>15 (13.9)</td>
<td>3 (2.8)</td>
<td>108 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisanship</td>
<td>15 (45.5)</td>
<td>4 (12.1)</td>
<td>8 (24.2)</td>
<td>6 (18.2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>33 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trading</td>
<td>16 (26.2)</td>
<td>7 (11.5)</td>
<td>25 (41.0)</td>
<td>13 (21.3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>61 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schooling</td>
<td>50 (38.5)</td>
<td>9 (6.9)</td>
<td>44 (33.8)</td>
<td>25 (19.2)</td>
<td>2 (1.5)</td>
<td>130 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2 (15.4)</td>
<td>1 (7.7)</td>
<td>5 (38.5)</td>
<td>4 (30.8)</td>
<td>1 (7.7)</td>
<td>13 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>138 (35.8)</strong></td>
<td><strong>34 (8.8)</strong></td>
<td><strong>141 (36.5)</strong></td>
<td><strong>66 (17.1)</strong></td>
<td><strong>7 (1.8)</strong></td>
<td><strong>386 (100.0)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi –Square ($X^2$) Cal = 39.272  
Chi –Square ($X^2$) Cri = 31.41  
Crammer V Value = .112

The political elites have been contributing significantly to conflict in many ways, as Table 8 indicates on the opinions of the victims on occupation and the roles of the elites in conflict. From the table, 43.9% showed that politicians don’t accept defeat after elections; 9.8% that they bail culprits based on their political inclinations; 36.6%, that they engage in do-or-die politics; 7.3%, that there are corrupt practices among politicians and only 2.4% stated other reasons.

The opinions of the civil servants among the sample showed that 34.3% of politicians don’t accept defeat after election; 8.3%, that culprits are bailed based on political inclinations; 40.7%, that they engage in do-or-die affairs; 13.9%, that they are engaged in corrupt practices and only 2.8% stated other reasons. 108 civil servants formed the sample of the study.

Similarly, (45.5%) artisans stated that politicians do not accept defeat after election; 12.1%, that they bail culprits on political inclinations; 24.2%, that they engage in do-or-die political rivalry, thereby creating hostilities among them and only 18.2% showed that politicians engage in corrupt practices.
The result also shows that 26.2% who engage in trading said politicians do not accept defeat after elections; 11.5%, that they bail culprits of violence due to their political inclinations; 41% that they engage in do-or-die political rivalry, while 21.3% concluded that politicians engage in corrupt practices. A total of 61 traders were studied.

The table shows that 38.5% of the respondents were schooling and have indicated that politicians do not accept defeat after elections; 6.9%, that they bail culprits of violence whenever they are caught by the law; 33.8%, that they engage in do-or-die political rivalry; 19.2% of the students showed that politicians engaged in corrupt practices, while only 1.5% of scholars stated other reasons. A total of 130 scholars were studied.

Only 15.4% of the victims studied who engage in other occupations indicated that politicians do not accept defeat after election; 7.7%, that they bail culprits on political inclination; 38.5%, that they are engaged in a do-or-die politicking, which promotes rivalry; 30.8%, that they operate the corrupt practices and only 7.7% stated other reasons. A total of 13 victims from different occupation were studied.

The analysis showed Chi-square $X^2$ calculated value 39.272 < is greater than Chi-square $X^2$ critical value 31.41 ($X^2$ cal 39.272 > $X^2$ cri 31.41) under the 0.05 level of significance at df 20. The null hypothesis, which states there is no significant relationship between the types of occupation of the victims of conflict and the influence of political elites in promoting conflict, is therefore rejected.

In almost all the FGDs and IDI’s held, the respondents confirmed that elites promote conflicts among different people in Kaduna. The community and religious leaders confirmed that the role played by elites in the Kaduna metropolis is often down-played whenever discussions are held on conflict resolution in the area. More often, mention is not made with regards to the way the elites go under the surface to incite their people, using false allegations against opponents. Thus, in an interview with a community leader, he said that:

The problem with Kaduna metropolis conflict is that the elites are divided and at times incite the common people to act against their perceived enemies. They fund and sponsor some people, particularly the youths, during tension to unleash violence at the end of which people suffer. A society where large number of competing elites struggle for power in a segmented state like Kaduna, the risk of violent infighting increases.

Another respondent in a youth FGD added:

Politicians and some rich people do provide us with money to buy weapons, keep guard and go out to fight on the streets. They will always tell us to fight our enemies.

This finding is further buttressed by Alemika and Okoye (2002) who said that the frequency of inter-ethnic conflicts in Nigeria may be understood in the light of the large number of ethnic groups in the country; the neglect and deprivation these ethnic groups have suffered under successive regimes create more intense competition for source resources; the role of political elites/patrons who mobilise ethnic sentiments to secure advantages from local, state and federal government aggravate inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts in the state. They trace the conflicts in Kaduna to the manipulation of religious and ethnic differences by forces.
of exploitation and oppression, so that the ethnic groups will hold each other in suspicion and thereby be unable to face their common adverseness.

Pruitt and Rubin (1986) have confirmed this finding further that the primary sources of social conflicts are divergent interests associated with, economic, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender, political and racial differentiation between people in Nigeria. These factors combine in different degrees to produce conflicts of varying scope, intensity, duration and consequences. In fact, Anifowase (1982) has confirmed that most conflicts in Nigeria are caused by the political elites who are afraid ofloosing power. He said that violence has been used by groups in the process of losing power by groups holding power and by groups in the process of losing power. Consequently, he argued that political violence involves the threat of physical acts carried out by an individual or in individuals influenced by those who have political significance that tend to modify the behaviour of others in the existing arrangement of power structures. Along this line, Azar (1990) is of the view that most states in protracted social conflict laden countries are hardly neutral. In democratic societies, the state is an aggregate of individuals to govern effectively and to act as an impartial arbiter of conflicts among the constituent parts. Empirically, however, the world behaves differently.

Political authorities tend to be monopolized by a dominant elite group or a coalition of hegemonic groups. These elite groups tend to use the state as an instrument for maximising their interest at the expense of others. As a result, the means to satisfy basic needs are unevenly shared and the potential for social conflict increases. Furthermore, the domination of the state apparatus by one or few elite groups is achieved through the distortion of modes of governance. To sustain their monopoly of power, these dominant elite groups limit access to social institutions (such as jobs, educational) by other identity groups and these often precipitate crises of legitimacy. Such crises exacerbate already existing competitive or conflictive situations, diminish the state’s ability to meet basic needs and lead to further developmental crises.

Discussion:

The data collected in this research indicate that the political elites or leaders instigate conflicts mainly through their attitude of not accepting defeat after elections, which is represented by 81.9% of the respondents and their tendency to engage in do-or-die political rivalry, as mentioned by 36.59% of the respondents. This shows that the political elites use conflict as an instrument to access political and economic opportunities and power in the society and that through the various way mentioned in the course of the research they manipulate people’s opinions to create rivalry and envy between various ethnic and religious groups in the effort for them to access these economic and political positions.

Ibrahim (2002), has blamed them for manipulating ethnic differences and whipping up primordial sentiments to cause and sustain ethnic conflicts and frustrate peace building in Kaduna state. Thus, Jega (2002), while describing their role in causing conflicts said that elite contestation for political power and capture of the state are characterised by cut-throat competition in a zero sum game manner. The elites mobilise sentiments, ethno-religious and communal identities and negatively massage and manipulate them, so as to achieve selfish and parochial objectives.

Kymlicka and Norman (2000) have attributed conflicts in Kaduna to complicating factors, such as the convergence of religious value orientations with ethnic differences combining with the greedy disposition of the elites, as well as their deliberate and wilful manipulations, to make things much more difficult to manage and/or contain; indeed, to heighten mutual fears and suspicions of the “other”, to reinforce the perceptions of domination and
marginalization by the “other” and to erect rigid barriers to cordial and peaceful inter-ethnic, inter-religious and inter-communal relationships in the area. The place of elites in Kaduna crisis has a long history that evolved during the colonial period. Southern Kaduna people were subjected to the authority control of the Zazzau Emirate, which the colonial masters met already in existence. Thus, Abdu and Umar (2002) noted that there have been divergent interests among the elites in Kaduna based on socio-political structure of the area. There are those who felt that in the present structure, the southern Kaduna people are suppressed and marginalized which needs to change. There are those who felt that the present arrangement should be maintained. These different positions often lead elites to create forces to pursue conflicts for their interests often resulting in violence.

While agreeing with this conception, Jega (2002) said that competitive partisan political activities, which are a common feature of Nigeria’s political elites, are reflected by the Kaduna elites as avenues through which groups are mobilised, identities rigidly reinforced, often infused with excessive religiosity, violent youth gangs and militias formed and armed and ethnic tensions and conflicts, thereby facilitated. The most recent scenario of this was seen with the church bombing, which occurred in Kaduna and Zaria churches and the retaliatory attack by Christian youths along the Kaduna – Abuja road and the mobilization of Muslim youth in Kaduna town to avenge the killings by the Christian youths.

It was discovered in the area of study that the political elites have rendered ethnic and religious relations too loose, and as an instrument of political access and control of the positions of authority and power. Often, usually the elites resort to claims of neglect and subordination of their ethnic and religious nationalities and often find ready unemployed youths who are recruited to create tension and violence against perceived enemies or opposing ethnic groups, usually Hausa and southern Kaduna tribes.

Movements and associations were established along this line to pursue ethnic/religious goals of state control. The southern Kaduna Progressive Union (SOKAPU), for instance, is a southern Kaduna elite formation and the Kaduna Youth Movement represent the Hausa/Fulani elites; both played key roles in inciting conflict in the area. These associations along with others like them play key roles in organising rallies and riots that have ethnic, religious or divisive colouration of violence (e.g. is their role in the 2001 Sharia riot and the 2011 post election violence). As shown by Angerbrandt (2010), SOKAPU has led to demands for, among other things, splitting Kaduna state into two because of its opinion that minority groups in southern Kaduna have been unfairly treated by the northern part.

Adekanya (2007), while supporting the role of elites in causing conflicts, said that the struggles for the control of state power by competing groups of elites have been a crucial factor in Kaduna conflicts because of the increasingly centralised role that the state has come to play in the economy and society here. He went on to say that everywhere, the control of the state apparatus of power entails the control of, and access to, public resources and their unfettered distribution among one’s relations. This has tended to make the state the highest prize for political competition. But the implication of all this is also that because the state becomes an extension of some particular sectional or group interests, it is not seen as being capable of acting as an impartial or neutral arbiter in the ranging disputes and conflicts in Kaduna state.

Elsewhere, Abdullahi (2007) has mentioned that in Nigeria any explanation of religious conflict will not be complete without mentioning the role elites are playing in fuelling the conflict. They are the normative reference group in the society. But, instead, they resorted to manipulating religion for their personal rather than national interests. Elites compete over the nation’s valued goods, which are scarce, so any move by one group is seen in terms of
personal advantage over the other. Creating hostility, tension and conflict between religious groups often leads to jostling to get something out of the state resources. When there is conflict, the elites are those invited to solve the problem and this brings them closer to the government and the attendant benefits. They encourage people to use violence so that they can gain greater favour from the government. The violence is a way of diverting the attention of the masses from the real issue, which are the masses who suffer because of the elites’ greed.

The struggle for political control by the elites according to Gurr (1993), is persistent in multi-ethnic society, because ethnic groups that win out in conquest, state building and economic development establish patterns of authority and various kinds of social barriers to protect their advantages, including the policies and practices of discrimination. Elites encourage conflicts whenever they seem lost out from, access to the positions of political power, access to civil service positions, effective right to organise political activity on behalf of group interests, group solidarity and so on. All Kaduna conflicts are in one way or the other related to the above notion, which makes various groups protest or rebel, leading to violence.

Gurr (1993), in his seminal work on ethno-political conflict, mentioned that there are three different forms or strategies of political action by which groups pursue their interests in the order of increasing intensity. They are non-violent protest (e.g. the fuel subsidy protest of 2012), violent protest (e.g. the 2000 and 2001 Sharia protests, the 2002 beauty pageant protest and the 2011 post election violence all in the Kaduna metropolis) and rebellion (e.g. the Boko Haram crisis). The essential strategy of protest is to mobilise a show of support on behalf of reform; the essential strategy of rebellion is to mobilise enough coercive power that governments are forced to accept change. When protesters use violence, it usually occurs in sporadic and unplanned ways. The use of violence by rebels takes the form of concerted campaigns of armed attacks, ranging from political banditry and terrorism to all out warfare. In Kaduna conflicts, the distinction between protest and rebellion is not absolute, because, as the practice shows the political objectives of people with grievances are mixed and their choices of strategies and tactics vary with circumstances, including the responses of their opponent.

The 2000, 2001 Sharia and 2002 beauty pageant riots and the 2011 election crisis both started as non-violent rallies to either protest or support the implementation of certain policies, but quickly changed into violence. The recent June 2012 bomb attacks on churches in Zaria and Kaduna metropolis was done by rebel groups, but quickly turned into ethno-religious grievance when Christian youths were reported to have stopped vehicles to search and kill Muslims passing in their areas. This type of situation is found to be responsible for cycle of violence in the area of this study.

Conclusion:

Although many factors account for conflicts in Kaduna metropolis, most of these factors are discovered by this study to be due to the influence of political elites, who manipulate people in order to achieve their economic, as well as socio-political interests. Through the use of fear, anxiety and violence the political elites access their ways to positions of authority as instrument of resource control. The political elites adopt divide and rule tactic to create divisions along religious and ethnic lines, lack of tolerance and flourishing of violence and instability in the society. Thus, despite the frequency of conflicts in the area very little is done to discover final solution to the problem. The very best which government does is always wait so that whenever conflict broke out, committee is set up to come up with recommendations that are never applied as deterrence.
Recommendations:

Accordingly, the following recommendations are made as mechanisms for eradicating conflicts:

1. The Nigerian constitution must be strengthened to cater for both the leaders and the led. In doing so, attention and priority must be given on the entrenchment of the rule of law, and improving the character, conduct and efficiency of the machinery for delivery of justice, as well as that of the law enforcement agencies, so that “might would no longer be right”, and the guilty would get punished no matter how highly placed they are. Oputa (1997) has once observed that justice is universal and essential prerequisite for stable governance and a viable political order. To actualise this, the independence of the judiciary must be guaranteed if those found guilty of inciting hostility and violence among people are to be punished.

2. Since it was discovered by significant proportion of respondents in this study that political elites influence conflict, by mobilising religion, ethnic sentiment and the unemployed youths to destabilise the area, the law must catch up with these actors of impunity. Whoever is found guilty must be punished in accordance to the laws of Nigeria and should be exposed to the public. Jega (2002) said that conflict resolution in Nigeria requires all stakeholders to resiliently keep trying to de-escalate ethno-religious and regional tension; to expose bigots and ethnic jingoists; to rebuild ethno-religious bridges; and to re-establish concrete mechanisms for peace building, conflict management and resolution.

3. Political leaders must be accountable to the people at all times. They should seek positions through legal means rather than by intimidation and resorting to violence and hostility. They should see governance as instrument of bringing about positive change and development to the society in general rather than as personal instrument for self enrichment. They should play politics by the rule of the game rather than immoral mechanisms which may debilitate the future of the society.

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EVALUATING THE IMPACTS OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT IN NORTH EASTERN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

With escalating violence and insurgency in Nigeria’s north eastern Region, and pocket of violence in other parts of the country; internal displacement has been on the rise. The National Commission for Refugees, estimated in its 2013 report that there were about 3.3 million IDPs in Nigeria. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) currently credits Nigeria with an IDP population of over 4.3 million IDPs, the highest in Africa and third in the world, behind only Syria and Iraq. This movement of people over time possesses several socio-economic changes that have affected societies over time, although there are several reasons why this situation occurs, the principal motivation which plays a very crucial role in this matter is the expectation for safety. This is an attempt to evaluate the challenges of internally displaced populations in Nigeria; the changes such displacements instigate, its causes, magnitude, the problems it carries, and the globally acceptable approaches applicable in management of internal displacement.

Keywords: Internal Displacement, Conflict, Internally Displaced Persons, Camps, Disasters.

INTRODUCTION

Uprooted from their homes and trapped within the borders of their own states, the world's 20 to 25 million "internally displaced persons" (IDPs) are a defining feature of the post-Cold War era. Their plight, which now amounts to a global crisis, poses a challenge to established systems of humanitarian relief and protection (migrationpolicy.org/article/internally-displaced-perspective).

Disaster is a natural or man-made hazard, which usually results in an event of substantial extent causing significant physical damage or destruction, loss of life or drastic change to the environment. Across the globe, various disasters like earthquake, landslides, volcanic eruptions, flood and cyclones are some of the natural hazards that kill thousands of people and destroy billions of dollars of habitat and property each year (WHO 2011). These disasters leave millions of people displaced; these persons are described by UNHCR as “probably the largest group of vulnerable people in the world.”

The plight of displaced persons has in recent years become a formidable problem of global significance and implications (Ladan, 2001). Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (OCHA 1999).

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), also known as the UN Refugee Agency, in the year 2011 Africa contributed almost eleven million internally
displaced persons. It was also stated that, internally displaced persons now outnumbered refugees by ratio of 3 to 1, this figure by now would have gone beyond records, considering the various crisis that have befallen the continent without adequate records (http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c146.html).

Around the world, some 23.7 million women, men and children have been internally displaced by conflict, communal violence, and internal strife (Kalin, 2006).

On a global scale, Nigeria is only ranked behind Syria with 6.5 million IDPs and Colombia with 5.7 million IDPs. Nigeria has been affected by recurrent internal conflicts and generalized violence since the end of military rule and the return of democracy in 1999. Displacement across the country is a common result of both communal violence and internal armed conflicts. While some of the conflicts appear to be caused by religious or ethnic differences, benefits of a political, social and economic nature are generally behind the violence in the country with endemic poverty, low levels of education and a huge and alienated youth population (www.macrothink.org/jsr).

A report, Global Overview 2014: People Internally Displaced by Conflict and Violence, published by the Internal Displaced Monitoring Centre, IDMC and the Norwegian Refugee Council, NRC stated that with 3.3 million Internally Displaced Persons, IDPs, Nigeria has the largest population of persons displaced by conflict in Africa. The report stated that the number of internally displaced persons in Nigeria is approximately a third of the IDPs in Africa and 10 percent of IDPs in the world.

While the report also noted that displacement is caused by a connection of interrelated factors, it highlighted violence, flood and storms as the main cause of displacement in Nigeria.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM:

From traumatic experiences and the overlooked cases of mental health problems, to issues of family separation and signs of malnutrition, stunted growth amongst children; IDPs in Nigeria face numerous challenges in their everyday lives.

Common health complaints observed included abdominal pains, cough, catarrh and fever. The poor sanitation within majority of these camps exposes residents to infectious diseases. Majority of women in such camps suffer from urinary tract infections. This is linked with the poor toilet facilities available in the camp. Some IDPs have hypertension and had run out of drugs.

Security wise; IDPs are considered as soft targets, and IDP camps are regularly bombed or targeted by not only the insurgents, but also rapist and ritualists in some cases.

Economically, it is abysmal as most IDPs are without livelihoods and most of them are unemployed: similarly IDPs face high risk in taking side jobs as motor park touts, motorcycle riders, cobblers amongst other things so as to get their daily bread all in the quest for survival.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) set up a Displacement Tracking Matrix (DTM) to support the government in collecting and disseminating data on IDPs. The Sector analysis shows that 80% have an official camp management committee. The analysis shows only 40% of such camps have an appointed Site Management Agency on site with around 80% having a formal registration activity.
In health; 60% of IDPs living in camps have regular access to medicine, a little below 50% have health facilities/services on-site under 3 km away; a health referral system is in place in 50% of sites. The most prevalent health problems in the sites include malaria and colds (DTM, 2014).

For shelter the analysis shows that numerous number of displaced persons are unaccounted for this is as a result to them living with relatives in cities; it also shows that the majority of site residents are living indoors with solid walls with 15 liters of water per person per day. It similarly shows that 60% have male and female separated toilets and 50% with male and female separated bathing areas with a total of 51 toilets in all 10 sites for a total of 18,258 sites.

The analysis with food shows that 40% have access to food with 50% receiving food distributions everyday 20% reported never receiving food distributions. The analysis also exposes the unhygienic methods of food distribution and the nutritional imbalance in the food served.

In Education the analysis indicated that there is formal or informal education taking place in 60% of sites, However, education facilities are located within 1-2km from the sites for those sites without education facilitates on site. In 30% of such sites over 75% of children are attending schools.

For protection, although there are no reported incidents of gender based violence (GBV) Pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers have been identified as the vulnerable groups most in need of receiving support. 80% report that the majority of site residents do not have identification cards or other forms of documentation. Frequent bomb blasts at IDP camps in the country raises questions about the safety of people forced to leave their domiciles primarily for safety. For livelihood only 0.75% displaced persons living in the sites were found to have a source of income.

In communication; 50% report a serious problem in the affected community because site. Residents have limited access to information (i.e. about their situation or situation in home village (DTM, 2014).

1.3 Research Questions:

1. What types of challenges are peculiar to internally displaced people?
2. Are the guiding principles of internal displacement applied in the management of IDPs in Nigeria?
3. Why are displaced people more susceptible to neglect, loss of territorial and political rights, sexual harassment and other ignoble treatments?
4. How is the process of rehabilitation and reconstruction been carried out?
5. What are concerned authorities doing to ameliorate the plight of IDPs?

1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:

The aim of this research is to evaluate the impacts of internal displacement on displaced persons in Nigeria.

It is hopeful that after the research is conducted the following sets of objectives are to be achieved:

1. To discuss the impacts of Internal Displacement on internally displaced people.
2. To assess the degree of success in the management of IDPs and ascertain what concerned authorities are doing in ameliorating the plights of IDPs.

1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY:

This study focuses on evaluating challenges faced internally displaced persons in Nigeria. Issues related to their safety, protection, feeding and health are examined in relationship with treaties signed by the country and also international best practices in handling such challenges.

The area of coverage for this research is limited to internal displaced camps across the country, the period of study been from 2009 to 2015.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY:

The misery of displaced persons has in recent years become a formidable problem of global significance and implications (Ladan, 2001).

The findings of this research shall be resourceful to the policy makers and concerned authority in Nigeria as it would serve as a panacea for improved managerial techniques for handling the internally displaced as well as for tackling the causes and reducing the impacts of internal displacement on citizens. It would also benefit governmental and humanitarian agencies, national and international, that are concerned with the welfare of the internally displaced.

1.7 METHODOLOGY:

This study involves the survey research method, which is seen as a study of the characteristics of a sample through questioning that enables a researcher to make generalizations concerning his population of interest.

The method of data analysis was a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Data for the study were obtained from primary and secondary sources. Documents and interviews were relied upon. The population of the study comprises of internally displaced persons (IDP’s), from thirteen internal displacement camps, alongside staffs of governmental and non-governmental management agencies.

The secondary data comprise of journals, newspapers, magazines, reports and the internet while the primary data comprise of the use of Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews (IDIS).

The qualitative data of responses to interviews and focus group discussions were analyzed. Suffice it to note that data were collected through FGDs, individual depth interviews.

1.7.1 SAMPLE SIZE AND TECHNIQUE:

A sample is “a smaller (but hopefully representative) collection of units from a population used to determine truths about that population” (http://www.docfoc.com/sampling-methods-assignment-9137).

The sample frame for staffs of governmental and non-governmental management agencies is constituted by the number of technical staff totaling a number of 28 staff.
The sample frame for internal displacement camps on the other hand was 500 and simple random sampling method was used. Each individual was chosen randomly and entirely by chance, such that each individual had the same probability of being chosen at any stage during the sampling process. An unbiased random selection of individuals was done.

**IMPACT OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT ON IDPS IN NIGERIA:**

The challenges of internally displaced persons, either overtly or covertly has a tremendous implication towards nation development. The gravity of recent violent disruption and destruction of lives and properties being perpetrated by the Boko Haram attacks, and considering the fact that development as a discourse in sociological realm is multifaceted in dimensions, it can therefore be viewed from economic, social, political, educational, health and in fact, all aspect of human endeavor. The challenges of internally displaced persons are retrogressive, inimical to development. (Oduwole Tajudeen A. and Fadeyi Adebayo O.)

According to the national IDP policy, the Impact of Internal Displacement on IDPs in Nigeria during violent conflicts or natural disasters, which force IDPs to leave, most of their houses and properties are destroyed, looted or burnt down. These IDPs in Nigeria flee to neighboring communities that are safe, usually taking refuge in temporary shelters such as schools, police stations, military barracks, public buildings and places of worship among others; having been deprived of their homes and sometimes their land and livelihoods. This results in their lacking access to necessities of life such as food, water and shelter. While some efforts are made by humanitarian and faith-based organizations and government agencies to address some of the basic needs of IDPs, their vulnerability tend to be increased by barriers to accessing healthcare services, education, employment, economic activities and information for participation in decision making affecting their lives. With some IDPs camped in school buildings, education is usually disrupted for both local host communities and displaced children.

The policy emboldens how IDPs in Nigeria face insecurity and all forms of exploitation and abuse, including rape, camping in congested shelters, isolated, insecure or inhospitable areas. IDPs are also largely separated from their families especially, unaccompanied children and teenagers, the elderly and sick, persons with disabilities and pregnant women, whose special needs and privacy are not attended to, due to fragmented and uncoordinated humanitarian response to the needs of IDPs. IDPs in Nigeria also face lack of access to justice, whether in relation to cases of human rights violations such as discrimination against ethnic and religious minorities, sexual violence, and deprivation of means of livelihood. Even when the situation of most IDPs improves, potentially durable solutions have remained out of the reach of specific groups with particular needs or vulnerabilities. These include the elderly or sick people, widows barred from recovering the property they had lived in, or members of minorities facing discrimination, marginalization and exclusion or whose livelihoods depend on a particular attachment to their areas of origin or settlement. For such groups, strategies or incentives that had encouraged others to move towards a durable solution may not have been effective or accessible, and the tailored support they needed to rebuild their lives was not available.

In general, IDPs are often treated with hostility by the general public. They may be viewed with fear, subjected to persecution for being displaced and blamed for increased crime rates. Cultural, regional and ethnic differences often produce conflicts between the two communities and become excuses for racism and discrimination in daily life, such as in the workplace and in the landlord-tenant relationship. Furthermore, host communities often do not understand the state assistance programs for IDPs. This can lead to hostility toward IDPs and unsubstantiated accusations regarding IDPs’ supposed inability to use state assistance
effectively organize themselves or overcome their present situation. This Impact of displacement on host communities of internally displaced persons is also emboldened in the national IDP policy. When internally displaced persons are accommodated by host communities, these communities also experience immense pressure. There is overcrowding of internally displaced persons who create informal settlements on communal and private land. There is also overstretching of social basic amenities as water and social services such as schools, clinics, and other social infrastructure including housing. Trees are cut down for firewood, building material and charcoal burning, causing environmental degradation in the long run. More often than not, where the host community is urban, a number of internally displaced persons turn into migrants, deciding to settle and re-integrate into urban life, seeking new livelihood opportunities and a hope for a better life. Sometimes, as internally displaced persons over-burden existing community services, resources and job or economic livelihood opportunities, tension arises between the two populations, making effective local integration difficult. Cost of living in host communities increases, especially cost of food, housing, healthcare and education.

Labeling of the displaced persons is another effect of internal displacement, this over time makes displaced people more susceptible to neglect, loss of territorial and political rights, sexual harassment and other ignoble treatments. The impact of the label increases the potential effect of diverting attention from others in comparable or even greater need. (Andrew Shacknove, 1985) claims that for many people on the brink of disaster, refugee status is a privileged position. In contrast to other impoverished people, refugees - and increasingly also IDPs - are entitled to many forms of international assistance. This suggests how labels work to include some but exclude others. A contradictory but common understanding of the IDP and refugee labels is that people who fall within these categories are ‘out of place’, that they belong somewhere else. And being labeled as out of place and only temporarily present tends to have the effect of excluding refugees and IDPs from certain entitlements. For example, IDPs in Sri Lanka are excluded from exercising some citizenship rights because they are not formally registered as local citizens in their place of refuge (Brun, 2003). But according to (Zetter,, 1985), a non-labeled solution cannot exist: there is no escape from terms like ‘refugee’ and ‘IDP’ if we are going to assist people forced to migrate from their homes. And there are reasons for maintaining some sort of labeling system. The use of the term forced, for example, helps to prevent the normalization of the forced migration experience, which is in danger of becoming viewed as normal in today’s globalized world. Rather than doing away with labels, Zetter also suggests redefining policy-making perspectives so that the focus is on the people covered by the label rather than the label itself (http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/internal-displacement/is-the-idp-label-useful).

Internally displaced persons figures have issues of reliability in Nigeria hence exact numbers are in conclusive. No one has any exact numbers of Nigeria’s IDPs. Different agencies have different numbers. In reality, the numbers change daily. For instance, the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA) estimates about 700,000 IDPs from north-east Nigeria, alone. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) puts the IDP population now in north-east at closer to 900,000. The National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA)’s figures are closer to UNOWA’s (http://blogs.premiumtimesng.com/2014/12/18/internally-displaced-persons-2015-general-elections-chidi-anselm-odinkalu/).

Majority of these figures exclude those who have been taken in by family, friends and other informal support structures around. The National Commission for Refugees, which has statutory responsibility for IDPs, estimated in its 2013 report issued in February 2014 that there were about 3.3 million IDPs in Nigeria. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
(IDMC) in Geneva currently credits Nigeria with an IDP population of over 4.3 million IDPs, the highest in Africa and third in the world, behind only Syria and Iraq (http://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/161344-nigeria-sets-new-record-now-has-africas-highest-number-of-displaced-persons.html).
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- **Stockpiling relief materials**
- **Periodic reassessment of needs of the camp residents and personnel**
- **Send out periodic report of Assessments and further Appeals**
- **Further Mobilization of sector specific human and material resources**
- **Identification and production of general disaster landscapes and ranking /profiling of the state disasters**

- **Stockpiling of adequate relief Materials**
- **Planning for proper assessments of loss of lives, properties/wealth, communities and public institutions destroyed**
- **Planning for resettlements and rehabilitation of communities destroyed**
- **Provisions for recovery assistance (sustainable livelihood programme)**
- **Provisions**
- **Continuous awareness creation and sensitization**

- **Bureaucracy in accessing funds**
- **Lack of adequate Funds**
- **Lack of adequate logistics supports**
- **Inadequate storage facilities**
- **Un timely support**
- **Provisions for recovery assistance (sustainable livelihood programme)**
- **Provisions**
- **Continuous awareness creation and sensitization**

- **Bureaucracy in accessing funds**
- **Lack of adequate Funds**
- **Lack of adequate logistics supports**
- **Inadequate storage facilities**
- **Un timely support**

**NEMA, SEMA, Health, Security Agencies, Red Cross/Crescent, NGOs, Host Communities, International Development Partners, PME, NAPTIP, NCR,CISCOP E,OXFAM etc.**
3.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

The effects and impacts on internal displacement cannot be overestimated and its toll on socio economic development of any affected community goes far beyond ameliorating the plights of those affected. Reconstruction and rehabilitation of such communities and concerned authorities addressing why displaced people more susceptible to neglect, loss of territorial and political rights, sexual harassment and other ignoble treatments remains essential as these are the most relevant means of providing not only relief but return to status quo ultimately.

This research carried out, has made an attempt to shed light on the challenges of displaced persons. It also has helped in salvaging a place for internal displacement discusses considering the humongous and complex nature of the problem. Having established these problems, there is a need for future comprehensive research on this research area which will go a long way in revealing more about this murky situation, and as such this research can serve as a pilot to succeeding research.

Given the progressive escalation of violence, disasters and other factors causing forced migration and internal displacement, IDP assistance and Protection in Nigeria needs a quick re-evaluation and restructuring. What the nation requires at this material moment is to nurture, improve, sustain and implement already existing legal, policies/institutional frameworks and treaties while ensuring their conformity where required. Similarly duplication of efforts and waste of resources will only lead to inefficiency and confusion instead of effective coordination and collaboration among humanitarian agencies and national authorities.

Lastly, the government of Nigeria needs to intensify efforts in areas of education and poverty reduction, as poverty increases the vulnerability of communities, in that vein educated displaced persons can fend for themselves as they are more likely to get employment thereby increasing their capacity in facing peculiar challenges.

Assistance and protection IDPs depend on effective and efficient actors in three areas: cluster approach which depend on adequate capacity and predictable leadership in all sectors, coordination which hinges on effective leadership and coordination in humanitarian response and financing which rest on adequate timely and flexible financing.

In adopting these recommendations; concerned authorities would be better positioned in handling the matter in a more holistic manner in line with global best practices. This would then lead to the proper dissemination information and communication mechanisms leading to the systemic development of multi hazard early warning systems which would ultimately improve a better organized incident command system.

Similarly these recommendations would be a means to an end; in the building of standard camps as against the make shift shacks available today. This would also create an institutional shift from the relief centric approach which would not help empower communities to cater for themselves temporarily in the face of displacement but also help concerned authorities in coordinating the pre-positioning of emergency supplies, Training and Simulation exercises, conducting capacity assessments and
similar activities in vulnerable areas and linkages with other sectors, thereby enhancing preparedness.

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BABY-MAKING FACTORY: A NEW TREND OF CRIMINALITY IN NIGERIA SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

The prevalence of baby making factory in Nigeria is an indication of new trend in criminality. The rising waves of this phenomenon have overtime posed a new dimension to the superfluity of the issues of child abuse, human trafficking and human right issues in Nigeria. The paper adopted descriptive survey method for research. It also adopted purposive sampling method and 20 respondents were purposively selected in the three local government Divisional Police offices of Akute-Ajuwon, Adigbe, and Ewekoro respectively for interview. The paper is anchored on rational choice theory for its theoretical framework. The findings of paper revealed that people involved in the baby making factory as result of poverty, unemployment, negligence, inflexible nature of child adoption policy in Nigeria. The paper therefore recommends among others, that government should review the child adoption policy. Also government should take adequate care of its citizens.

Keywords: Criminality, Baby Making Factory, Child Adoption, Poverty, Human trafficking.

Introduction

The sales of new born babies like commodities in the market is one of the social malaise bedevilling the present-day society of some of the developing countries like Nigeria, though this social malady being latest height of human trafficking is not only peculiar to Nigeria alone, there are few other developed and developing nations of the world that are also involved in this unwholesome business practice. For instance, Onuoha (2014) report that in March 2014, Chinese authorities successfully cracked down four babies selling networks rescued 382 babies and arrested more than a thousand suspects. Similarly, he mentioned that cases of such incidents were also found in countries like Namibia, Gabon, Benin Republic, and Guatemala and so on. Furthermore, he revealed that Countries such as Bulgaria, Spain, for example, have recorded ugly incidence of baby trafficking in the last decade. Baby factory is a new form of child trafficking in Nigeria, which traffickers exploit their victims for baby harvesting mainly for commercial purposes. These factories masquerade as orphanage centres and maternity homes to perpetrate these heinous crimes.

The rising waves of this phenomenon have overtime posed a new dimension to the superfluity of the issues of child abuse, human trafficking and human rights issues in Nigeria, in recent times. Some scholars have attributed the presence of this social problem on poverty as the main factor which launched it into one of the most...
profitable organized crimes in the country. Similarly, scholars like Link and Phelan (2001) argued that discrimination as well as all forms of social stigma are mainly responsible for most social problems which include the rise in incidences of baby dumping or baby factories. This is because it has been established that almost all the cases of baby dumping, sale of babies in baby factories are traced to unmarried teenagers and women. Punch Newspaper (2013) noted that these victims (of baby factories) are mostly young women and teenage girls trafficked through false promises of job and safe abortions. They did this so as to hide their condition for fear of stigma, discrimination and rejection fell into the ready arms of baby factory operators and syndicate who promised to hide them and eventually buy their babies in order to permanently erase their shame and ensure continued social acceptance.

In some cases, victims are confined to baby factories’ facilities and impregnated by their operators or hired men. When they are delivered of their babies, the infants are sold to desperate childless couples and other patrons who seek to avoid the legalities of formal child adoption (Huntley, 2013). Also, these babies are allegedly sold to ritual killers for black magic, sexual exploiters and fake fertility treatment operators. In a news report by BBC News (2012), it was revealed that some women seeking fertility treatment in Nigeria are been tricked into thinking they have become pregnant and delivered of a baby. The scam is usually well planned to deceive and exploit unsuspecting and desperate childless couples with babies mostly from the so-called baby factories. This suggests that the practice of unofficial and illegal child adoption is more complicated than imagined. The process is complex with multiplicity of perpetrators and victims, as well as varieties of issues including fake pregnancies, trafficking in-person, deceit, fraud and poverty. Consequently, this study examines issues surrounding baby factory as a new dimension of criminal behaviour in Nigeria.

**Statement of the Problem:**

Since 2006, the issue of baby harvesting in Nigeria has taken a more dangerous and complex forms involving human trafficking alongside other illegal activities. For example, a recent media report, teenage girls and young women are brought by traffickers to so-called “baby factories” with false promises of jobs or safe abortions. Instead, they are confined and forced to give birth. Some of the victims are trafficked while being pregnant; others are later impregnated by men specifically hired for such purposes. Allegedly, their babies are sold for international or domestic adoptions, rituals, slave labour or sexual exploitation (Kalu, 2011; Madike, 2013). In the same vein, these babies are allegedly sold to ritual killers for black magic, sexual exploiters and fake fertility treatment operators. In a news report by BBC News (2012), it was observed that some women seeking fertility treatment in Nigeria are been tricked into thinking they have become pregnant and delivered of a baby. The scam is usually well planned to deceive and exploit unsuspecting and desperate childless couples with babies mostly from the so-called baby factories. This suggests that the practice of unofficial and illegal child adoption is more complicated than imagined. The process is complex with multiplicity of perpetrators and victims, as well as varieties of issues including fake pregnancies, trafficking in-person, deceit, fraud and poverty.

It has been revealed that registered medical practitioners like Doctors, Nurses and Midwives alongside with the male syndicate employees, corrupt security agents, even
young girls, scouters, Document forgers and the clients and others are among the actors that carry out this illegality. There are several factors that are attributed to this social malady such as high rate of poverty in the country, Infertility (inability to produce biological child), moral decadence and social values in modern day society, poor regulation of orphanage homes, and high rate of unemployment particularly in rural areas, Low levels of education and literacy, Social stigmatization, among many others. Hence, this research work seeks to critically investigate the emergence of baby harvesting as a modern form crime rocking the security of the country. To achieve the aims of this paper, the following the specific objectives would be examine: to identify baby factory as criminals save haven for exploiting helpless pregnant girls in Nigeria; to examine the relationship between baby factory and illegal child adoption in Nigeria; to investigate the relationship between baby factory and sexual exploitations in Nigeria.

Conceptual discuss:

Baby factory is referred to as the practice of the sales of baby illegally to childless couple or for other sinister purposes like child labour, child trafficking or to be used for black magic power. There is no legal definition for the phenomenon of “baby factories” or “baby harvesting.” These terms are used by journalists to describe criminal activities in Nigeria involving restriction of a person’s movement against such person’s will, forced impregnations, sale of babies and illegal adoptions. The term “baby factory” has mostly been used interchangeably with “baby farm” or “baby harvesting “by several authors. In most cases, the children that usually fall within the category found in these factories are usually those from birth to the age of 12 months. Onuoha (2014), explained that baby factory refers to all acts involved in the transfer, sale or receipt of baby/babies within national or across international borders through stealing or false adoption, fraud or deception to be used for satisfying social, material and ritual purposes among others. Also Huntley (2013) posited that the term baby factory has no legal definition yet but instead used by journalist to describe criminal activities involving the restriction of a person’s movement against his/her will, forced impregnations, sale of babies and illegal adoptions. Chioma (2014) further explained that it is a process “where poverty stricken teenagers are paid a token to mother children who would eventually be sold out to childless couples.” Also, Mba, (2014) noted that it is the “locations where young ladies or girls, some teenagers or little above that, are harboured and deliberately encouraged or forced to become pregnant and subsequently give up their babies. In like manner, Baby trafficking refers to all acts involved in the transfer, sale or receipt of a baby, within national or across international borders, through stealing, false adoption, fraud or deception, to be used for satisfying social, material, and ritual purposes, among others. By babies, we mean any child from birth to the age of one (Onuoha, 2014).

Baby factory issues in Nigeria:

The first ever reported cases of “baby harvesting” were reported in 2006 by the United Nations Organisation for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO) in its policy paper “Human trafficking in Nigeria: Root Causes and Recommendations” (UNESCO, 2006) and the report specifically referred to three major Nigerian States such as Abia, Ebonyi and Lagos. However, the case studies related to “baby harvesting” examined by the policy paper did not evidence exploitation of persons
and would more likely be categorised as the sale of infants or illegal adoptions (Huntley, 2013). Consequently, The U.S. Department of State in 2013 report on Trafficking in Persons reveals that Nigeria continues to be a source, transit, and destination country for victims of different forms of forced labour and sex trafficking (U.S. Department of State, 2013). Although, sex trafficking, forced prostitution, domestic servitude, begging, forced labour in street vending, agriculture and mining as the types of human trafficking in Nigeria were mentioned in the Report. In recent years, Nigeria has become also notorious for “baby factories” and “baby harvesting” (Huntley, 2013).

Since 2006 “baby harvesting” in Nigeria has taken a more dangerous and complex form involving human trafficking alongside other illegal activities. For example, according to recent media reports, teenage girls and young women are brought by traffickers to so-called “baby factories” with false promises of jobs or safe abortions. Instead, they are confined and forced to give birth. Some of the victims are trafficked while being pregnant; others are later impregnated by men specifically hired for such purposes. Allegedly, their babies are sold for international or domestic adoptions, rituals, slave labour or sexual exploitation (Kalu, 2011; Madike, 2013). Although New Telegraph (2014) noted that pregnant girls/women knowingly seek succour in baby factories to cover the perceived shame of unwanted pregnancy. Based on media reports, “baby factories” thrive in the South-East of Nigeria such as Anambra, Abia, Imo, Enugu and Ebonyi, in particular, and some states in the south-west such as Lagos, Ogun, Ondo and so on.

Reports from several newspapers show that the price tag for the babies differ, some offer to pay about N500,000 (about US $3875) and N300,000 (about US $2325) for a baby boy and baby girl respectively, while in some cases the price of a baby girl may be raised to about N400,000 (about US $3100) because of “the rising cost of living, and that of baby boy may go as high as a million Naira partly because of the cultural demand for a male child in the family. This scenario makes this illicit business lucrative for those that engage in it (Unongu, 2014).

Some Recent Cases of Baby Factory in Nigeria:

The phenomenon of baby factory business cuts across the various geopolitical zones in Nigeria. It is more prevalent in the Southern states and probably in the middle belt area of Nigeria. Onuoha (2014) reported that

1. On 14th of July 2014 in Isiala Ngwa, Abia State South East Nigeria in a house located at Umunkpeyi in the Isiala Ngwa South Local Government Area of the state about nineteen (19) pregnant girls were rescued;
2. On the 21st of March the same year in Akure, Ondo State, South West region of the country in a four-bedroom bungalow located at Sebanjo Crescent, Fagbule Bus Stop, eight (8) pregnant girls were rescued; also,
3. On the 30th of January, 2014 in the same Ondo State now in Okitipupa area in a healing home, five (5) pregnant girls were rescued;
4. On the 17th of June, 2013 in Aba, Abia State, South East region in Cross Foundation International about sixteen (16) pregnant girls were rescued and lastly, in Ihiala, Anambra State, 5. In the South East region on the 14th of
October, 2011 in Spormil Hospital and Maternity (aka Iheanyi Ezuma Foundation) about thirty (30) pregnant girls were rescued.

**Major actors in Baby Factories business and the roles they play:**

This illicit business as it is growing into one of the most lucrative organised crimes in Nigeria is practiced by some major actors. It consists of powerful suppliers and clients. These are the major actors that are involved in this heinous crime against humanity and the roles they play. The first and the principal actor is the proprietor of “a baby factory” whose role is to harbour and nurture unmarried pregnant girls with a view to obtaining babies for sale. The proprietor usually poses as philanthropic health or social worker; and in some cases a charity or faith disciple. Under the pretext of a dubious Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) or a Faith-Based Organization (FBO), the proprietor creates an affected platform strategically designed to advance his illicit business (Okoli 2014). The following are the actors in their role call according to Onuoha (2014):

- **Doctors:** They are in most cases responsible for running the baby farms.
- **Nurses/Midwives:** They provide professional services (antenatal support/care) for the pregnant girls.
- **Male Syndicate Employees:** They are responsible for impregnating girls whose babies are eventually sold.
- **Corrupt Security Agents:** They accept bribes to overlook the operators’ illicit trade.
- **Young Girls:** They carry and deliver the babies (who are usually sold).
- **Scouts/Facilitators:** They are responsible for recruiting young girls and able bodied men into the illicit business.
- **Document Forgers:** They procure fake or forged legal documents with which they sell babies.
- **Clients:** They buy the babies.

**Why the rising wave of Baby Factories in Nigeria?**

In a study which sought to examine the nature, actors, legal framework and motives behind this emergent dimension of human trafficking in Nigeria, Onuoha (2014), examined the relationship between the victims of baby factories and the actors who contribute to trafficking of these babies. In his findings, he explained the factors contributing to the growth of baby factory which include:

1. Escalating poverty
2. Premium placed on having biological child-Infertility
3. Cultural practice of ostracising pregnancies out of wedlock
4. Decaying moral and social values in contemporary society
5. Poor regulation of orphanage homes,
6. Complicity (participation) of state actors

In conclusion, his findings proved that it is gradually growing in Nigeria, and may take its root in other countries if it is not given the international attention that it rightly deserves.
In a study which sought to unmask the basic economic-oriented factors responsible for baby factory phenomenon in Nigeria, Alfred, Akwara, and Ale (2014), found abject poverty to be the primary motivating/propelling factor for the young ladies who choose to sell their babies as a majority of them come from poor homes, and are often indigenes of mostly very remote communities that came to the cities and towns in search of a better life.

Other factors are:

1. High unemployment rates particularly in rural areas,
2. Low levels of education and literacy,
3. Corruption at all level in the country,
4. Lack of information on human trafficking which sometimes lead to inability to promptly report to the law enforcement,
5. Gender discrimination,
6. Social stigmatization, and many others.

Likewise, there are several problems in combating Baby Harvesting in Nigeria which are but not limited to; deficient legal framework, preference of relatives of rescued pregnant girls to settle out-of-court, reluctance of rescued pregnant teenage girls to present themselves as witness and victims in the law court, interference of very influential persons or state actors, prevalence of corruption in the judicial and police system, poor data collection and analysis.

Baby factory: A female sexual exploitation for reproduction:

The case of baby-making factory as an illicit trade in Nigeria which is done within the ambit of national boundaries (Odeyinka, Amole & Soetan, 2015). The victims of the trade are recruited across the country and transported to a new place where their sexual exploitation for commercial purpose begins. Iyatse (2014) cited in Odeyinka, Amole & Soetan (2015) reveals that one Chika Ndubuisi a 14 year old from Imo State was transported to Ondo State where she was held and exploited till her rescue. Likewise, Betty Okolie from the south-eastern part of the country was also take from Anambra State through Abia State to Ondo State.

Sometimes baby factory involves a forceful accommodation of vulnerable victims who are mostly grown up women or teenagers for sexual exploitation for production of babies for sales. This phenomenon is classified by Odekunle et al (2015) as acts that breached human right and a form of forced labour. The God giving rights of both the innocent babies and the mothers are breached because the babies are “commodified”. The engagement in the production of human being for sale while the victims are offered nothing or worthless sums of money for agonies and pains of child birth is nothing but can be categorised as a child labour.

There are several people who are involved in this unwholesome business as discussed earlier in the paper. The owners of the facilities used in making babies in connivance with some middlemen (who recruited girls and impregnated them) are the link between the victims and the final buyers of the babies. Azeez (2010) gave account of the features of the victims as pregnant teenagers from economically disadvantage homes and socially deprived backgrounds. Also, among them are the low level
educated ones and those that lack exposure to issue in the society. These characteristics make the job of the middlemen very easy as they catch on the naivity, ignorance and the poor state of the victims for their own gain.

There are several facilities that may be established legally that are used for the trade. These are maternity homes, clinics, orphanages (Sampson, 2011) and even herbal medical homes. Odeyinka et al (1015) further elude to the fact that while the operators and the middlemen are patiently waiting for the harvest of the babies, the victims are tightly packed into un-kept rooms sometimes within dilapidated structures. This harsh condition has led to the untimely death of many of the victims. Hence, it is a barbaric form of sexual exploitation since the victims are held against their will in the most deplorable condition and environment.

Some of these girls are raped unaware in the night and impregnated against their will by paid agents and with no protection against HIV and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Upon delivery, their babies are snatched from them never to be seen again except in very rare cases where rescue is timely (Odekunle, Amole and Soetan, 2015). In the light of these one can logically conclude that it is a systemic sexual exploitation that is targeted towards the vulnerable and the helpless females in the society.

**Child adoption and Baby factories in Nigeria:**

Furthermore, in the practice of child adoption, provisions of part XII of the child right Act stipulate necessary procedures and guidelines. These procedures in actual practice are relatively cumbersome due to various red-tapes in the Nigeria welfare and judicial system (Oladokun et al., 2010). They require adopters to complete lawful process for adopting a child from an authorized and regulated child care facility or orphanage. The social welfare department charged with the responsibility of child adoption in the state will usually assess the capability of prospective adopter. They inspect their living conditions, financial ability and other relevant factors to ascertain their preparedness for their new parenting role (Adewunmi et al., 2012). In addition, pre-adoption and post adoption checks for compatibility and progressive adjustment between the adopted and adopter are sometimes required (Oladokun et al., 2009). As good as this sound, it discourages some couples from adopting and partly encourages unofficial or illegal adoption practices which are often less rigorous and sometimes less expensive (Aniebue & Aniebue, 2008). In recent times, especially in South-Eastern Nigeria, unofficial and illegal child adoption practice has been turned into a “normal business”. Unethical individuals set up facilities often called ‘baby factories’ where they exploit their victims for ‘baby harvesting’ (Alfred, Francis, & Andeshi, 2014).

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:**

The paper made use of Rational Choice Theory to explain the criminality of baby factory. It is a theory in criminology which explains individual reasons for involvement in criminal activities. Gary Becker (1976) was an early proponent of the theory of Rational choice theory. His application of rational actor models are widely used. Becker was the 1992 winner of Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic science for his studies of discrimination, crime and human capital. The theory state that aggregate social behaviour results from the behaviour of individual actors, each of whom is
making their individual decisions. It means that individual calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do. The theory therefore focuses on the determinants of the individual choices. The theory then assumes that an individual has preferences among the available choice alternatives that allow them to state which option they prefer.

In rational choice theory, individuals are seen as motivated by the wants or goals that express their 'preferences'. They act within specific, given constraints and on the basis of the information that they have about the conditions under which they are acting. At its simplest, the relationship between preferences and constraints can be seen in the purely technical terms of the relationship of a means to an end. As it is not possible for individuals to achieve all of the various things that they want, they must also make choices in relation to both their goals and the means for attaining these goals. Rational choice theories hold that individuals must anticipate the outcomes of alternative courses of action and calculate that which will be best for them. Rational individuals choose the alternative that is likely to give them the greatest satisfaction (Heath 1976: 3; Carling 1992: 27; Coleman 1973).

From the standpoint of the theory, buying and selling of baby through baby-making factory reveals the relationship a means to an end among the operators of the factories, the so called victims who either surrender their pregnancy or womb to be used and those that patronize the factory for one from of advantage or the other. The operators and the victims choose to take into the business among other choices available to make money, while those that patronize the factory also took the rational decision in solving the problem of bareness in their lives.

The news item of Vanguard of July 30th, 2011 entitled: How Child Trafficking Network Operates in South-East, aptly summarizes how baby factory serves as a means to an end and the intricacies in material details of the whole disturbing baby factory phenomenon:

…. In Surulere Lagos, a childless Yoruba lady, married for five years, facing family discomforts was told by her lady friend of a baby factory in Aba, Abia state… the babies are sold for N150, 000 and N200, 000 per baby. Twins sell for N450, 000. …The boys who impregnate the girls are paid N10, 000 to N20, 000. …The police said the babies were sold and their mothers discharged after being paid N25, 000 or N30, 000 depending on the sex of the baby (Vanguard, July 30th, 2011:21-22).

RESEARCH METHOD:

The research design for the study is based on descriptive survey method. It was adopted to give specific details of the situation and to collect data in order to answer the questions concerning the current status of the study under investigation. The targeted study population for the study comprised both the willing and unwilling victims of baby-making factory in the areas within the age range of 16 and 25 years and the operators with other perpetrators of the illicit business who were between the age 20 and 55 years. The decision to use this age bracket was justified by the fact that individuals within the age bracket were the victims of baby factory.
The study adopted purposive sampling method, a non-probability sampling technique. Three local government were selected for sampling in Ogun State which were Akute-Ajuwon, Iyana-Egbado village and Adigbe in Ifo, Ewokoro and Abeokuta-South Local Government Areas of the state respectively. The sampled selected was based on the knowledge of a population and the purpose of the study.

The study purposively selected twenty (20) respondents which the researcher believed would give the best information needed. The respondents consist of eight (8) operators and their collaborators and twelve (12) teenagers/women who were victims of this unwholesome business in the areas.

Interview method was adopted for collection of data. A letter was written to the Commissioner of Police in Ogun State seeking for his approval to interview the victims and the operators of baby-making factory in ogun state their custody for academic purpose. Three Divisional Police Offices in the state were visited, which includes Akute, Iyana-Egbado and Adigbe divisional police stations, the respondents were interviewed. We were able to interview them through the assistance of the Investigation Police Officers (IPO).

The responses of respondents using the In-depth Interview (IDI) were collated. The data collated were analysed.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS:

1. Baby factories and illegal child adoption in Nigeria

What are the relationships between baby factories and illegal child adoption in Nigeria?

Victim 1

How do you see yourself making babies which are sold to other people to adopt?

“I know it is not a good thing to do. Morally speaking, it does not speak well of some one and a mother, but when there are no other ways to make ends meet and to make a better future, I have to engage in it. I have to use what I have to get what I need. I know that the children will have better life than what I can give to them.”

Victim 2

“I did not know that my unborn child will be sold for money by the care-giver until we were arrested by the police. I was introduced to her (owner of the baby factory) by a friend who pietied my condition when my boyfriend refuse to accept the pregnancy. Since there are no one that can practically take good care of me and the pregnancy I accepted to stay here. I was not in any contractual agreement with them to sell my baby after given birth, they only said they will take care of me and the baby and find a work for me
after giving birth. If my people heard I sold my child they will disown me forever not minding what led to what. Infact, it is against the culture of our land to do such a bad thing.”

Operator 1

One of the operators of the factories in the police custody who operate herbal medical home said:

“Due to the nature of my profession I have been in contact with some childless couples who want to adopt babies but the rigid nature of the child adopting procedures in the country has been a major obstacle to their desires. One the other hand, there are several girls or women who sometimes come to me to help them abort unwanted pregnancy. I always advise them against such. So, in other not was the life of unborn babies because of their unpreparedness to become mothers, i link them up with those who will like to adopt their babies. They negotiate the terms between themselves. They sometimes give me part of the money realised from the transactions.

Does this arrangement not appear to be illegal to you considering that there are legal procedures for adopting a child?

“in the eyes of the law it is illegal but there are several people who are suffering underneath due to the inflexible nature of the child adoption law. They are those who genuinely want to have babies since they can’t afford one biologically. The law does not pity these categories of people in the society thereby living them with their problem. Linking up the one who want to waste something with the one who needs it badly is not crime.”

Operator 2

What do you do with the babies?

“I do sell the child to women who can’t produce one.”

How much do you sell a baby?

“I sell a male child for N500,000 and female for N300, 000. Sometimes it depends on the financial strength of the buyer/adoptor. If they are the rich type,a male child may go for N1, 000, 000 and female for N700, 000.”

How much do you pay the mother of the babies?

“I pay them between N30, 000 – N50, 000 depending on the money paid by the buyer.The reason why I pay them such amount is because Iam still going to take care of them medically after they
hav delivered the babies. I do tell those mothers who were somehow unconscious while giving birth that the babies died at birth.

2. Baby factories and sexual exploitations in Nigeria

What are the relationships between baby factories and sexual exploitations in Nigeria?

Victim 1

How many babies have you giving birth to at the factory?

“I gave birth ones and this should be the second time.”

Did you come in to the place with pregnancy?

“No, I was impregnated there”

How?

“Someone introduced me to the place when I have accommodation problem. I was taken in and after sometime that I have been staying there I was raped in the night and it resulted into pregnancy. Although I did not know that I was pregnant until I started to see the symptoms. I informed the person who owns the place and she persuaded me not to worry but she will take care of me and the baby. After giving birth I was to that the baby died during the delivery process. Some months (4months) later it happened again. And the police came to arrest us in the house.”

Discussion of the findings:

Conclusion:

The paper discussed the phenomenon of baby-making factory in Nigeria. It has been revealed that the booming of the illicit trade could be linked with the level of poverty among the people alongside with the economic hardship and poor education among others. This illegal business can be viewed as a modern way of slavery. The study has attempted to conceptualised the topic and discuss the issues in Nigeria. Some of the recent cases were discussed as the paper dealt with major actors involved in the business. The stringent nature of the law on child adoption as provided for I part XII of the child right Act seems to have paved way for the alternative to child adoption that the childless couples resulted to through baby factory.

Recommendations:

1. Government in each state of the federation must take a holistic approach in curbing the illicit trade of babies in their locations by carrying out a thorough investigation on the antecedents of both the existing and new operators of maternity home, clinics, orphanages, and orthodox medical centres in their states.
2. Both federal and state governments alike must review child adoption law so as to encourage childless couple to adopt children in a legal way and discourage their patronage of the baby-making factory for child adoption.

3. Parents should be encouraged to educate female child up to higher level of education as this will in one way or the other enlightened them on how to take decisions in the future and also empower them to be gainfully employed.

Reference:


PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCES AMONG FAMILY MEMBERS IN NIGERIA: INTERFAITH RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ATR, MUSLIMS AND CHRISTIAN

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ABSTRACT

Religious violence has become an almost a daily occurrence in Nigeria. There is virtually no area in all the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria that has not witnessed one or more such crises. The thousands of lives lost across the country over the years in the course of religious crises has become an issue of great concern to all well-meaning citizens of Nigeria. Consequently, Nigerians across all religions and lifestyles are calling for more pragmatic steps towards building a culture and climate of religious harmony, tolerance and freedom in the society. The best way to achieve this result is none other than the promotion and practice of interfaith relationships in Nigeria. Another basis for an urgent need for interfaith relationships in Nigeria is the obvious consequences of religious violence. As a pluralistic society with multi-religious faith and ethnic groupings, it is obvious that prolonged religious discrimination and violence would and do have many. Negative consequences hence, religious violence and its attending consequences must be avoided at all cost through interfaith relationships among the religions in Nigeria because once set in motion it is very difficult to cure discriminations. Interfaith relationships are an antidote to such fanaticism and discrimination. If peace is the precondition for progress, then justice is the precondition for peace. There can be no peace and meaningful progress in Nigeria unless there is at least relative peace and harmony among the religions “No peace among nations without peace among the religions. No peace among the religions without dialogue between the religions.” Order to achieve the desired peace and harmony required among the religions in Nigeria and the nations, interfaith relationships that recognize pluralism, respect diversity, and strive for the harmony, which is at the very core of peace, are a necessity. These aspirations can only be achieved in an atmosphere of interreligious harmony, activities, interactions and collaboration. No one religion can do it all alone. We all need one another to make Nigeria better; hence the necessity of interfaith relationships in Nigeria.

Keywords: Peace, Family, Interfaith relationship, Dialogue and Religions

INTRODUCTION

In Nigeria, a religious divide separates followers of African Traditional Religion, Muslims, and Christians. This separation and division has led to series of riots, violence, aggressions, and conflicts. In fact, more than 30,000 Nigerians have lost their live to religious violence between 1980 and 2002. On a daily basis, we hear and
witness cases of religious rascality, assassinations, callous murders, and savage terrorist acts. Human rights group estimates that about 10,000 people have died in religious motivated violence between 2002 and 2005. Sad to note that between 2005 till date, hardly does a year, if not a month, pass by without a report of religious violence of different proportions in the Nigerian dailies. To use the words of Dele Omotunde:

Religious riots have become a routine event in Nigeria. Burning houses, destroying property, maiming and killing innocent people have become a ‘normal’ way of religious life. The question is no longer ‘if’ but ‘when’. Religious violence has now become Allah’s or God’s unwritten commandment that must be obeyed, at least in Nigeria.

The religious communities in Nigeria have failed largely to live up to their religious values and message of peace, unity and love; they have employed religion as instrument of violence and conflict. Looking back to history, Nigeria has been in the news in last fifty-six years of her independence (1960-2016) as a major theater of religious violence and aggression. This is traceable back to the first military coup led by Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu (a Christian), that saw the removal and death of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (a Muslim) from office and the enthronement of a Christian, General Aguiyi Ironsi, as Head of State in 1966, which was overtly seen as a war of religion between the Christian South and the Muslim North.

This ugly situation raises a big question: How can Nigeria remain a secular state, and still maintain its plurality of religion and at same time survive disintegration because of religious violence, conflict and intolerance? Often, attention to this problem is wrongly focused. Attention is given mostly to the immediate cause of the problem and nothing, so to say, has been done.

Another problem is that the presence of some religions is ignored in some parts of the country. Generally, the presence of traditional religions and their contribution to growth of peace, as well as violence, in Nigeria is ignored in the discussion of the place and role of religion in Nigeria. Attention is mainly focused on Islam and Christianity, or in most cases, particularly in the South-East, on African Traditional Religion and Christianity, and Islam in the northern part. Many studies done on the issues and problems of religious peace and conflicts in Nigeria have unfortunately followed this line of choosing two religions against one. It is this type of deficiency that this presentation hopes to address by being all-inclusive, not leaving out any of the three major religions in Nigeria. This all-inclusive approach informed the choice of the title: Peaceful Co-Existences Among Family Member: Interfaith Relationships between Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion in Nigerian

Primarily, this title underscores the fact religious differences exist, Nigeria is still one sovereign nation.
Defining and Contextualizing Interfaith Relationships  Understanding Interfaith Relationships:

The key phrase in this presentation is interfaith relationships. This section is aimed at providing a working understanding of what this phrase and this concept is all about, especially at it applies to Nigeria.

There are many ways in which interfaith may be define since it operates at many different levels.

‘Inter is a Latin word meaning among or between
“Interfaith means involving people of different religions” according to Merriam-Webster dictionary
“Relationship is the way in which two or more people or things are connected or state of being connected”

We can define interfaith relationships as a process of bringing better understanding between religious people.

Interfaith relationships is establishing a medium of communication, while dialogue is an act of communication, it establishes a medium of communication and at the same time an act of that communication hence it isalsoreferred to as interfaith dialogue or inter religious dialogues.

What is dialogue?

Religious dialogue means the exchange of views and insights by means of concepts expressed in words that are based on previous agreement concerning the common, which the dialogue thereafter tries to widen and deepen, so as to pinpoint divergences, similarities, complementarities, and criticisms, as well as to find the loci where mutual influence or fecundation may take place (Panikkar 1975:407–409). According to the ordinary meaning of dialogue, ‘it is a conversation between two people or an exchange of ideas and opinions’ (Adamo 1989:82–88). In ecumenical context, dialogue is more than a conversation or exchange of ideas or opinion. It means the sharing of religious conviction for the purpose of mutual understanding that will eventually result in ‘a peaceful coexistence amongst world community of various religious faith’ (Adamo 1989:82–88).

There are different levels of dialogue enumerated by Gort (2008:758–760). The first level of inter-religious dialogue is what may be called ‘the dialogue of histories’ (Gort 2008:758). This type of dialogue begins with a serious analysis of the past relations between the religions involved, in order to know what stance and respect they have for one another. The position they occupy vis-à-vis each other on the political, social and economic planes so that at this level questions of justice, injustice, power, domination, wealth and poverty is discussed and ironed out.

The second level of inter-religious dialogue is ‘the dialogue of theologies’ (Gort 2008:758). The purpose of this type of dialogue is to remove inter-religious nescience and misunderstanding, so as to foster respect and tolerance amongst participants. Every participant recognizes the right of the others to deny and contradict the truth to
which they hold and to speak their own mind (Gort 2008:758). This level of dialogue is to gain a sense of the deepest meaning and intention of one another’s religious tenet and thus, a way of breaking through communalist apprehensions of religion (Gort 2008:760).

The third level of dialogue, according to Gort, is ‘the dialogue of spiritualties’. This is the means of talking heart to heart about their deepest fears and highest hopes, desiring to understand and to be understood, in order to effect a respectable exchange of truth-claims, core beliefs and convictions and existential religious feelings(Gort 2008:760; Wijsen 2007:171). There would be the opportunity to share spiritualties of reconciliation.

The fourth level of inter-religious discourse is ‘the dialogue of life’ (Gort 2008:760). Apart from the theological and spiritual differences and concerns, there are concerns of life. Such concerns of life have to do with injustice, poverty, hunger and others. Wijsen puts it right when he says ‘interreligious dialogue … cannot confine itself to the problem of pluralism’, but also with ‘domination and the problem of poverty’ (Wijsen 2007:188).

In Islam, the formula for social peace, social harmony and inter-faith dialogue is based on peaceful co-existence as has been given in the following verse of the Quran:

“To you then is your way. And to me be mine.” (109:6)

In other words, the principle of dialogue given by Islam is, “Follow one and respect all” or the method of ‘mutual respect’. As per the teachings of Islam, while respecting others, we have to welcome differences wholeheartedly without any reservation. It is hatred, which has to be eliminated, and not difference of opinion. People may have their differences in belief, religion, culture, etc., but while following their religion, they have to have mutual respect for others and discover a common bond between them, which shows them all to be human beings.

“Live in peace with all if possible, to the extent that it depends on you” (Romans 12:18). These words encourage us to do all we can to defuse tensions and to avoid conflicts. Peaceful coexistence never depends on just one of the parties.

“I believe that interfaith dialogue is a must today, and that the first step in establishing it is forgetting the past, ignoring polemical arguments, and giving precedence to common points, which far outnumber polemical ones” M. FETHULLAH GULEN (the necessity of interfaith dialogue: A Muslim Perspective)

Interfaith relationships, within our context, refer to activities involving African Traditional Religionists, Muslims, and Christians. It entails activities for mutual understanding held among these differing religious bodies. Interfaith relationships are, therefore, built upon three fundamental things:

1. Respect for all religions
2. Tolerance for all cultures
3. Love for all life.
The concern for global peace has made interfaith relationships among various religions of the world, not just Nigeria, imperative. Nevertheless, there are so many concepts that are confused with interfaith encounter, relationships, and activities. It is necessary at this stage of this presentation to point out what interfaith is not.

1. Interfaith relationships are not a process of proselytism, that is, attempts at encouraging people to convert from one religion or belief to another.

2. It is not apologetics, that is, an intellectual defense of one’s faith. This means that interfaith activities in Nigeria is not aimed at converting Christians to Islam, or Muslims to Christianity, neither does it imply converting followers of African Traditional Religion to any of the other religion, and vice versa. However, it should be mentioned that interfaith relationships do enrich evangelism and apologetics.

3. Interfaith relationships are not a forum for debate and hostile argumentation. Their purpose “Is neither to attack nor to defend—there will be no winner at the end of it.”

This does not mean that there will not, or should not, be open disagreement during interfaith dialogue because differences that are at the core of peoples’ belief systems are the issue here, there will be frequent disagreement.

THE NECESSITY OF INTERFAITH RELATIONSHIPS IN NIGERIA:

Many reasons and factors make interfaith relationships in Nigeria today as urgent as never before in the entire history of Nigeria. Dominant among these are the following:

1. The ugly reality of religious violence, conflict in Nigeria.
2. The obvious consequences of religious violence in Nigeria.
3. The need for peace and harmony.

We shall briefly discuss each of these headings

1. **The ugly reality of religious violence and conflict in Nigeria:** Religious violence has become an almost a daily occurrence in Nigeria. There is virtually no area in all the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria that has not witnessed one or more such crises. The thousands of lives lost across the country over the years in the course of religious crises has become an issue of great concern to all well-meaning citizens of Nigeria. Consequently, Nigerians across all religions and lifestyles are calling for more pragmatic steps towards building a culture and climate of religious harmony, tolerance and freedom in the society. The best way to achieve this result is none other than the promotion and practice of interfaith relationships in Nigeria.

2. **The obvious consequences of religious violence in Nigeria:** Another basis for an urgent need for interfaith relationships in Nigeria is the obvious consequences of religious violence. As a pluralistic society with multi-religious faith and ethnic groupings, it is obvious that prolonged religious
discrimination and violence would and do have many negative consequences. Hence, religious violence and its attending consequences must be avoided at all cost through interfaith relationships among the religions in Nigeria because once set in motion, it is very difficult to cure discriminations. Interfaith relationships are an antidote to such fanaticism and discrimination.

3. The need for peace and harmony:
“No peace among nations without peace among the religions. No peace among the religions without dialogue between the religions.” This was formulated by Dr. Hans Kung, a professor of Ecumenical Theology and president of the Global Ethical Foundation. If peace is the precondition for progress, and then justice is the precondition for peace. There can be no peace and meaningful progress in Nigeria unless there is at least relative peace and harmony among the religions. Order to achieve the desired peace and harmony required among the religions in Nigeria and the nations, interfaith relationships that recognize pluralism, respect diversity, and strive for the harmony, which is at the very core of peace, are a necessity.; hence the necessity of interfaith relationships in Nigeria.

EMPHASIS ON THE FAMILY:
There is a common sense among Nigerians, be they traditionalists, Muslims or Christians, that the family is the nucleus of society. In Nigeria, before one thinks of himself as member of a religious body, he/she understands himself/herself as belonging to a family. The bond of unity among family members has been a strong factor in the mutual and peaceful coexistence of the three religions in Nigeria. It is not uncommon to have in one Nigeria family a traditionalist, a Muslim and a Christian, or even some who combine two or all three religions, and some who declare themselves irreligious. Yet they live together as parents and children, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. This very important Nigerian concept and practice that predates Islam and Christianity is much a part of Islam and Christianity in Nigeria. One may be converted from ATR to Islam or vice versa, from ATR to Christianity or vice versa, or from Islam to Christianity or vice versa, or even from ATR to Christianity and later to Islam, but one is never converted from his family to another. One remains part of one’s family no matter one’s change of religion. Hence, whether one is a traditionalist, a Muslim, or a Christian, the maintenance of peace and stability in the family remains one’s primary aim. In the family children are taught right behavior and conduct. Wrongs are punished while virtues are rewarded. One such virtue that children are taught is to live in peace, unity and love with family members and with neighbors. Such other family members or neighbors could be followers of another religion. The family is the place where different generations come together and help one another to grow in wisdom and harmonize the rights of individuals with other demands of social life; as such it constitutes the basic society. It has often been suggested by Nigerians that religious, political, and social unrest in the society are perpetrated through people without family background or family training, popularly called area boys or street boys in Nigeria. The Nigerian family concept has been an added bonus in fostering and promoting harmonious relationships among the three religions in Nigeria whose memberships cut across family lines and ties.
INTERFAITH RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE THREE RELIGIONS IN NIGERIA: AREAS OF DIVERGENCE AND CONFLICTS:

This section will carefully and in a detailed manner examine the areas of divergences and conflicts among the three religions. These areas of conflict, violence and divergences are the most trumpeted aspects of religion in Nigeria in both the local and international media.

1. STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Politically and socially, all the three religions struggle to assert their self-importance in Nigerian society. It is not uncommon in political and social gatherings to see an Imam (Muslim), a Bishop (Christian), and a Traditional ruler (ATR) struggling and lobbying for who should be acknowledged first and who should act on behalf of the other religious leaders. Acknowledging anyone before the other breeds feelings of resentment from followers against the individual and religion of the one who “was made” to look more important than the other.

2. ETHNO-RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

Another area of visible differences and conflict among the religions in Nigeria is what can be described as Ethno-Religious differences. Partly because of their tendency to spill over from their initial theatres into other localities, states, or even regions of the federation, ethno-religious clashes have proved to be the most violent instances of interfaith crisis in Nigeria. Examples of violent ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria have included the Kafanchan-Kaduna crises in 1987 and 1999, Zangon-Kataf riots of 1992, TafawaBalewa clashes in 1991, 1995 and 2000, Kaduna Shariah riots of 2000, and the Jos riots of 2001 and 2010.

3. EDUCATION AND LITERACY

All three religions appreciate the place and importance of education in transmitting religious norms and customs to future generations and for the development of society, but they differ on what should be taught, who should teach, and how to teach what should be taught.
4. PHYSICAL VIOLENCE, DISCRIMINATION AND VERBAL ABUSE

Craig Nessan defined violence as “the attempt of an individual or group to impose its will on others through any non-verbal, verbal, or physical means that inflict psychological or physical injury.” Informed by Craig’s definition, one can therefore unequivocally say that the three religions together in Nigeria have witnessed and are still witnessing lots of violence, intolerance, discrimination, physical and verbal abuses towards each other and their followers. A Muslim in Zaria, Kaduna State and in Sokoto, for example, with a very low score in an entrance examination is considered first before a Christian indigene of the same states. Election to the highest office in Nigeria is determined by religious affiliation. The first question that comes out of people’s lips is: is the candidate Christian or Muslim or Traditionalist?

5. MUTUAL SUSPICION

Relationships between Muslims and Christians have been characterized by mutual suspicion over the years. Every action, even friendly action, is often times looked upon by Muslims and Christians as having some ulterior motive. Crises that are not clearly religious are suspected of having a hidden religious agenda, and are traced to the other’s religion

INTERFAITH RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE THREE RELIGIONS IN NIGERIA: AREAS OF CONVERGENCE. (A DIALOGICAL APPROACH):

It has not been all violence and conflicts in the interaction among the three religions of Nigeria. Much has been done in areas of convergence, friendship and interfaith actions towards improved relationship. This part of the presentation examines from a dialogical perspective (this perspective—dialogical—places side-by-side one religion with another) the moral values, beliefs and ethical principles on which the religions in Nigeria agree enough as a basis or starting point of interfaith relationships and to take action together on the socio-religious problem facing the nation. It will also point out evidence of mutual existence and cooperation among the religions

1. RELIGIOUS BELIEF:
   ATR and Islam share many common religious beliefs, prominent among which is the belief in a creator God, who is transcendent and yet immanent, who is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent. Although referred to by different names and titles, God in both religions deserves the worship and absolute reverence from the adherents. He has the power to reward and to punish, and he directs human life.

2. CULTURAL INTERACTION.
   One of the most visible areas that have experienced collaboration, relationships, and interaction between ATR and Christianity in Nigeria is the area of culture. Occasioned by a positive change of attitude and understanding from both religions, this has led to better appreciation of each other’s culture

3. COLLABORATION AT THE LEADERSHIP LEVEL.
   Recently Christians and Muslims leaders in Nigeria have awakened to the responsibilities their position as religious leaders bestow on them. One such visible area is the coming together of these leaders to discuss ways of mutual
collaboration and averting crises between the two religions. The coming together of such leaders in an atmosphere of peace is a good example to their followers who look to them for guidance and direction

4. HEALING THE WOUNDS OF THE PAST.

Muslims and Christians in Nigeria have taken various initiatives together to heal the wounds that religious violence from both sides has left on the nation, the faiths and on individuals. Various religious groups and individuals have stepped out to heal these wounds by actions, support and assistance to one another and to those most affected by such violence irrespective of their religion. A practical and most encouraging example of this is the efforts of Iman Ashafa and Pastor Wuye, popularly known as the Imam and the Pastor, who in the past were warlords ‘fighting for and defending their faiths’. Many religious conflicts in the North are traceable to these two people. Today, both of them have come together to create what could be described as a bridge over the troubled waters.

Religious leaders, Imam Muhammad Ashafa and Pastor James Wuye from Kaduna in northern Nigeria today work together to teach warring militias and opposing religious leaders to resolve their conflicts peacefully. But they did not start out as peacemakers. Ten years ago, Imam Ashafa and Pastor James were mortal enemies, intent on killing one another in the name of religion.

In 1992, violent inter-religious conflict broke out in Kaduna State. Christians and Muslims fought each other in the marketplace, destroying each other’s’ crops and attacking each other’s’ families. Both the Imam and the Pastor were drawn into the fighting, and both paid a heavy price for their involvement — Imam Ashafa lost two brothers and his teacher, and Pastor James lost his hand.

Afterwards, they each dreamed of revenge against the other. Nonetheless, as leaders in their communities, the two men reluctantly agreed to meet. Imam Ashafa recalls what happened: “A mutual friend took both of us by the hand and said: ‘The two of you can pull this state together, or you can destroy it. Do something!’” Over the next few years, through increasingly frequent meetings and separate religious epiphanies, the two men slowly built mutual respect, and decided to work together to bridge the religious divides between their communities.

In 1995, Wuye and Ashafa formed the IMC (interfaith mediation centre), a religious grass-roots organization that successfully mediates between Christians and Muslims throughout Nigeria and has worked extensively in Chad, Kenya, and Sudan with amazing success stories. Their organization, now with over 20,000 community members, reaches into the militias and trains the country’s youth—as well as women, religious figures, traditional and tribal leaders—to become civic peace activists. Under their leadership, Muslim and Christian youth jointly rebuilt the mosques and churches they once destroyed through war and violence and the IMC holds facilitative training sessions to engage community members in peaceful co-existence and cooperation.

Ashafa and Wuye’s story is featured in the documentary entitled ‘The Imam and the Pastor’, produced by FLT Films. They remain committed to a peaceful Nigeria through their work with the Interfaith Mediation Centre.
5. STANDING BY AND WITH EACH OTHER

In the spirit of collaboration and friendship, Muslims and Christians in Nigeria have stood side by side, rejoicing with and consoling each other. Cases abound of this fact at the grassroots and in the daily lives of Muslims and Christians in Nigeria that go unnoticed and unpublished by the dailies. Often times what make headlines are the conflicts. Such examples of collaboration existed between St. Thomas Church, AmuviArochukwu community and the Muslim community in Arochukwu, Nigeria. They are always there for each other in good times and in bad. For instance, during the pastoral visit of my bishop to Arochukwu, the Muslim leader had an audience with him right inside the Church. They presented him with gifts as a sign of solidarity. At the dedication of St. Thomas Church, AmuviArochukwu and the inauguration of the parish, the Muslim community was there to celebrate with the Christians.

6. MORALITY FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE SOCIETY.

Morality, which is one of the bedrocks for peace and stability in society, is another common ground that brings Muslims and Christians together in Nigeria. Going through their teachings and ethical principles, it is obvious that “both Islam and Christianity exhort men and women to virtuous deeds and pious life.” Both religions condemn selfishness, falsehood, dishonesty, greed, hypocrisy, injustice, cruelty, malice, vindictiveness, pride, vanity, arrogance and violence. They advocate, promote and enjoin upon their followers peace, love, unity, justice, tolerance, forgiveness, mercy, self-control, truth, integrity, purity and charity among other virtues.

PRACTICAL EVIDENCE OF IMPROVED RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE THREE RELIGIONS IN NIGERIA:

The twenty first century has witnessed improved relationships between the three religion and their followers in Nigeria. A number of groups focused on improving and advancing religious interactions, relationships and collaborations have recently emerged in Nigeria. Among these are the Nigerian Inter-religious Council (NIREC) and the Nigerian Interfaith Youth Forum (NIYF) While NIREC is more inclined to improving the relationship between Muslims and Christians, the NIYF is all-
embracing. At its first official meeting, followers of the three religions were represented

COMMUNAL CELEBRATIONS AND FESTIVITIES:

Parts of the cultural and social interactions and relationships between ATR, Islam and Christianity in Nigeria that have advanced interfaith relationships and mutual co-existence are festivals and celebrations. It is very common to see people of different religions coming together to worship or attending ceremonies of other religions; something that was unheard of some years ago. Below are some popular traditional festivals among various tribes and zones in Nigeria that exercise overwhelming influences and attract participation from followers of the various religions in Nigeria, even from foreigners.

The Osun Festival: South-West (Oshogbo) Yorubaland

FIG. 3 OSUN FESTIVAL

New Yam Festival: South-East (Igboland):

FIG. 4 YAM FESTIVAL
The Argungu Fishing Festival (Kebbi State) North-West: The Argungu International Fishing and Cultural Festival (the most widely attended in Nigeria and perhaps the oldest known festival of its kind)

FIG. 5 Argungu Fish Festival Kebbi State

The Calabar Carnival: this is unarguably the biggest street party in Nigeria.

FIG. 6 Calabar Carnival
Ojude Oba festival: South-west (Ogun state). It is held annually the third day after Eidkabar. The festival began over 100 years ago. Today, the festival is usually attended by over 250,000 thousand people across the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria.

Unity in Festivals. All these festivals described above have played very important roles in bringing people of different religions in Nigeria together in an atmosphere of brotherhood, mutual love and friendships. They have greatly contributed to communal developmental projects usually launched during the occasion of these festivals. Peoples of all religions—ATR, Muslims and Christians—joyfully look forward to their celebrations annually.

SYNOPSIS OF THE AREAS OF INTERACTIONS AND CONVERGENCE AMONG THE THREE RELIGIONS IN NIGERIA:

In summary, the three religions in Nigeria converge, collaborate and relate in the following areas.

IN THE RELIGIOUS SPHERE:

- There is widespread belief in a supreme God, unique and transcendent.
- ATR, Islam and Christianity have a sense of the sacred and a sense of mystery; there is high reverence for sacred places, persons and objects; sacred times are celebrated.
• Belief in the afterlife is incorporated in myths and in funeral ceremonies.  
• Religion enfolds the whole of life; there is no dichotomy between life and religion.  
• Belief in the efficacy of intercessory prayer is widespread.  
• Worship requires a fundamental attitude of strict discipline and reverence.

IN THE RITUAL SPHERE:
• Rites form an essential part of worship and celebration.  
• The seasonal cycles and the stages of life are sanctified by ritual action. Ritual attention is given to crises.  
• The whole person, body and soul, is totally involved in worship.  
• In worship and sacrifice, there is co-responsibility: each person contributes his share in a spirit of participation  
• Symbols bridge the spheres of the sacred and secular and so make possible a balanced and unified view of reality.  
• Rites of passage, of initiation and of consecration are widespread.  
• Religious sacredness is preserved in ritual, in dress and the arrangements of the places of worship.

IN THE RELIGIO-MORAL SPHERE:
• There is respect for life: children are treasured, abortion is an abomination.  
• Taboos and rituals guard the sacredness of human life.  
• That life makes moral demands is accepted, and this is shown among other things by the sense of the person and attachment to life itself.  
• Sin is perceived in both its personal and communal dimensions.

IN THE RELIGIO-CULTURAL SPHERE:
• The community is for the transmission of culture.  
• Attention is given to locating man within his environment and making him feel at home in it. Tradition is handed down through stories, poems, hymns, proverbs, riddles and art.  
• The whole community is involved in the training of the young, and education itself has a necessary community and social aspect.  
• Life has a festive dimension and is celebrated in adequate rites.  
• Respect for elders. The community regards their wisdom as prophetic, that is, as able to give direction for living in the circumstances of the present day.  
• Marriage is an alliance between families and persons; cultural provisions are made to uphold its stability.  
• Blood alliances bind with a bond that is rarely broken irrespective of religious affiliations.
IN THE RELIGIO-SOCIAL SPHERE:

- Hospitality is a duty that everybody owes the other especially the less privileged and strangers.
- Between kith and kin and people of the same clan there is a very strong sense of sharing and of solidarity and belonging. 
- Efforts are made to secure and promote justice and peace within the community.
- The nuclear family and the extended family are the pivots of the social system.

Recommendations:

1. Religious leaders and actors should be role models within their communities; preach the value of fraternity in humanity and contribute to educating the population on peace, social cohesion and the acceptance of “the other”. This role is particularly important when peace and social cohesion are threatened;
2. Religious leaders and actors should prevent and contribute to the eradication of incitement to discrimination, hostility, and violence
3. Religious leaders and actors should not allow tensions to escalate, and should therefore respond to incitement as soon as it occurs;
4. Conflict resolution and management, as well as peaceful resolution of conflicts should be included in the curricula of religious universities to equip future religious leaders with the knowledge and capacity to understand how violence manifests, the historical role of religion in fueling or mitigating violence, and how religious leaders and actors can contribute to preventing and countering violence.
5. Religious leaders and actors should collaborate with traditional and new media to spread counter and alternative messages in the main African languages;
6. Religious leaders and actors should publicly reject radical ideologies that promote violent extremism;
7. Religious leaders and actors should identify and train influential youth who can contribute to spreading messages of tolerance and respect among their peers;
8. Religious leaders and actors should work to ensure that States demonstrate respect for all religions and do not discriminate against any religion, or the practitioners of any religion;

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IMPACT OF NIGERIAN YOUTH IN CONFLICT, PEACE BUILDING & PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

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ABSTRACT

Youth violence has reached unprecedented proportions in contemporary discourse on Nigeria’s emerging democracy. Beginning from May 29th 1999, when the country re-commenced democratic rule, Nigeria has recorded very bizarre experiences in the domain of violence committed by young people. These acts of violence embrace murder, religious uprisings, party clashes, cult clashes, shooting, stabbing, kidnapping for ransom, armed robbery, including armed bank robbery, theft, burglary, rape, rioting especially against government policies, vandalism, ethnic militancy and so on. Youth violence as abysmal as it may appear to be is not devoid of economic, socio-cultural, political and other factors, and enduring consequences to both the nation and the youths themselves.

The World Health Organization in articulating the effects of violence and Health in its report of 2002, opined that the main victims of youth restiveness or violence, almost everywhere are themselves, adolescents and young adults. The resulting violence harms not only its victims but also their families. This summarizes the evil of “youth violence”, if not promptly addressed. They kill themselves for the benefit of political office holders and elites in the society who at the end of the day abandon them to leak their wounds.

Creation of unfriendly investment environment; it is in no doubt that youth violence could affect investment prospects of the country since one of the indices in investing in a country would be the guaranteed peace of the country. If a country is ravaged by violence it makes such a nation unattractive for investments both local and foreign. Since youth restiveness in Nigeria revolves around poverty, bad governance, insincerity, ineffective corporate community relationship, underdevelopment, environmental degradation among others, ameliorating it would have to entail capacity building for the youth. Viewing youths as agents of peace challenges the traditional conception of youths as agents of violence. However, their impact on Economic, socio-cultural, political or otherwise can be channel into positive uses instead of perpetrating violence. Peace is an essential requirement for any meaningful socio-economic development in all societies, Nigeria inclusive.

Keywords: Politics, Youth Violence, Socio-cultural, peace building, Nigeria, Economic, Conflict.
Introduction

'On December 20, 2015, the United Nations outgoing Secretary General, Banki Moon during presentation of the ‘Plan of Action to prevent violent extremism’ described youth as an ‘untapped resource’ that must be empowered to make positive contributions to the development of their nations. The UNSCR 2250 without prejudice to national and regional variations defines youth as persons between the ages 18-29'.

The increasing participation of youths in violent activities in Nigeria in recent times is a source of worry to both policy-makers and researchers alike. Most violent activities, ranging from armed robbery, cultism, rape, street fighting, electoral violence, to violence during crises moments in Nigeria are being perpetrated by youths. Yet, the very future of this country depends on the kind of youths the present generation is able to nurture. This negative trend, obviously, is a product of a myriad of factors which this paper will attempt to discuss shortly, and also suggest ways by which the menace can be tackled.

'Youths have been identified as responsible for a greater percentage of crimes committed across the world'. This assertion was at the Nigeria security and youth conference with focus on "youth as agents for change and peaceful co-existence in Nigeria" which held at the National Human Rights Commission, Abuja.

Background:

Since Nigeria attained political independence in 1960, one of the most challenging issues bedeviling the country is that of youth involvement in violent conflicts; whether they are ethnic, communal, religious, ethno-religious or political. Youth participation in violence is either a direct or indirect product of the structurally violent nature of our society over the years. Indeed, this trend has become a very common characteristic of not just the Nigerian society, but several African countries; to the extent that Africa has come to be tagged “a conflict endemic continent”. In Nigeria, aside from the Civil War, which threatened the very fabric of the country’s existence, the country has witnessed several other conflicts in its different parts and at different times, leading to the emergence of youth militant and insurgent groups. These include the now seemingly docile Odua Peoples’ Congress (OPC); the erstwhile Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP); the Niger Delta Peoples’ Volunteer Force (NDPVF); the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MOSSOB); the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND); and quite recently, and very viciously, the dreaded Boko Haram, among others. These militant or insurgent groups are largely comprised of youths who adopt violence, mainly, as a strategy to drive home their demands. The negative effects of their activities are better imagined than said.

Before going into the in-depth analysis to justify this ascension we will like look at who a youth is? Conceptualize conflict, violence and peace building; look at the Nigerian youth; discuss the increasing role of youths in conflict and violence; discuss ways by which Nigerian youths can be instrumental in peace building.
Since the Post-Cold War era, oil based revenues and its disbursements in the Niger Delta region has led to massive protests and violence among youth. Young people have engaged in attacks against oil firms and Nigerian militants, hostage taking and hijacking oil workers, youth militancy, vandalizing oil pipelines, and detonating bombs. Tension in the public has caused conflict among minority and majority groups which has crippled national and social development.

The youth’s participation in violence is their way of expressing feelings of marginalization and that their voices are not heard in competing for resources.

Who are the youth?

In answering this question, it must be acknowledged that there is great difficulty in arriving at a common universally accepted definition of the term.

However, the United Nations defines youths as “those persons between the ages of fifteen and twenty four years, without prejudice to other definitions by member states”.

The African Youth Charter defines youth as “every person between the ages of 15 and 35”. Many countries also draw a line on youths at the age which a person is given equal treatment under the law, often referred to as the “age of majority”, this age is often 18 in many countries.

In some countries, the age limit extends to between 30 and 40, in others it extends up to 45 years. The Nigerian National Youth Policy Document on its part defines youths as “people between the ages of 18 and 35”.

However, the operational definition and nuances of the term youth often vary from country to country, depending on the specific socio-cultural, institutional, economic and political factors.

Understanding Conflict and Violence:

When human beings come together there is bound to be conflict. This is because human beings have different background, interests and worldviews. These lead to differences in opinion. These differences in opinion could sometimes degenerate into aggression and violence. This conflict may first be noticed at the individual level, but may eventually spread to the larger society. But it is important to note that just as peace and cooperation is desirable, conflict too could be progressive when not allowed to become destructive.

Conflict:

The term “conflict”, from a very simplistic view may be said to be the absence of peace, disagreement, chaos, violence, disharmony, fighting etc. From a scholarly point of view however, conflict may be said to be the struggle or competition between individuals, groups or societies over incompatible goals, which often leads to violent destruction of life and property. This definition does not in any way assume a status of universal acceptance. Scholars, certainly differ in their conception of the term.
conflict. It however, gives us a fundamental idea of what conflict is. The struggle may be over resources, values, power, ideology, and territory, just to mention a few.

Violence:

Violence is a concept in peace studies which means any action that inflicts physical or psychological harm on a person or group of persons. This is usually adopted when a conflict has escalated to the stage of crisis or war. Although violence may be conceived in this way, it is important to be a bit more academic while attempting to understand the term. This implies that we should go beyond the simplistic understanding of the term. A renowned Peace Scholar by name 'Johan Galtung' describes violence in three ways. These are:

'Direct violence'; 'Structural violence'; and 'cultural violence'.

- "Direct violence is any action that inflicts physical harm on an individual or group of persons". It includes things like killing and maiming, burning of peoples’ property, and rape, among others.
- "Structural violence on the other hand means those structural deficiencies in a society which make the society not to function effectively, so as to create the enabling environment for its citizens to realize their aspirations". These include, but are not limited to corruption, lack of good governance, lack of functional institutions, lack of critical infrastructure, abuse of human rights, and massive poverty.
- "Cultural violence to him refers to all the values, traditions, beliefs, and norms in a society, which promote or reinforce direct violence".

Looking at the Nigerian society, one can see a prevalence of all the forms of violence described by Galtung. First, there is widespread direct violence. This comes in the form of armed attacks during crises moments, armed robbery, and rape, among several others. Structural violence comes in the forms already described above also. It is crucially important at this juncture to comment on some dimensions of structural violence, and we would like to begin with corruption, because most others are deeply rooted in it. It is mind-bugging when one considers the amount of foreign exchange Nigeria earns per day just from the sale of crude oil in the past, yet, most of Nigerians are still wallowing in excruciating poverty. The overarching effect of this is the general lack of basic necessities of life – food, shelter and clothing by most Nigerians. In addition, basic infrastructure such as functional health care, good drinking water, and good road network, among others, are near absent, compared to what obtains in other countries which cannot be placed at par with Nigeria, in terms of resources and manpower potentials. Where some of these facilities and services exist, their cost is often beyond what the ordinary citizen can afford. Most of our roads have graduated from being ‘deathtraps’ into ‘graveyards’, while most of our hospitals have also graduated from being ‘mere consultancy clinics’ into ‘transit camps to the mortuary’, due to corruption and mismanagement.

Understanding Peace Building:

Peace building on the other hand refers to the steps taken by multiple stakeholders towards establishing positive peace in the society. Within this context, the role of
critical stakeholders such as the state, international organizations, top political and military officials, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the media, traditional rulers, religious leaders, youth groups and Community Based Organizations (CBOs), among others, is considered very crucial. The idea of perceiving peace building as a multi-stakeholder activity is borne out of the fact that conflict affects everybody in the society; therefore, peace building should be the responsibility of all in the society, though in terms of ranking, some stakeholders shoulder greater responsibility than others. The state for instance, is considered to be the most critical stakeholder in task of peace building because, aside from the fact it has enormous resources with which it can provide critical infrastructure such as roads, water, and electricity, among others, to its citizens, it legitimately controls the instruments of coercion, with which it enforces law and order in the society and also protects the life and property of its citizens. Traditional rulers and religious leaders are equally very crucial because they exercise great influence over their subjects and followers respectively.

The fact that no meaningful development can be attained in an atmosphere of rancor and chaos is indisputable. A society ridden by war, conflict and turmoil is likely to experience retardation and stagnation rather than progress and development. Growth and development especially in a multi-ethnic and diverse nation like Nigeria can only be attained when the people co-exist peacefully irrespective of their diverse culture and various religious beliefs.

Obviously, the future of the Nigerian youth has been hijacked by the Nigerian elite. Although, the political elite are the major culprit in this, there seems to be a conspiratorial collaboration between it and other sectors of the elite. This, they have done by not creating the enabling environment for the youth to realize their full potentials through good governance. By not ensuring transparency and accountability in governance, but rather perpetrating corruption, mismanagement and misallocation of resources, the Nigerian elite have disempowered the youth, and have reduced them to what I call ‘glorified beggars’. Nigerian elites prefer to recruit the youth as political thugs, to use them during elections to intimidate their opponents and rig elections, rather than empower them, and build their capacity for future challenges. In the developed world, greater emphasis is laid on developing functional institutions and giving the youth a sound education by both government and private organizations. Manpower development is at the base of any society’s progress and not resources as we tend to think in Nigeria. It is a well-focused and intellectually sound and skilled manpower that can efficiently harness the resources of any society to realize the goals of development, which will ultimately result to a peaceful society. No wonder, they are where they are today. For us, in what I call the ‘de-developed’ countries, the priorities of many of our leaders are rather on self-aggrandizement, once they assume political office. Today, it seems most of the present crop of political leaders in our country don’t believe in the Nigerian youth. They seem to think that empowering the Nigerian youth is a wasteful venture, or even a mistake, no wonder; education is not given the much-needed attention it deserves. Within this context, Nigerian youths are at the receiving end, as they are left without qualitative education and therefore, disempowered for life. This underscores the reason why they are increasingly frustrated, and become violent at the slightest provocation.
Youth violence in Nigeria:

Nigeria is unarguably the most populous nation in Africa with over 170 million people and one of the top ten most populous nations in the world. This implies that the country is faced with a high population of youths. Who is a youth? One may ask, a youth is one between the ages of 15 – 35 years in the Nigerian case. According to the National Baseline Youth Survey (2012), the population of youths (15 – 35 years) in Nigeria was estimated to be 64 million where female were 51.6 percent and male were 48.4 percent. Out of the over 64 million youths, 64.1 percent of youths age 15 – 19 were in school while 21.3 percent had never been to school. For age group 20 – 24, 23.2 percent had been to school while 20.2 percent had never. Only 9.0 per cent of youths age 25 – 29 were currently in school, but most (28.4 percent) had at least attended a school before. Similarly, only 4.3 per cent of youth age 30 – 35 were currently in school. It is estimated that 5.9 million children are added to the population yearly. Following the above data, it can be seen that Nigeria has an ever increasing youthful population.

Omeje (2005) argues that in many international fora, today, Nigeria is perceived as a conflict-prone society and the youths are at the heart of most violent conflicts in the country. Recent empirical studies suggest that the youths are prosecutors of 90-95% of violent conflicts in Nigeria. This is pretty similar to what obtains in most other conflict-ridden societies. What probably raises anxiety about the Nigerian situation is the sheer magnitude, complexity, frequency, ramifications and seeming intractability of most violent conflicts.

Every geo-political region of Nigeria is characterized by entrenched structures of violent conflicts, with the youths as the principal driving infrastructure. In the oil-producing region of the south-south, resource control and environmental conflicts waged by ethnic militias of the Niger Delta have become an endemic stigma on the oil-rich region and Nigeria in general. In the south-west, the youths are the principal protagonists of majority of the ethnic and communal violence that tend to be on the increase in the area in recent years. In the three geo-political zones of the old northern region, the enormous damage inflicted on different communities and peoples by the incessant outbreak of ethno-religious conflicts and disputes relating to land rights and the indigeneity problematique (community squabbles between “indigenes” and “settlers”) is common-knowledge. In the south-east, organized crime and political turbulence have compounded the problem of societal fragmentation and descent into lawlessness or criminal anarchy. Youth militias and community vigilantes have cashed in on the vacuum created by the dysfunction and legitimacy crisis of government’s law enforcement institutions and agencies to ostensibly substitute for the state’s function of law enforcement and crime control in a crude and jungle fashion.

On top of all these, there is the macro or nationwide problem of political violence, linked to electoral fraud, sponsorship and use of thuggery by many politicians and political parties, as well as the politicization of sensitive issues and primordial identities such as ethnic and religious identities.
Consequences of youth violence:

Youth violence as abysmal as it may appear to be is not devoid of socio-economic and enduring consequences to both the nation and the youths themselves.

The World Health Organization in articulating the effects of violence and Health in its report of 2002 opined that the main victims of youth restiveness or violence, almost everywhere are themselves, adolescents and young adults. The resulting violence harms not only its victims but also their families. This summarizes the evil of “youth violence”, if not promptly addressed. They kill themselves for the benefit of political office holders and elites in the society who at the end of the day abandon them to leak their wounds. Other effects include:

Creation of unfriendly investment environment; it is in no doubt that youth violence could affect investment prospects of the country since one of the indices in investing in a country would be the guaranteed peace of the country. If a country is ravaged by violence it makes such a nation unattractive for investments both local and foreign. And violence’s by the youth, most especially in the Niger-delta region has greatly undermined investment opportunities in the South-south region.

Increased poverty; youth violence leads to destruction of lives and properties not just of government establishments but also of private individuals. This situation has greatly led to the impoverishment of such people affected by these crises.

Increased crime rate and insecurity youth violence in time past, such as the electoral crises have greatly led to a high degree in crime rate, Other consequences of youth violence may include:

The erosion of values and traditions e.g. disrespect for elders and the traditional ethos.

- Collapse of communal life.
- Inter and intra ethnic clashes.
- Killing of youths, who are the main actors, increased level of orphans and drug addiction
- War.

Nigerian Youth as Agents of Peace building:

'Youth in Nigeria constitute an estimated 70% of the population'. Given this demographic advantage, the youth are a major stakeholder in Nigeria quest towards achieving sustainable peace and development. It will be myopic to hold on to the fallacy that youth are mere victims or perpetrators of violent conflicts. Nigeria youth must henceforth be seen as a necessary and powerful tool if sustainable peace and development would be achieved.

More so, it will not be fair to the Nigerian youth if we only portray them as a violent set of people, or better still, easy recruits for violence, without focusing on their potential role in peace building. Youths, just as they are very active in perpetrating violence, they are and can equally be effective instruments of peace building in any society. For example Avance Media (2016) have identified and announced young
Nigerian who have done well in their respective categories. Like Business, Entertainment, Law and order, Personal Development & Academia, Leadership & Civil Society, Science & Technology, Social Enterprise & Philanthropy and Sports etc.

Viewing youths as agents of peace challenges the traditional conception of youths as agents of violence. Our question is, how can youths be effective agents of peace building?

To start with, for the fact that virtually all our schools are dominated by youths, the school therefore, can serve as a breeding ground for both war and peace. When peace virtues are inculcated in the youth, they will certainly grow up to be peaceful in the society. “Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old, he will not depart from it” (Proverbs, 22:6).

Again, youths can utilize the opportunity provided by a democratic system to build peace in the society. In this regard, associational life can bring youths together for the purpose of peace building, rather than violence. They can organize themselves and make their voices heard on matters that affect them, and indeed, the entire society. By this, they can influence positive action on such matters from government and other stakeholders.

Moreover, the opportunities provided by Information and Communication Technology (ICT) can serve a very crucial role of mobilizing youths for peace building in the society. The use of social media like Facebook, Twitter, Skype, Blogger, through the internet or mobile phones can help youths spread peace messages, rather than hate messages.

**Impact of Violence on Economic, Social and Political stability on Nigeria:**

Researchers argue that every conflict in the world have Negative impact on Economic, socio-cultural, political and other factors; But the paper will focus on these three factors.

1. **Economic Factor :**

**According to Obateru (1994:132),** poverty apparently accounts for the bulk of violence due to such problems as unemployment, inadequate housing, physical and social infrastructures. The current depression in the Nigerian economy must have worsened the situation of youths; this has rendered the youths idle and almost hopeless, hence they have become instruments of manipulation by the elites for ethno-religious and political insurrections.

Promotion of violence as an economic impact; In the midst of mass misery and poverty, violence is seen and promoted as an economic opportunity by many subalterns and jobless youths. This phenomenon resonates with the greed versus grievance theory of **Paul Collier & AnkeHoeffler (2002).** Based on their empirical analysis of civil wars in many developing countries, Collier & Hoeffler have argued that the greed of predatory and militant groups considerably overrides grievance in accounting for the emergence, proliferation and prolongation of violent conflicts.
Availability of, and dependence on primary commodity exports, the scholars argue, substantially increase the risk of conflicts. Whereas most extractive export commodities have high risk of precipitating conflicts, the presence of obstruct able or non-loot able export commodities (e.g. oil resources) seems to have greater tendency to increase the duration and intensity of conflicts when compared to loot able commodities or conflict goods (e.g. diamond and other precious stones).

This Dysfunctional structural divide and discrimination at various levels of state and society, which impacts adversely on issues such as employment, promotion, public appointments, as well as group and community relations and land rights, often linked to the problem of indignity.

2. Socio-cultural Factor:

Youth violence appears to be the symptoms of the social and moral decadence of the Nigerian society in general. This decay manifests itself in the form of various social vices and ills epitomized by corruption, indiscipline, moral laxity and many other ills in the society (Okeowo, 1994:10; Ifaturoti, 1994:155). Therefore, since youths in Nigeria, who do not exist in a vacuum, observe this unhealthy social environment and the breakdown in societal values and norms, it is from what they observe and the signals they perceive that they, in order to achieve what they perceive as societal goals, emulate the behavior of the society. Thus, the society in this way can be seen as the source of violence, for the youths merely reflect societal behavior. In a society where persons who have achieved success through corruption are lauded, the signal sent to the youths is that corruption is an acceptable means of achieving success (Ifaturoti, 1994: 155). This is of course reflected in the violent behavior of youths.

Some Other socio-cultural factors determining youth involvement in violence are:

a. Influence of peer group:

Peer group pressure and the age factor play an important role in determining youth involvement in violence. The average age group of youth is between 15 and 25 years. Many youths of this age grade are at their most impressionistic and they tend to imitate easily. Thus, they are more easily manipulated and influenced by their peers, who encourage them to commit delinquent acts on the grounds that it enhances their status and commitment in the society (Tamuno, 1991:144).

b. Culture of drug abuse:

The prevailing culture of drug abuse has in no small way contributed to the upsurge in youth violence. Hard drugs such as heroin, marijuana and cocaine are often found in the possession of youths. Violent clashes often occur under the influence of alcohol and other mind disturbing drugs. Ifaturoti (1994:156) attests to the fact that abuse of drugs, such as cocaine, and over-indulgence in alcoholic drinks, such as gin and whisky, alter the state of the user’s mind and predispose it to violence.
c. Role of mass media:

The mass media has also contributed to the upsurge in youth violence in Nigeria. The importation of violent films, which are shown on television and the everyday brutalities of Nigerian life, such as cult clashes, assassination and public violence, written about by the media with all the gory details and photographs, merge the frontiers of fantasy with reality for youths. It is possible that many of these delinquent youths merely act out what they have seen on video or television.

d. Ethnic nationalism and the formation of ethnic militias:

The desire to wrestle the power coupled with other considerations have led to increased ethnic nationalism among the minority ethnic groups, while the larger ethnic groups are equally strongly attached to their peculiar beliefs necessitating increased nationalism within them. Sometimes their activities are carried out in a manner that has led to violence. The cases of Odua Peoples Congress OPC (Yoruba) and Movement for the Advancement of Sovereign State of Biafra MASSOB (Igbo) represent a good example of this perspective, while various minority ethnic groups such as Ijaw Youth Council (IYC), Middle Belt Forum among others, have been challenging the activities of the dominant ethnic groups. These competitions have ended up in ethnic militant attacks and ethnic clashes. However, it has been revealed that the youths constitute the bulk of these ethnic militias (Akinboye, 2001:176).

e. Family influence:

Family influence plays an undeniable role in shaping the characters of youths. The quality of their family life is reflected in their behavior. In families where violence is a way of life, a reflection of it is seen in the violent behavior of the youth of the family (Ifaturoti, 1994:157). Elaborating on this fact, Renovize (1978), Oliver and Taylor (1971), Scott (1974), Levine (1975) observed that children living in violent homes are themselves more likely to become agents of violence as they grow up. These children naturally see violence as an instrument of inter-group relations.

It is also possible for the frequently battered mother to transfer her suffering to her children in the form of harsh punishments for minor offences. Such children soon become resistant to even dangerous battering and gladly participate in street/public fight (Albert, 1994:71). They become threats to peace and harmony in the society as they are recruited into gangster organizations, especially if they are unrestricted by exposed to violent films. Moreover, because many parents do not pay enough attention to the children, youths disturbed by such family situation may indulge in delinquent acts as a way of either seeking the parents’ attention to rebelling against such parents (Ifaturoti, 1994:157).

3. Political Factor:

Role of the Elites: The elites in Nigeria have promoted youth violence. They represent essentially capitalists who depend on the state machinery for survival (Joseph, 1999:16). They are also a major player in the ethnic game for exploitation and manipulation of non-elites, usually directed towards personal/elite group’s interests, which mostly promotes division and hatred among people in pluralistic societies.
These elites use ethnic and religious sentiment to achieve their political and socio-economic goals. For example, a Sokoto Prince Shehu Malami in his address to youth corpers posted to the state in 1986 publicly expressed that the Hausa race is superior to other ethnic groups in Nigeria (Kukah, 2002). The others too Yoruba and the Igbo, have the same belief. In many other instances, the elites often sponsor youths in ethno-religious, political and cult violence. Such situation sets an appalling role model for youths and increases their vulnerability to or penchant for violent crime.

On top of all these, there is the macro or nationwide problem of political violence, linked to electoral fraud, sponsorship and use of thuggery by many politicians and political parties, as well as the politicization of sensitive issues and primordial identities such as ethnic and religious identities.

Also, it is pertinent to remark that at the root of the too many violent conflicts in Nigeria is the high incidence of state failure. The state’s abdication of, or perhaps inability to meet its primary social obligations, notably development provisioning and maintenance of internal order, as well as its unconcealed appetite for misrule, basically epitomizes what many scholars have often conceptualized as state failure. It suffices to say that Nigeria is marked by an unacceptably high level of functional failure of the state linked to the correspondingly high level of political and legal impunity, which encourages large scale corruption and insensitivity of public functionaries to the plight of the populace. The high level of youth violence and restiveness, especially the organized activities of ethnic militias who increasingly challenge or attempt to usurp the authority and functions of the state, could be seen as a response to the problem of state failure. The proliferation of small arms and light weapons, itself an expression of state failure, basically aggravates the situation.

**Tackling youth violence in Nigeria:**

Our development as a nation does in deed lie in our ability to develop our human capital. Development of human capital represents a sustainable strategy for transforming Nigeria into a viable economy. Without education Nigeria would not attain global relevance neither would we be able to create a good society with informed citizens. Government should consider education as a social service which it must provide to all Nigerians.

However, Nigeria can greatly benefit from having a youthful population. For example, China harnessed their youths and created labour-consuming employment to employ their youths, which in turn led to economic boom for their nation. Hence, if the Nigerian government can thinkof ways to harness this population via creating labour-consuming jobs, this will go a long way in growing the economy as well as reduce the ever-increasing rate of youth unemployment.

Youths are seen as tomorrow’s nation builders; hence, a youthful population if properly harnessed can be the gateway to a nation’s development. Youths given their fresher outlook to life if put in positions of power can bring about new ideas and initiatives for the nation because they have in mind that they are helping their own and the generations unborn and this can go a long way to reduce corruption in the society.
Challenges of such population to a nation:

However, as much as having a huge youthful population can serve as a catalyst to nation building, it can also be a huge challenge if not properly managed like in the case of Nigeria.

Given that over 70 million youths are unemployed in the country spells danger for the country. Youth unemployment is very high as more than half of the youths are unemployed or underemployed. As tertiary institutions pump out graduates and they enter the labour market, while the Nigerian labour market does not have enough resources to accommodate even up to half of them. Hence, you see youths roaming the streets in search of paid employment and finding none.

This situation also affects the nation’s educational development. For instance, Nigeria does not have enough tertiary institutions to accommodate the throng of young school leavers seeking for admission into the tertiary institutions. Hence, less than 20% of those seeking admission are actually admitted.

Dignity of labour upon which the Nigerian was known has been replaced by the craze for easy money. At the same time Nigerians have lost their sense of freedom and the symbol of achievement became defined by the extent of thievery that an individual exhibited. Despite the seeming gloom we can take another chance to make right the colossal mistakes of the past. This can only be done through an understanding of the many growth opportunities that stare at us daily. Global economy trends present significant opportunities for Nigeria to grow out of the mono-culture economy that has arrested the development of the nation. To strategically take advantage of these growth opportunities we must begin to look beyond natural resources as the major drivers of growth. Nigeria’s ability to emerge as a global economic force lies in its capacity to take advantage of the growth opportunities in such areas as: business enterprises, services, entertainment, leadership, entrepreneurship, management, sports, economics and finance, and brand exports. However, these areas of growth opportunities are driven by knowledge, ideas and innovation. Our possession of natural capital must therefore be seen as important to the extent that it catalyzes the development of the human capital necessary to take advantage of these opportunities.

Recommendations:

On the basis of the forgoing discussion on the growing trend of youth participation in violent activities in Nigeria, we deem it necessary to offer a number of recommendations towards curbing this negative trends and in order to eradicate youth violence in the society, the society needs to invest more in the areas that will benefit and develop Nigerian youths which will automatically give strength to the nation’s political, economic, social, geographic as well as cultural/ethnic issues.

Below are highlighted suggested solutions for youth violence in the society:

1. **Government at all levels in Nigeria should lay greater emphasis on education.**
   This is the key to achieving all other successes. We are now in the 21st Century; the period commonly referred to as the “jet age” or “age of digital revolution” and as a nation, Nigeria cannot afford to allow its youths remain analogue. Accordingly, more
of the fiscal policy of government at all levels should be targeted at providing functional education to our youths. Youths on their part should insist on being educated. Education is their right, though enshrined in the Nigerian Constitution as a fundamental objective of state directive principle. By virtue of this, youths can hold political office holders accountable for not providing them with qualitative education.

2. **Programs of self-employment** to educate and encourage youths to start their own business through workshops, research groups, and discussion groups, to reduce the level of unemployment

3. **Advocacy** – actively spreading the virtues of peaceful coexistence among their peers and in the society as a whole through rallies, seminars and symposia.

4. **being serious with the pursuit of their education as education remains the most effective vehicle for transiting a society to development.** A situation whereby students do not pay attention to their studies, and rather involve themselves in unwholesome practices such as drug addiction, prostitution, cultism, and examination malpractices, among others, is counterproductive to the goal of achieving a functional, developed and peaceful society. Youths should resolve to embrace peace and peaceful coexistence, for ‘when there is a will, there is always a way’. It is therefore possible for people to coexist peacefully, once they resolve to live in peace. Divisive issues will always come, but where people have resolved to live together in peace in spite of their differences, they will seek associative, rather than dissociative ways of responding to them.

5. **Youths should refuse to be recruited as political thugs**, knowing that it is one of the ways by which politicians have hijacked their future. They only use them to achieve their objectives at a certain moment and soon abandon them once they have achieved their objective.

6. Closely related to this is the introduction of peace education as part of the curricula at all levels of education in the country. It has already been introduced at the University level, though it is mostly being taught at the postgraduate level, obviously to train those who will eventually teach it at the undergraduate and other lower levels. With intensive peace education, a culture of peace will be inculcated in our youths, whom we all know are our future leaders.

7. **Availability of cheap loans and grants for those who wish to become self-employed, i.e. start** their own business

8. Youths should organize themselves into civil associations to drive home their aspiration in a democratic context.

9. Organizing themselves into Peace Corps and peace constituencies to insist on nonviolent, rather than violent change in the society as violence has been proven to be counterproductive;

10. Government should prioritize youth employment opportunities and inclusive labour policies.
Conclusion:

Youths are very critical to the development of any society, the world over. Without a well-educated and therefore, empowered youth, no society can have the needed peace and stability to fast-track development.

Most Nigerian youths today, have increasingly become perpetrators of violence, not because they are naturally violent, but mainly, due to the structurally violent nature of the society within which they find themselves. We noted in this paper that under this circumstance, the future of the Nigerian youth has been hijacked, and unless the measures which we suggested are carried out by all stakeholders, we will only be raising a generation of militants, insurgents, drug addicts, and armed robbers, among others, whose target will be the society itself.

References:


ABSTRACT

The occurrence of intra and inter violence within and among nations is in a continuum. Nigeria has a fair share of this menace. The nature, trend and dimensions of urban violence are greeted with various levels of deep complexity par excellence. The shifting dimensions are the hydra-like nature of its occurrence. The dimension of urban violence in Nigeria has various implications ranging from political backwardness, economy dwarfism and social anarchism. This work proffers a buffer to the continuous effect of urban violence in Nigeria and applicable in other developing countries of Africa and the world. The tyre burning model is used alongside the broken window and relative deprivation theories to give a vivid insight to urban violence. Peaceful coexistence with political accountability and social order development is recommended to the relevant stakeholders. Conclusion is premised on the inevitability of violence in the human community but buffer solutions are prerequisite to the mitigation of such menaces.

Keywords: Violence, Peace Mechanism, Democracy, Economy, Urban and Rule of Law.

INTRODUCTION

Violence is not typical to developing countries. Much complex violence takes place in the developed countries than any other part of the world. The major difference between the two countries is the method of checks and control. The general notion about urbanism is that the more developed a country is the more peaceful and blissful the level of interaction in the state will be. This is the idea phenomenon, a utopia conditions in most countries of the world and a lateral inversion of the reality. This lateral inversion of what ought to be is seen as the paradox of the reality. Most urban areas are the haven of violence. It serves as the laboratory where violence is breed and wean to maturity. It also serves as a geographical location where advanced violence are taught and transported to the rural areas of the same country and further to other countries.
The phenomenon of urban violence is not an alien phenomenon in Nigeria. It is so ubiquitous that it is seldom overlooked as a usual phenomenon. The aim of this paper is to justify the assertion that violence in Nigeria is not of unilateral dimension but of multilateral dimension. Most cases of urban violence in Nigeria are seen as unilateral dimension which simply focuses on politically motivated violence or simply put governance violence. However, violence in Nigeria surpasses the notion of political dimensions only. It cut across all other facet of humans endeavour (Aluko 2016; Aluko 2017a; Aluko 2017b). Urban violence has become pronounced in different cities in each of the six geo political zones in Nigeria. Specific instances of urban violence across the country shifted from ethnic violence, religious violence, political violence, illegal oil bunkering, kidnapping, burglary and ‘spiritual’ among other crises.

The instances of urban violence in northern Nigeria had claimed more than 40,000 lives as at 2014 (Aluko 2017b). Urban violence in central Nigeria, Kendhammer (2010) observed that Jos riots had claimed more than 3000 people between 2001 and 2004 and about 9000 as at 2014; such riots have been described as religious, ethnic, or between “settlers and indigenous” populations.Instances of urban violence in eastern Nigeria in the fourth republic, especially through the activities of the Bakassi Boys in Aba, Anambra, Enugu, Imo and Onitsha had wasted lives and properties. Similarly, the OPC has contributed to waves of urban violence in western Nigeria, particularly in Lagos and Ibadan. The instances of the Boko Haram terrorist group in the north east of Nigeria is a disaster on its own which has claim over 3150 lives in the year 2013 and over 4900 souls as at November 2014.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION:

There are as many perspectives to concepts in social science as there are many scholars or writers. This makes it difficult to get a universal concept of issues. This problem is also witnessed in almost all concepts in Political Science fields of study. To this end some concepts will be vigorously interrogated as conceived by different authors with a view of proffering an hybrid of the same concepts. The concepts to be clarified in this context are the concept of Violence Urban violence and Political Violence respectively.

Violence as a concept in social science does not lend itself to a single definition. However, violence or social disorganization as interchangeably used by Olutayo (1994) is perceived as natural phenomenon to all human societies and it becomes a social problem only where it increases to an intolerable level. This definition is quite rich in natural reasoning but it is empirically casual to be digested hook line and sinker because social problems at intolerable levels might still be in the limit of proportionality that is the elastic limit of human behaviour can hardly be exceeded as it will be further extended for a little accommodation no matter the extent of intolerability. The most common notion is that violence entails the use of physical force, usually aimed at injuring or damaging the object of the violence. The tools of violence can range from flying fists, to clubs, bullets, nerve gas, and nuclear missiles (Danzinger, 1998). Nevertheless, violence may be related to political or non-political aspects of human life (Alanamu, 2005).
Political violence like the concept of violence only tries to classify and justify itself by the inclusion of politics. However, several scholars had put pen on papers to clarify what political violence means and others have try to strike a difference between political violence and other forms of violence including electoral violence (Saka 2010; Aniekwe and Kushie 2011). It is important to note that each scholar only present the matter as it seems justified to them. In the opinion of Igbuzor (2010), Political violence is considered to be any act of violence perpetuated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post political activities, and may include any of the following acts: thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate political opponents and halt electoral process or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with the political processes.

A well encompassing concept of political violence is portrayed by Anifowose (1982). He tries to include the actions, the perceived target(s) and the effect or the aftermath of the perpetuated political violence. He said:

Political violence can be taken to involve the threat and actual use of physical act carried out by an individual or group of individuals within a political system against another individual, groups and their property. Such use of physical act are carried out with the intent to cause injury or death to a person, destruction of property and in which the objective, choice of targets, surrounding circumstances, implementation and effects all have political significance. Such significance is often directed at modifying the behaviours of others or altering the prevailing power matrix (Anifowose, 1982).

Other forms of violence can be identified in the opinion of Gurr (1970) as:

i. Turmoil: This consists of low scale violence such as relatively spontaneous, unorganized political violence with substantial popular participation, including violent political strikes, riots, political clashes, and localized rebellions.

ii. Conspiracy: This consists of medium scale violence such as highly organized political violence with limited participation, including organized political assassinations, small-scale terrorism, small-scale guerrilla wars, coup d’états and mutinies.

iii. Internal war: This consists of higher scale violence such as highly organized political violence with widespread popular participation, designed to overthrow the regime or dissolve the state and accompanied by extensive violence, including large-scale terrorism and guerrilla wars, civil wars, and revolution

iv. Finally, political violence can be mop-up in few lines as a brief summary; it is the whole gamut of issue that refers to all forms of collective attacks within a political regime, directed at effecting changes in the body politics.
Urban violence in the same room with political crises has its uniqueness in it concept as it picks up some broad and overview concept of crises in the human society. Harroff-Tavel (2010) in his own view posited that urban violence is different from violence that it is purely criminal. He mentioned different forms of urban violence including social and political uprising, hunger riots, identity-based violence among ethnic or religious groups, clashes between territorial gangs, terrorism and acts of xenophobic violence directed against migrants. However, urban violence has intertwined with different forms of violence in urban areas. He goes further to say that:

Armed urban violence between groups that are generally considered as criminal (drug dealers, territorial gangs, mafia-type groups, etc.), or between those groups and government forces or private militias, raises some complex legal (and political) problems. This is particularly the case when that fighting is between groups engaged in a collective confrontation of major intensity, which testifies to a high degree of organization.

Akinwale and Aderinto (2013) agreed that all forms of violence in urban areas constitute a serious social problem irrespective of their nomenclatures. Any form of violence that constitutes a threat to security of lives and property of a large number of people in an urban area is considered an urban violence. This conceptualization is based on recognition of the fact that urban violence can be more devastating compared to violence in a rural setting.

In a recent study by Aliyu, Kasim and Martin (2011), urban violence was expressed in terms of ethnic and religious conflicts. Also, Penglase (2011) argued that representations of urban violence are often centred upon concerns with transgression to the urban settings norms and conducts. Kunkeler and Peters (2011); argues that urban violence is generally framed and interpreted as criminal violence. Within a context of state failure or the inability of state representatives to provide security, the lives of inhabitants of cities such as Rio de Janeiro and Johannesburg are constituted by a culture of fear that is attached to issues of crime (Koonings and Kruijt 2007).

Krause, Muggah and Gilgen (2011) distinguish direct forms of urban violence which result in physical and psychological harm including intentional fatalities, assault and sexual violence and indirect manifestations that negatively affect other aspects of livelihoods, social relations and wellbeing. This concept agrees with the same trend of violence in general which may manifest in either the urban area or the rural area.

Muggah (2012) however concluded the whole gamut of urban violence by submitting that:

There is no agreed definition of what constitutes urban violence or how it should be measured. However, there are parameters to the discussion that hinge on its direct and indirect characteristics, its intensity and duration, its spatial--socio characteristics, its intentionality and context. It is generally agreed that urban violence often
features interconnected forms of insecurity and that it challenges narrow categories and classifications. Multi-dimensional frameworks are emerging that attempt to explain different thresholds of urban violence.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

This aspect of the research will dive into the word of theories so as to see the relevance of this research to some already confirmed and established facts. There are many relevant theories applicable for this research work, such include; Broken Window Theory, Relative deprivation Theory, Theory of social disorganization, Differential Association Theory (Learning Theory), Strain Theory and Control Theory among others.

But for the purpose of this research work, the Broken Window Theory will be used juxtaposing it with relative deprivation theory and therefore bring out the Tyre Burning Model. This is because they explain in a much better way why and how urban violence and political crises are formed, transmitted and how they become vulnerable tool against socio-political-economic development for the moulding and sustenance of a viable democratic system.

Unlike the Learning theory that justify the class imbalance and a wish of the youths to break even quickly, Control theory merely tries to emphasized the restraining power of justice and stresses the effectiveness of social norms because people internalize them through a socialization process where formal sanctions are reinforced by informal sanctions. However, the Broken Window Theory and Relative deprivation Theory best captured the reason while urban violence and political crises are nurtured, financed and used to achieve the desirable agenda of perpetuators who blows its pipe.

Broken Window Theory:

Wilson and Kellingn (1982) in The Atlantic publications were the first to coin out this theory. The theory is basically meant to explore the reason for the prevalence of crime and violence in the urban areas, the indicators the expected semiotics and the possible actions to curb this menace.

The theory assumed that at the community level, disorder and crime are usually inextricably linked, in a kind of developmental sequence. Social psychologists and police officers tend to agree that if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired; all the rest of the windows will soon be broken. This is as true in nice neighbourhoods – rundown ones. Window-breaking does not necessarily occur on a large scale because some areas are inhabited by determined window-breakers whereas others are populated by window-lovers; rather, one unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing.

A piece of property is abandoned, weeds grow up, a window is smashed. Adults stop scolding rowdy children; the children, emboldened, become more rowdy. Families move out, unattached adults move in. Teenagers gather in front of the corner store. The merchant asks them to move; they refuse. Fights occur. Litter accumulates. People start drinking in front of the grocery; in time, an inebriate slumps to the
sidewalk and is allowed to sleep it off. Pedestrians are approached by panhandlers definitely will lead to pandemonium in the urban areas.

It was suggested that ‘untended’ behaviour also leads to the breakdown of community controls. A stable neighbourhood of families who care for their homes, mind each other's children, and confidently frown on unwanted intruders who can change, in a few years or even a few months, to an inhospitable and frightening jungle.

At this point it is not inevitable that serious crime will flourish or violent attacks on strangers will occur. But many residents will think that crime, especially violent crime, is on the rise, and they will modify their behaviour accordingly. Such an area is vulnerable to criminal invasion. Though it is not inevitable, it is more likely that here, rather than in places where people are confident they can regulate public behaviour by informal controls, drugs will change hands, prostitutes will solicit, and cars will be stripped.

This link is similar to the process whereby one broken window becomes many. The citizen who fears the ill-smelling drunk, the rowdy teenager, or the importuning beggar is not merely expressing his distaste for unseemly behaviour; he is also giving voice to a bit of folk wisdom that happens to be a correct generalization—namely, that serious street crime flourishes in areas in which disorderly behaviour goes unchecked. The unchecked panhandler is, in effect, the first broken window. Muggers and robbers, whether opportunistic or professional, believe they reduce their chances of being caught or even identified if they operate on streets where potential victims are already intimidated by prevailing conditions. If the neighbourhood cannot keep a bothersome panhandler from annoying passers-by, the thief may reason, it is even less likely to call the police to identify a potential mugger or to interfere if the mugging actually takes place (Wilson and Kellingn 1982).

Unlike broken window theory, relative deprivation theory emphasized on the presence of poverty and politico-economic hardship which leads to the state of survival of the fittest and the winner gets it all. The tyre burning model simply depict a violence as a situation which warrants people burning of tyres on the road to obstruct the general peace so as to get the proper attentions of the powers that be.

**VIOLENCE INCIDENCE IN NIGERIA:**

The data presented in Table I show some instances of urban violence associated with political party conflicts, which have characterized the Nigerian fourth republic since 1999, a period that marked the beginning of the fourth republic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Number of Reported Violence</th>
<th>Political Parties Involved in Violence</th>
<th>Scene of Violence</th>
<th>Outcomes of Violence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>AD, PDP vs AD, ANPP, PDP, PDP vs ANPP</td>
<td>Lagos, Delta, Oyo, Edo, Ondo, Yobe</td>
<td>deaths, injuries, destruction of property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Month</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Parties</td>
<td>Locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Varied</td>
<td>ANPP vs PDP, PDP vs AD</td>
<td>Lagos, Delta, Kaduna, Adamawa, Edo, Osun, Benue, Kwarar, Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Varied</td>
<td>ANPP vs PDP, PDP vs AD, LABOUR</td>
<td>Lagos, Delta, Oyo, Edo, Ondo, Yobe, Edo, Osun, Benue,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Varied</td>
<td>PDP vs APC, PDP vs LABOUR, APC vs APGA</td>
<td>Imo, Lagos, Delta, Kaduna, Adamawa, Edo, Osun, Benue, Kwarar, Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom, Ondo, Plateau, Abuja, Katsina, Bauchi, Ondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Over 20</td>
<td>PDP vs APC</td>
<td>Rivers, Kogi, Bayelsa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Adapted from Peace and Development Projects (2004) updated by researcher (2017)
Additional time series of urban violence in the Nigerian cities are presented in Table II below.

### Table II. Timeline of Urban Violence in Some Parts of Nigeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Incidence &amp; State of Occurrence</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 27, 2009</td>
<td>Attack on Potiskum Divisional Police Headquarters, Yobe State leading to the death of 3 Police Officers and 1 Fire Service Officer</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 13, 2010</td>
<td>300 persons killed in an operation in the Northern part of Jos, Plateau State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 7, 2010</td>
<td>Bauchi Central Prison was set ablaze and leading to the setting free of Sect member</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1, 2010</td>
<td>Eagle Square Bomb Attacks, Abuja</td>
<td>MEND.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 24, 2010</td>
<td>8 people killed in a bomb attack in Barkin Ladi, Jos, Plateau State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 31, 2010</td>
<td>10 persons killed in Abuja Bomb Attacks at Mogadishu Mammy Market</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 21, 2011</td>
<td>8 persons killed by gunmen in Maiduguri, Borno State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2, 2011</td>
<td>2 Police Officers attached to the residence of the Divisional Police Officer, Mustpha Sandamu at Rigasa area of Kaduna State killed</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 30, 2011</td>
<td>Bom explosion in Damaturu, Yobe State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 8, 2011</td>
<td>8 serving Corps Members killed in a bomb explosion at INEC Office, Suleja, Niger State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 22, 2011</td>
<td>Yola Jail Break (Boko Haram frees 14 prison inmates)</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29, 2011</td>
<td>Bomb attack at the Army Barracks in Bauchi State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Bomb blasts in a market near 33 Artillery Brigade, Bauchi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Bomb blasts in Zaria, Kaduna State.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 7, 2011</td>
<td>5 persons killed in a series of bomb blasts in Maiduguri, Borno State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 22, 2011</td>
<td>4 persons severely injured by explosions and gun shots in Borno State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 24, 2011</td>
<td>80 persons killed in multiple bomb attacks in Jos, Plateau State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 25, 2011</td>
<td>50 killed in bomb attacks at St. Theresa’s Catholic Church, Madalla, Niger State.</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 30, 2011</td>
<td>7 people killed in Maiduguri, Borno State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 5, 2012</td>
<td>Bomb attacks in a Church in Gombi, Adamawa State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 6, 2012</td>
<td>Gunmen attacked a Town Hall Meeting by Igbo</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 20, 2012</td>
<td>250 people killed multiple bombing of Churches and businesses in Kano</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 22, 2012</td>
<td>2 Churches bombed, 2 military offices, a DPO and 8 others killed by gunmen at the Headquarters of Tafawa Balewa LGA, Bauchi State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 26, 2012</td>
<td>Bomb explosion in Sabon Gari, Kano State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 28, 2012</td>
<td>1 killed in Ngala, Borno State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 30, 2012</td>
<td>6 people killed in Maidugri including 2 Air Force officers</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 4, 2012</td>
<td>2 people killed in Damboa, Borno State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 5, 2012</td>
<td>SSS agent killed in Yobe State</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 7, 2012</td>
<td>Attack on Kaduna Markets and Military Barracks which resulted in the death of 5 people</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 7, 2012</td>
<td>Attack in Kano State that led to the death of 10 persons</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 8, 2012</td>
<td>Violent group bombed a Church in Kaduna on Easter</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 26, 2012</td>
<td>Coordinated bomb attacks in ThisDay and Daily Sun Newspapers offices in Abuja and Kano</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2, 2012</td>
<td>Gunmen attacked Potiskum cattle market in Yobe States with explosives</td>
<td>Armed Robbery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 3, 2012</td>
<td>Church bombing in Bauchi State.</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 17, 2012</td>
<td>Coordinated bomb attacks in 3 different churches in Zaria, Kaduna and Yobe State.</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 7, 2012</td>
<td>Barkin Ladi and Riyom Villages, Jos attack</td>
<td>Fulani herdsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 8, 2012</td>
<td>Mase Village, Jos Massacre in Plateau State that resulted in the death of Senator Gyang Dantong, Plateau State House of Assembly Majority Leader and 50 others.</td>
<td>Gunmen suspected to be Fulani herdsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 31, 2013</td>
<td>Fulani Herdsmen attacked a church killing three. One woman was left widowed for a second time by Fulani Herdsmen. Plateau State</td>
<td>Fulani herdsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 21, 2013</td>
<td>Unknown gunmen stormed a village, killing a father and his daughter and injuring four others. The district head said that the attack was deliberately done to scare his people from celebrating Christmas. Kaduna State</td>
<td>Fulani herdsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 17, 2013</td>
<td>Eight Fulani gunmen killed six members of extended families in their home in Foron, five of them children. Four people were also injured. Barkin Ladi, Plateau State</td>
<td>Fulani herdsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Boko haram militants murdered 42 students at the College of Agriculture while they slept in their</td>
<td>Boko Haram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29, 2013</td>
<td>Hostels, but then moved on into the community and murdered an additional 36 residents of the town. There were also 18 injured in the shooting. Gujba Yoba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 26, 2013</td>
<td>Boko Haram militants shot and killed 21 wards of the government while two others sustained serious injuries. Bornu State.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 24, 2013</td>
<td>Reports state that between 35 and 44 people were murdered by suspected Boko Haram members. Boko Haram militants reportedly stormed the village of Dumba Bornu State and slashed the throats of at least 35 of the villagers and then proceeded to burn down many of their homes as the villagers fled to Maiduguri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 27, 2013</td>
<td>State Task Force engaged them in a shootout for several hours as they intervened in an attack on villages in Langtang South. 20 Fulani Malitia were killed and 2 arrested. Attackers with drew towards Yamini. Patrols have now been set up. Langtang Plateau State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 12, 2013</td>
<td>Fulani herdsmen in the Okpanchenyi and Ekwo Christian communities of Agatu killed 45 Christians. Church leaders said a massive number of Muslim Fulani herdsmen invaded the area on the Sunday night and killed 38 people, while the others were killed in another attack in the early hours of the next day. Benue State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 17, 2013</td>
<td>Boko Haram attacked a factory and separated the Christian workers from the rest and murdered them in cold blood. Kano State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 19, 2013</td>
<td>Gunmen attacked the convoy of the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero, killing four of his palace guards. Kumbotso Kano State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>20 Fulani Malitia were killed and 2 arrested. Attackers withdrew towards Yamini. Plateau State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Reports state that between 15 and 25 people were murdered by suspected Boko Haram members. Boko Haram militants reportedly stormed the village of Dumba Bornu State</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 October 2015</td>
<td>A military operation freed 192 children and 138 women being held captive in two camps in the Sambisa forest, and 30 militants were killed,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 October 2015</td>
<td>Two bombings on that killed 18 and wounded 41, one in Nyanya in Nasarawa and the other in Kuje, FCT,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 January 2016</td>
<td>At least 86 people were killed and at least 62 more injured in an attack by Boko Haram militants on Dalori Village</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April-June</td>
<td>Johns Hopkins University figures indicated that Boko Haram killed 244 people in the second</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SHIFTING DIMENSION OF URBAN VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA:

The notion of violence in Nigeria has a changing sinusoidal complexity. The oxymoron of it is in various hydra shapes it has in it occurrence and effects on the polity. It is such complex that as a trend is submerged by the government of the day another style of the old is been replicated. The policies adopted in the various regions in the country seem to be unique to each state as it is inadequate to curtail the same menace with the same policy in other areas of Nigeria. The enigma is more prominent when such issues of urban violence are taking place at the same time in any other part of the country. The following are some of the changing conundrum of urban violence in Nigeria;

Kidnapping:

The kidnapping of all manner of persons has gained ascendancy in Nigeria. A malaise previously unknown to the people has rapidly become domesticated. Davidson (2010), illustrate it as a group of criminals armed with guns and cell phones apprehend unsuspecting victims and drag their victim into a secluded spot and begin to make phone calls to whomever and demand for a ransom.

Ngwama (2014) explains literally the word kidnap which has become notorious, putrid and nauseating in the ears of virtually everyone is derived from "kid" meaning; child and "nab" which means; to snatch. Adewale (2009) pointed out that kidnapping now appears to be an emerging concern in Nigeria though it is not a new phenomenon. It is as old as the word itself. But the motive may vary from country to country. Not only does kidnapping affect the psychology of the direct victims and their families, it spread a fear that hinders direct economic investment in the area where such evils are perpetuated.

This in the short and long term leads to declined economic productivity and unemployment and a threat to the government’s efforts in wooing investors into the country. Ngwama (2014) noted some Socio-Economic Factors Facilitating Kidnapping in Nigeria include the following; Leadership Failure, Poor security system, Work Place Insecurity, Threat to Industrial Harmony and Unemployment, Destabilisation of Labour Market.

Illegal Oil Bunkering:

Nigeria is the world's sixth largest oil-producing nation. However, mismanagement by successive military and civilian governments has left the country poverty-stricken (Badmus 2010). The Niger Delta Region (NDR) is the oil producing area in the country and is an unstable area where violent inter-ethnic clashes are common. Often access to oil revenue is the trigger for the violence. Pipelines are regularly vandalized
by impoverished residents, who risk their lives to siphon off fuel. Vandalism is estimated to result in thousands of barrels of crude oil wastage every day - a loss to the Nigerian economy of millions of dollars each year.

Ugor (2013) posited that one of the major fallouts from the crisis in the Niger Delta was the dramatic rise in illegal oil bunkering or oil theft. Bunkering itself, as the oil industry’s related activity, involves the transfer or siphoning of fuel from highly protected storage facilities into ship bunkers for onward transportation abroad. In Nigeria, oil bunkering describes the subterranean and unlawful extraction of crude oil products from Oil Company and NNPC pipelines and storage facilities into large containers for onward transportation via speed boats and badges into the high seas.

By the oil bunkerers assessment, oil theft was a counter strategy aimed at redeeming people from slavery and recouping what had been taken away from them for years without their consent by the Nigerian state and multinational oil companies (Ugor 2013). They told me about high ranking army officials, naval officers, politicians, and oil industry big shots that had used them for oil bunkering. These products are then sold to invisible but powerful international cartels run mostly by foreigners.

At the local level, a vibrant and thriving “black market” had opened up in Ore, Ogun State, where most of the young militants found a veritable market in which to sell crude oil to local manufacturing and big construction companies who preferred the cheap and easy crude peddled by the Delta youth for running huge production machineries. Access to the crude was often made possible through a network of intelligence both within and outside the oil companies. According to a report commissioned by Shell in 2003, it was estimated that “a staggering 275,000 to 685,000 barrels per day of crude were being stolen by oil thieves in the Delta” (Shaxson, 2007).

Between 2003 and 2008, the Nigerian government was losing an estimated “$22.5 million daily (on $90/barrel price)” (Clarke, 2008). Bunkering alone accounted for at least 15% of annual output losses for the oil majors in the region, losses that translated into “billions of dollars a year for the bunkerers’ (Mass, 2009). Much of this underground wealth was funneled back into the conflict in the form of liquid capital for the purchase of weapons by the militants. These barrels were later delivered to mobile oil syndicates run by foreigners in the Gulf of Guinea, close to the Atlantic Ocean.

The contacts with this guerrilla market opened up new vistas of prosperity, quick wealth and survival for the struggling youth, a reality that ultimately became the game-changer for the conflict in the region. Many of these youth renegotiated with the offshore cartels for direct supplies under cheaper terms and in many cases accepted weapons, gunboats, cars, Blackberries and I-phones, and other small and portable postmodern technologies in lieu of cash for the crude oil they supplied. In less than six months, cities like Port Harcourt, Yenagoa, Warri, Benin, and Uyo became awash with not just guns and drugs but big cars like Lincoln navigators, BMW and Hummer jeeps, Range Rovers and other accoutrements of postmodern life (Ugor 2013).

The bigger picture that the illegal oil bunkering culture offers us, then, is an amazing example of how deprived, exploited and disempowered youth could be engaged in
new and subversive postcolonial existential politics marked by reversals, renovations, and reinventions of apparatuses and structures of criminal domination. These youth redeploy existing economic and military capital and knowledge(s) gained from local and global oppressive forces in recalibrating not only their own lives but also the lives of people around them.

**Gang Violence:**

The urban areas have been a site of constant struggles where the state and local communities were at each other’s throats. The scale of violence witnessed in Nigeria in the 1990s became worrisome to the international community. In the 1990s and the decade that followed there had been the emergence of social movements that were at the forefront of resistance against exploitation. Prominent among these movements are the Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC), Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), the Ijaw National Congress (INC), the Niger Delta People’s Volunteer Force (NDPVF), and the Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA) (Atere, and Akinwale, 2006; Badmus, 2009; Aluko 2014; Aluko et al 2015).

The activities of these groups, despite the fact that they have been able to place their demands on the national agenda and become popular beyond the shores of Nigeria have as a result become threats to the survival of the Nigerian post-colonial state. The Ogoni resistance, championed by MOSOP, is interweaving around the struggles against environmental degradation and social marginalization.

The struggles clearly unveil the intensity of the restiveness of the local population as well as its negative implications for the Nigerian state. Another important conflict in the oil delta is the ethnic Ijaw struggles against perceived state suppression and socioeconomic marginalization. The rise of Ijaw struggles was coincided with the seemingly decline of the Ogoni resistance following execution of Ken Saro Wiwa and others and direct state repression of the Ogoni.

**Table III: Select Militant Groups Operating in the Nigeria**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egbesu Boys of Africa</td>
<td>• Militant arm of the Ijaw Youth Council&lt;br&gt;• Seeks justice and equity for the oil bearing Ijaw communities in the Niger Delta&lt;br&gt;• Not a cohesive militant movement; members are active in other groups</td>
<td>Egbesu involvement in Ijaw-Itsekiri conflicts (Delta); various kidnappings and attacks on oil installations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger Delta Peoples Volunteer Forces (NDPVF) and other fractions</td>
<td>• Led by Mujahedeed Asari Dokubo&lt;br&gt;• Founded in 2003&lt;br&gt;• Members mainly Ijaw&lt;br&gt;• Demands more control over resources for the</td>
<td>Declared all-out wars vs. Nigerian government in 2004 and was subsequently outlawed; violent confrontation with NDV mid-2003 to late 2004; kidnappings and attacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger Delta states</td>
<td>• Modelled on Isaac Boro’s Niger Delta Volunteer Force (1966)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oodua Peoples Congress (OPC)</td>
<td>• Members are mainly Yorubas from the south-west Nigeria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Violent confrontation With government officials and some traditional institutions perceived anti-Yoruba within the Yoruba domains.</td>
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</table>

**Sources:** Sesay et al 2003, ICG 2006 and Researcher’s update 2017

**Terrorism:**

Armed groups have increased their use of violent tactics over the past year in the form of kidnappings, battles with security forces, clashes with one another, and car bombs, which is a more recent tactic. Such groups are demonstrating increasingly sophisticated tactics and weaponry, raising concerns about future violence. They are creating conditions conducive to an escalation of violence (Hazan and Horner, 2007).

As can be daily witnessed, such violence has reached a deadly level that glaringly reveals the incapacitation and helplessness of the Nigerian government, particularly with the bombing activities of the Boko Haram Sect (Amnesty International, 2011; Omilusi 2013; Aremu and Aluko 2016). The sect’s membership cut across the broad spectrum of society, but a preponderant number of members came from its poorest groups.

Thus, beyond former university lecturers, students, bankers, a former commissioner and other officers of Borno State, membership extended to drug addicts, vagabonds, and generally lawless people. Although the common denominator among all members was their desire to overthrow the secular government and to propagate Islamic law, the oratorical prowess of Yusuf arguably contributed to their mobilization and participation (Adesoji, 2010).

The governments and the elite are unable to tackle Boko Haram that has morphed into a terrorist organization. Not only is the sect on rampage and the governments clueless, the problem has reached a point where the authorities are sadly and shamelessly pleading for dialogue. The government is desperate, and the people themselves are consumed by fear (The Nation, 2012:64).

**IMPACTS OF URBAN VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL CRISSES:**

**The Emergence of Decolonization Movement:**

Urban violence constitutes a cause and consequence of colonialism, and it was instrumental to decolonization in Africa. The nexus between urban violence, colonialism and decolonization has been examined by Wilmot (1994):

> Historically, violence was the means used to impose colonial domination on the peoples of Africa. Does this imply as Fanon argues that decolonization is
necessarily a violent phenomenon? If it is not, what role does violence play in the process? Colonization was imposed and maintained by violence to further the interests of colonial powers. Historically it was the threat of violence, or its actual use, which forced the colonial powers to decolonize. There is, therefore a direct relationship between violence and decolonization.

The connection between urban violence and decolonization appears to have promoted culture of violence in Africa. Unfortunately, Africa remains at the periphery despite several efforts and social movements aimed at ensuring unity and development of the continent.

The Emergence of Military Intervention:

The various resultant force of urban violence stimulated some psycho-dimensional alternatives to curbing the menaces. The military saw the civilian government as too weak to tackle the situation intervention was non-avertable. This situation became worse during the era of military intervention in politics. That era was a watershed in the history of urban violence in Nigeria. It was during that period that Nigeria was plunged into a three-year civil war (1967-1970) followed by much ethno-religious violence and civil unrest.

Massive Death and Destruction of Properties:

Nigeria has witnessed a resurgence of violent conflicts that resulted in wanton death of several people and destruction of many properties since its political independence from Britain in 1960 (Albert, 2001). Urban violence has resulted in mass destruction of lives and property in Nigeria like the situation in other violence-prone countries such as Guinea Bissau, Kenya and South Africa. Unlike the above situations, the struggle for political independence in Nigeria was relatively peaceful although some persons and properties were destroyed during the Aba riots of 1929 and Kano Riot of 1953 (Wilmot, 1994). Nigeria has however suffered from wanton destruction of persons and properties following its attainment of political independence from Britain.

Gruesome Image of Nigeria within Local and International Communities:

A major consequence of unprecedented history of urban violence in Nigeria is the gruesome image of Nigeria within local and international communities. For instance, the US Department of State (2008) has warned Americans of the risks in Nigeria, stating that over 44 foreigners in multinational oil-companies in the Niger Delta have been kidnapped from off-shore and land-based oil facilities, residential compounds, and public roadways since January 2008. It specifically directed their attention to violence in Lagos and the Niger Delta states of Bayelsa, Delta, and Rivers. The above warning is not an aberration given the fact that the monumental records of urban violence in Nigeria are not hidden; many investors have refused to establish industries in the country despite the Nigerian government’s repeated efforts at wooing them.
The Institutionalization of Political Thugs and Related Groups:

The economy of violence in the context of the lingering political crises and youths’ metamorphosis from political thuggery to militancy can be adduced to the prevailing situation in Nigeria. The use of thugs by political demagogues to hijack electoral materials and harass political or perceived opponents is seen as a normal thing within the polity. The political economy of this menace is that some youths’ have seen this as a means of constant and consistent means of livelihood.

Perpetually Underdeveloped:

Babawale (2006), opined that urban violence has robbed Nigeria’s politics of her productive content, kept the people permanently divided, and the country perpetually underdeveloped. The overall implication of urban violence in Nigeria is the elongation of underdevelopment and perpetual backwardness of the country in the global community. While Nigeria has not been able to provide basic infrastructure, some American and Eurasian countries have formed a cartel in the monopoly of science and technology as well as financial systems, access to natural resources and armaments.

Continuous Security Reforms:

The rising profiles of urban violence could adversely affect attempts made by some developed countries to assist Nigeria and other African countries. Kebonang (2007) reported that adherence to principles of good governance, liberal economic reforms, respect for human rights, the rule of law and the protection of intellectual property rights, and political pluralism is a major requirement for inclusion in the Africa’s Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). To this effect some attempt had been made by the Nigerian government to stem the tides of urban violence while other measures are on-going.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

There is no praise singing in the fact that urban violence had claimed many people’s lives, property and had made the future to be deemed and at stake. Although, the fact that violence is inevitable in any human society, many a writer will suggest that fire should be for fire on any violent act committed by any institution be it private or public. Other had suggested that mercy should be tempered with justice when embarking on the urban cleansing sequences.

However, the following recommendations are mete out to the government and the community; the government should make everyone responsible for every act of violence committed by ensuring adequate sensitizations on the nemesis of any violent act committed. Also, regular and adequately equipped security personnel should be provided for both day and night patrol of each community. The community at large should also promote the culture of vigilance on their properties and government properties in their respective areas by regular monitoring of such facilities and reporting to the necessary quarters if there is any purported mishap on such facilities so as to generate adequate feedback mechanism for the societal progress.
Also, the communities should enhance good rapport with the security personnel provided for the community by ensuring that they give accurate or moderate information to the security sectors as at when due. This will cut-short trouble areas of secrecy and illegal hide-outs. It is strongly believed that if this is judiciously carried out the paradox and dimensions of urban violence will be drastically reduced in the society.

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WHY IRAN SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO PURSUE HER NUCLEAR AMBITIONS

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ABSTRACT

The never-extinguishing quest for nuclear power capability by the Islamic Republic of Iran has not only heightened the global nuclear tension, but has put the state on the vortex of known enemy of global peace and tranquility. At a time when the international community is saddled with the responsibility of navigating the world out and away from the most portent threat of the contemporary world: terrorism, Iran is busy setting the world on the edge with her insatiable desire to continue with its nuclear power programme and thus launch itself into the league of nuclear powers. The debate has been raging on the intent and purposes, or the expediency or correctness of such programme from Iran. While some renown strategists make case for Iran to be allowed its nuclear programme, superior and rational minds counter such proposition in a clear analysis of the character of the state of Iran and its history of serving as safe haven to deadly contemporary terrorist organisations around the world. And drawing inference from the superior argument from antagonists of Iran nuclear programme, we took a position that: Iran should be stopped from further nuclear escalation as empirical facts show that she cannot be trusted with such weapon of mass destruction due to unrepentant character of belligerence in international security.

Keywords: Islamic State of Iran, International Community, Nuclear ambitions

International Community:

The term International Community is better captured and encapsulated by the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, Kofi A. Anan. In his paper delivered to the 52nd DPI/NGO Conference in New York on September 15, 1999, entitled “The meaning of International Community,” he gave an incisive insight into the composition of the global community and what scientific breakthroughs in the area of Information Communication Technologies, ICTs that made it possible not just the reality of globalization, but a global village it has become. He stated thus:

“Ours is a world in which no individual, and no country, exists in isolation. All of us live simultaneously in our own communities and in the world at large. Peoples and cultures are increasingly hybrid. The same icons, whether on a movie screen or a computer screen, are recognizable from Berlin to Bangalore. We are all consumers in the same global economy. We are all influenced by the same tides of political, social and technological change. Pollution, organized crime and the proliferation of deadly weapons likewise show little regard for the niceties of borders; they are "problems
without passports", and as such our common enemy. We are connected, wired, and interdependent.

Much of this is nothing new; human beings have interacted across the planet for centuries. But today's "globalization" is different. It is happening more rapidly. It is driven by new engines, such as the Internet. And it is governed by different rules, or, in two cases, by no rules at all. Globalization is bringing us more choices and new opportunities for prosperity. It is making us more familiar with global diversity. However, millions of people around the world experience globalization not as an agent of progress, but as a disruptive force, almost hurricane-like in its ability to destroy lives, jobs and traditions. For many there is an urge to resist the process and take refuge in the illusory comforts of nationalism, fundamentalism or other "isms".

Faced with the potential good of globalization as well as its risks; faced with the persistence of deadly conflicts in which civilians are the primary targets; faced with the pervasiveness of poverty and injustice; we must be able to identify the areas where collective action is needed to safeguard global interests. Local communities have their fire departments, municipal services and town councils. Nations have their legislatures and judicial bodies. But in today's globalized world, the institutions and mechanisms available for global action, not to mention our general sense of a shared global fate, are hardly more than embryonic. It is high time we gave more concrete meaning to the idea of the "international community".

What makes a community? What binds it together? For some it is faith. For others it is the defence of an idea, such as democracy. Some communities are homogeneous, others multicultural. Some are as small as schools and villages; others as large as continents. Today, of course, more and more communities are "virtual", discovering and promoting their shared values through the latest communications and information technologies.

What binds us into an international community? In the broadest sense there is a shared vision of a better world for all people, as set out, for example in the founding Charter of the United Nations. There is our sense of common vulnerability in the face of global warming and the threat posed by the spread of weapons of mass destruction. There is the framework of international law, treaties and human rights conventions. There is equally our sense of shared opportunity, which is why we build common markets and joint institutions such as the United Nations. Together, we are stronger.

Some people say the international community is only a fiction. Others say it is too elastic a concept to have any real meaning. Still others say it is a mere vehicle of convenience, to be trotted out only in emergencies or when a scapegoat for inaction is needed. Some say there are no internationally recognized norms, goals or fears on which to base such a community. Op-ed pages refer routinely to the "so-called" international community. And news reports often put the term in quotation marks, as if it does not yet have the solidity of actual fact. I believe these sceptics are wrong. The international community does exist. It has an address. It has achievements to its credit.”
Nuclear Ambition:

First, according to Thesaurus Dictionary.com, nuclear means relating to weapons that explode by using the energy released when nuclei of atoms are split or combined. In other words, nuclear weapon is an explosive device whose destructive potential derives from the release of energy that accompanies the splitting or combining of atomic nuclei. And for the purpose of this paper, nuclear weapon will be seen from the prism of a weapon whose destructive power comes from nuclear energy; an atomic bomb or hydrogen bomb. It is any weapon that employs a nuclear reaction for its explosive power. Nuclear weapons include ballistic missiles, bombs - such as atomic bomb and hydrogen bomb, artillery rounds, and mines.

It is understandable that nuclear ambition means the quest for nuclear capability, which means the desire to be able to produce nuclear power and usually nuclear weapons, and ultimately launch self into the league of nuclear power states in the global arms designation and status in international security.

History:

Iran’s nuclear programme began as a result of the Cold War alliance between the United States and the shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, who emerged as an important American ally in the Persian Gulf. Under the Atoms for Peace program, Iran received basic nuclear research facilities from the United States. In return, Tehran signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) in 1968. Fueled by high oil prices in the 1970s, Iran sought to purchase large-scale nuclear facilities from Western suppliers in order to develop nuclear power and fuel-cycle facilities with both civilian and potential military applications. In March 1974, the shah established the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI). Sensing a heightened risk of nuclear proliferation, the United States convinced western allies to limit the export of nuclear fuel-cycle facilities to Iran. Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, whose revolution displaced the shah's monarchy in 1979 and ruled the newly established Islamic Republic of Iran until his death in 1989, placed little emphasis on nuclear weapons development because it was viewed as a suspicious western innovation. During that time, many of Iran’s top scientists fled the country while the United States organized an international campaign to block any nuclear assistance to Iran.

Following the death of Ayotollah Khomeini, the leadership of President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and Supreme Leader Ali Hosseni Khamenei sought to revive Iran’s overt nuclear civilian program and expand undeclared nuclear activities during the 1990s. According to a strategic dossier from International Institute for Strategic Studies, Iran turned away from Western suppliers and obtained nuclear assistance from Russian and China in a number of key areas, including uranium mining, milling and conversation, as well as technology for heavy-water research reactors. However, Washington intervened with Moscow and Beijing to prevent Iran from fully acquiring its list of nuclear power and fuel-cycle facilities. The 1990s also saw Iran expand its furtive nuclear research into conversion, enrichment and plutonium separation. Most importantly, on the basis of additional centrifuge assistance from the A.Q. Khan network, Iran was able to begin the construction of pilot-scale and industrial-scale enrichment facilities at Natanz around 2000. Full exposure of Iran’s nuclear activities
came in 2002, when an Iranian exiled opposition group, the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI) declared the Natanz project in August of that year. Since that time, international pressure on Iran has remained steady, hampering but not halting the country’s nuclear development. Iran remains legally bound to the NPT and states its support for the treaty. There are various estimates of when Iran might be able to produce a nuclear weapon, should it choose to do so:

- A 2005 assessment by the International Institute for Strategic Studies concluded: "if Iran threw caution to the wind, and sought a nuclear weapon capability as quickly as possible without regard for international reaction, it might be able to produce enough HEU for a single nuclear weapon by the end of this decade", assuming no technical problems. The report concludes, however, that it is unlikely that Iran would flatly ignore international reactions and develop nuclear weapons anyway.

The Great Debate and the Divide:

In contemporary times and since the Islamic State of Iran made known its quest and commenced nuclear power capability and programme, the consternations and manifestations in the international security has been characterized in frenzy, palpable peace and strategic positioning from world’s great powers, especially the P5+1. In academic and strategic community, while a school of thought posits that Iran should be allowed the freedom to acquire nuclear capability, a contending school of thought insists Iran should not be allowed such freedom to go ahead with its nuclear programme. For us, we present here summary positions and opinions on both divide, while we take an informed position of it all.

Why Iran should be allowed to have the Nuclear Weapons:

Proponents of the debate for a grant of unfettered access to Iran for the acquisition of nuclear power capability, have predicated such argument on the world transformation into a multi-polarity, which evolves with the end of the bipolar ideological confrontation in international system. They argue that there is no threat a nuclear Iran, who is a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, poses in any way to her neighbours or the world at large. Iran has always maintained that, in all intent, its nuclear programme is for peaceful purposes. And the fears coming from Israel remain unfounded, especially where it has refused to confirm or deny its nuclear arsenal. The constant and unanswered poser for the P5+1 and the international community is: why should Israel have a nuclear weapon, but not Iran?

The Hypocrisy of world powers and leaders - Still on the case for Iran’s nuclear programme, proponents insists that it’s rather hypocritical and ironical that countries with the highest number of nuclear warheads like United States are doing everything possible to stop Iran’s nuclear weapon acquisition. It is on record the US is the only state to have used the nuclear weapon. And such happened during the World War II, where two cities in Japan – Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the hit territories. It’s also on record that the US conducted its first nuclear test in New Mexico in July 1945, and then dropped nuclear bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On August 6, 1945, no less than 80,000 people were killed instantly in Hiroshima, with
another 90,000 to 140,000 dying of radiation and injuries. In Nagasaki, 70,000 died and 75,000 sustained severe and degrees of injuries from the horrific incident.

Why, one might ask, does the US get to decide which countries can and can’t have nuclear weapons? How can the US, with its violently bloody history, pose as an arbiter of global morality? One would think that, in any discussion of nuclear weapons, the US would hide its figurative head in shame, taking a position only with the humble acknowledgement that, due to its criminal, murderous history, it can only try to make amends by preventing such horrors from ever occurring again. And that, along with a complete dismantling of its huge nuclear stockpile, will set the world on a new pedestal of global peace.

Iran should not be allowed to have it:

Advocates and opposing views on stopping Iran from its nuclear weapons program hinge their argument on the premise of the character of Iran as a state. It is noteworthy that Iran is a state with belligerent character both as a people and a state. And as such, any opportunity given her to develop nuclear weapons will exacerbate armed race in Middle East, where both state and non-state actors are waiting to feast from the programme. The tendency of these weapons of mass destruction straying into the hands of non-state actors is a near-certainty. Even other state actors of similar character, such as Yemen, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria are waiting to harvest from such nuclear programme. The same applies to such non-state actors like ISIS, ISIL and Al-Qaeda that are not only operating within the Middle East but have the geographical zone as their stronghold of incubation and manifestation.

These opponents maintain that Iran must not be allowed to have nuclear weapons. The world's energy supply, the security of our forces and allies, and the future of the global non-proliferation regime are at stake. A nuclear Iran will lead to a multi-nuclear Middle East, a nightmare scenario in which numerous authoritarian and radical regimes possess nuclear weapons, and encourage other potential proliferators around the world to pursue their dangerous ambitions. Iran - The foremost state sponsor of terrorism:

According to a United States intelligence report, published in Trumpet.com of February 12, 2016, Iran’s national character remains belligerent as ever.

The Sunni-Shiite Showdown:

The Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) released its annual Statement for the Record Worldwide Threat Assessment of the US Intelligence Community, which as usual, condemned Iran as “the foremost state sponsor of terrorism.”

Released February 9, the report doesn’t detail anything particularly revealing about Iran’s track record of belligerence; the Islamic Republic of Iran has bankrolled terror since its founding at the Iranian Revolution of 1979. But there’s a subtle difference between the 2015 and 2016 reports that is extremely revealing and very disturbing.
In this issue Popular Social Science covers the ongoing debate around Iran’s aspirations to develop nuclear weapons. Concerns have been raised around possible consequences of the scenario of a new nuclear power in the Middle East, and Professor Kenneth Waltz argues in this summer’s issue of Foreign Affairs that there are rational arguments for the support of Iran’s nuclear ambitions.

He states that this would probably be the best possible result and the one most likely to restore stability in the Middle East, by endorsing the balance of power. Waltz has earlier argued that nuclear weapons is the most valuable deterrence weapons ever invented, and that their spread would make major wars considerably less likely.

Waltz is one of the major figures within international relations, but on this occasion he is not only wrong but he is also morally irresponsible. Recommending the spread of mass destructive weapons could never be justified, and leaving nuclear weapons in the hands of dictators such as President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad may be one of the world’s worst ideas right now.

Ahmadinejad has become publicly infamous for his open disregard of the UN Security Council on the nuclear issue, his brutal oppression of his own Iranian citizens, his speeches regarding Jews and the state of Israel, and his political visions of Iran as a future dominant power in the Middle East. As late as the 24th of September this year he stated that Israel “has no roots in the Middle East and would be eliminated”.

Recommending that irresponsible and repressive leaders should get the nuclear bomb is as reckless as if Churchill had allowed Hitler to get the bomb for “peace balancing” reasons. Following Waltz’s logic one would assume that if nuclear weapons make nations more peaceful, then every nation should have them as a lasting guarantee to peace.

Taking his conclusion to the extremes would mean that one could argue that there would be a decrease in the threat of terrorism if one allowed Al-Qaeda and other violent terrorist groups to acquire nuclear weapons.

Allowing even more nations to develop the most deadly and destructive weapon ever invented will not make the world more secure and peaceful. Some argue that since nuclear weapons have not been used during the last 65 years it proves their stabilizing effect. But still one need not go longer back than to the Cuban crisis where later released historical evidence shows that it was only by chance that nuclear war did not occur.

Kennedy, Khrusjtsov, and Castro were all rational individuals who did not want this outcome, but following a series of misunderstandings it was after all luck that prevented nuclear war from taking place. People often seem to forget or simply deny that the same risk also exists today. With history still in mind it is of great importance to be reminded that humanitarian considerations and human security should be of a higher concern than short-term security policy advice.

We must remain ready to engage with Iran and be prepared to make important concessions in order to address its legitimate concerns, but we must be realistic;
recent history has shown that it is highly unlikely that Iran will agree to forgo its military nuclear capability under any circumstances. Iran has rejected all of President Obama's efforts to engage and its nuclear program continues unabated, indeed, is nearing completion. Thus, we must be prepared to take the steps necessary to ensure Iran does not achieve nuclear weapons.

We should seek crippling sanctions, ideally approved by the U.N.'s Security Council, our allies, and other important world powers, but if China and Russia do not cooperate in the Security Council, we should actively pursue multilateral sanctions with our allies. Sanctions must be as inclusive as possible in order to prevent their being circumvented by Iran by trading with non-participating partners.

Sanctions targeted at Iran's energy and financial industries could bring its economy to its knees and possibly force it to cease its nuclear program. Due to Iran's lack of domestic refining capacity it already imports some 40% of its refined petroleum products (gasoline and automotive oils). If the West was to cut off sales of these refined products to Iran, it would have a dramatic effect on its economy. Western refusal to buy Iranian crude oil would be devastating.

All means of stopping Iran must be on the table, including military options (naval embargo, targeted strikes against nuclear facilities), but there is no need for broader military action. To date, economic sanctions have not been pursued vigorously, thus, military options should remain on the back burner. Inadequate enforcement of economic sanctions and other non-military efforts to stop Iraq’s WMD program contributed to the U.S.’s prior decision to intervene militarily. We should not repeat that error.

The exciting domestic developments in Iran ('Green Revolution') give rise to new hopes for the emergence of a more moderate regime and for a positive change in our relations with this strategically important country.

Time, however, is running out. In the interim, we must pursue crippling American sanctions in order to conclusively demonstrate to Tehran the demerits of its nuclear goals.

**Sticking to the Standard Setting Instrument:**

Under the Non-Proliferation Treaty of both SALT I & II, the United States has been vocal and rallying global forces to stemming the attempts by Iran in this direction. And this the US goes about through the instrumentality of the enabling laws – resolutions and treaties that are extant in this area of arms race. Hereunder are the steps taken and set to be taken by the United States to stopping Iran from its nuclear program as presented by Former President Barack Obama:

“First, we must enforce current law, particularly the Iran Sanctions Act (Public Law 104-172), which addresses oil company investment in Iran.

Second, we must leverage informal banking industry measures to harden capital sanctions.
Third, we should expand these sanctions to also address gasoline and refining equipment, as in the Iran Diplomatic Enhancement Act of 2009 (H.R. 1985), Iran Refined Petroleum Sanctions Act of 2009 (H.R. 2194), and Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act of 2009 (S. 2799). A Conference bill should be completed, passed by the two houses, and sent to the President for his signature, within weeks.

We should also complete a Conference bill for the Comprehensive, Crippling, Mandatory Iran Sanctions Act, as soon as possible. This crippling sanctions Conference bill would include text from the Iran Sanctions Enabling Act (H.R. 1327) which protects investors from lawsuits related to divestment efforts; the Iran Revolutionary Guard Designation Implementation Act (H.R. 2375) which designates Iran Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) fronts as terrorist organizations and authorizes sanctions on entities doing business with IRGC fronts; the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act (originally S. 2799, text replaced with H.R. 2194 language and other tougher sanctions provisions); the Reduce Iranian Cyber-Suppression Act (H.R. 3284) which disallows federal government contracts for companies supplying enabling technologies for the Iranian government to spy on its citizens and suppress internet/electronic media; the International Uranium Extraction Control Act of 2009 (H.R. 2290) which authorizes sanctions on companies supplying mining and milling equipment; the Enable Divestment from Sudan and Iran Act (H.R. 3516) which allows ‘carry-over’ of divestment investments without interim capital gains taxation; the Overseas Private Investment Corporation Reauthorization Act (H.R. 2798) which would mandate certification of compliance with sanctions laws by companies receiving federal funds; the Iran Sanctions Enhancement Act (H.R. 4807) which requires monthly GAO reporting of companies non-compliant with the Iran Sanctions Act and requires Executive Branch response; and the Accountability for Business Choices in Iran Act (H.R. 3922) which also requires certification of compliance with U.S. government sanctions laws by companies receiving federal funding.”

Our Position and Conclusion:

Having presented and dissected the issues on either side of the divide, our position is that Iran should not be allowed its nuclear weapon program for the reasons adduced by the antagonists. More concern is her belligerence character and lack of accommodation of other views and faith in her international relations. Again Iran remains a safe haven for the entire world known non-state actors that continuously threaten the global peace. If Iraq acquires nuclear weapons, these deadly terrorists organizations will, for sure, have access to these weapons of mass destruction even on a mere asking. In addition, If Iran is allowed nuclear weapon programme, there will be an upsurge in violent terrorist groups to acquire nuclear weapons.

Albeit “moral responsibility” has never been the focus of realists, but what happens in the event of a disintegration of a nuclear state, the attempt to downplay the potential catastrophe, will be less than convincing.

Recommending the spread of mass destructive weapons could never be justified, and leaving nuclear weapons in the hands of belligerent state actor like Iran may be one of the world’s worst ideas right now.
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COMBATING SECURITY AND ECONOMIC CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA: THE ROLE OF TECHNICAL, VOCATIONAL AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP EDUCATION AND TRAINING

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ABSTRACT

Poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity, security and development everywhere. The need to secure a society with adequate job opportunities, job security and a balanced economy is sine quanon to national peace and security and by extension national economic growth and development. Poverty as a result of unemployment, social inequality and injustice has been identifies as the brain behind Nigeria economic and security worse. This paper attempts to examine the role of technical, vocational and entrepreneurship education and training in combating economic and security challenges facing Nigeria in her quest to attain development in all its ramifications. The paper offers background information on the topic and laid a sound theoretical basis to support its argument. In the light of the above, the paper offer some recommendations among which are the need for government and other donor organizations as a matter of national emerge
cency should make TVET and entrepreneurship funding a top priority in order to meet the financial demands of the sector and the need for standardization and regular monitoring of TVET and entrepreneurship education and training in Nigeria’s institutions of higher learning.

Keywords: Technical, Vocational, Education, Insecurity, Economy, Challenges

Introduction

Education has been defined as the process of acquiring knowledge, skills, attitudes and competencies to make one functional and responsible. In a related development, Okoye & Okwelle (2013) see education as a process of training designed to give knowledge, develop skills and abilities that could lead to the development of mental alertness and the right attitude to life.

The NPE (2004) highlight the Nigeria’s desired to achieve national goal through quality and functional education. Hence Uddin (2013) saw the need for the acquisition of appropriate skills and competence both mental and physical as equipment for the individual to live and to also contribute to the societal growth. In this regard, Uddin (2013) states that no society can develop to appreciable level without relevant functional and technological based Technical, Vocational Education and Training programme.

Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) is the type of education which provides individuals with skills, knowledge and attitudes for effective employment in
a specific occupation. Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) has been recognized as the wide-diversified education system instrumental in making the remarkable contribution to economic growth of a country by a way of suitable manpower production relevant to the needs of industry, society and changing technological work environment (Okoye & Okwelle, 2013).

Vocational and technical education (VTE) plays a vital role in Nigeria’s society’s economic growth, social development and national security. According to Federal Republic of Nigeria (2013), Vocational, Technical Education is defined as that aspect of education that leads to the acquisition of practical and applied skills as well as basic scientific knowledge. The growth of any developing nation can be influenced by a well-articulated and organized Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) programme.

Vocational education could be regarded as that aspect of education, which provides the recipients with the basic knowledge and practical skills needed for entry into the world of work as employees or as self-employed (Oni 2007). Vocational education if well implemented builds practical and applied skills in an individual which are essential for national development in aspects of commerce, agriculture, industrial, economic and socio-economic development. It is against this background that this paper examines the place of technical, vocational education and training in tackling economic and security challenges in Nigeria.

The Concept of Technical, Vocational Education and Training:

Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) is the type of education which provides individuals with skills, knowledge and attitudes for effective employment in a specific occupation. UNESCO (2005) viewed TVET as a comprehensive term referring to those aspects of the educational process involving, in addition to general education, the study of technologies and related science, the acquisition of knowledge, practical skills and attitude relating to occupations in various sectors of economic and social life. Vocational technical education can be defined as an educational training which encompasses knowledge, skills, competencies, structural activities, abilities, capabilities and all other structural experiences acquired through formal, on-the-job or off-the-job which is capable of enhancing recipients opportunity for securing jobs in various sector of the economy or even enabling the person to be self-dependent by being a job creator (Okolocha, 2012).

In the same vein, Alhasan and Abdullahi (2013) describe Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) as:

(a) An integral part of general education
(b) A means of preparing for occupational fields and effective participation in the world of work.
(c) An aspect of lifelong learning and preparation for responsible citizenship.
(d) An instrument for promoting environmentally sound and sustainable development.
(e) A method of alleviating poverty.

The Perkins Act defines vocational and technical education as organized educational programmes offering sequences of courses directly related to preparing individuals for
paid or unpaid employment in current or emerging occupations requiring other than a baccalaureate or advanced degree. Therefore it can be deduced based on the above that Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) is practical oriented, geared towards skills acquisitions, enhances employability of its adherents and reduces over-dependence on white-collar jobs. Its emphasis is mostly psychomotor development of its willing recipients’.

Goals of Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) in Nigeria:

Kissock (1981) in Salihu (2014) made a distinction between ultimate goals and mediate goals. Whereas, the former refer to general a statement which relates closely to programme rationale and scope, the latter are less broad drawn out of the ultimate goals but guide educational activities at different levels of education. Therefore, the goals of technical and vocational as enshrined in the National Policy on Education (2004) shall be to.

i. Provide trained manpower in the applied science and technology and business particularly at craft, advanced craft and technical level;
ii. Provide the technical knowledge and vocational skills necessary for agriculture, commercial and economic development;
iii. Give training and impart the necessary skills to individual who shall be self-reliant economically.

The policy however enumerated the objectives of technical education as follows;

I. To provide trained manpower in applied science, technology and commerce particularly at sub-professional grades;
II. To provide the technical knowledge and vocational skills necessary for Agricultural, Industrial, Commercial and Economic Development;
III. To provide people who can apply scientific knowledge to the improvement and solution of environmental problems for use and convenience of man;
IV. To given an introduction to professional studies in engineering and other technologies;
V. To give training and impact necessary skills leading to the production of craftsmen, technicians and other skilled personnel who will be enterprising and self-reliant;
VI. To enable our young men and women to have intelligent understanding of the increasing complexity of technology.

The Mandate of Technical, Vocational Education and Training in National Development:

Technical, Vocational Education and Training all over the world is acknowledged as a means for transforming and empowering the youths with skills, knowledge and attitudes to enable them become productive members of the society. Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) is a form of education whose purpose is to prepare individuals for employment in an occupation or group of occupations. This implies that TVET is a type of education given to individuals to develop their creative and manipulative potentials for the benefit of humanity. Through TVET various skills are developed for human empowerment. The Programmes of TVET include but not limited to competency-based applied learning which contributes to an individual’s
academic knowledge, higher-order reasoning, problem solving skills, and the occupational-specific skills necessary for economic independence as a productive and contributing member of society (McQuay, 2001). It may also include generic skills like interpersonal skills, communication skills, writing and reporting skills which are needed to complement the core/technical skills in the place of work.

The mandate for vocational and technical education according to Gaskov (2000) is manifold in the following six challenges. First, the vocational and technical education system should deliver both foundation and specialist skills to individuals, enabling them to find employment or launch their own business and to work productively and adapt to different technologies, tasks and conditions. The ultimate economic objective of education and training is improved personal and social productivity.

Second, vocational and technical education is often an instrument for structural change. Large numbers of workers may need to leave jobs that are no longer in demand, move to new jobs that will be created, or learn to perform old jobs in new ways with different technologies. Vocational education and training systems, along with other agencies that provide a safety net and assistance in finding new employment like National Directorate of Employment (NDE), play an important role in retraining redundant workers and help reduce the social cost of change. Education and training systems are also increasingly involved in continuing retraining and upgrading programmes for employees at all levels (Gaskov, 2000).

Third, education helps people for their lives and for earning a living (Finch & Crunkilton, 1999). There is always a need to equalize opportunities that people have to earn their living with the acquisition of skills. TVET appears to be an important factor in solving earning disparities. One technique for estimating equality of training opportunities is to compare public spending on TVET per individual in various groups, such as rural and urban residents, male and female workers, or younger and older workers (Gaskov, 2000).

Fourth, TVET can be viewed as a tool for achieving national economic and social objectives, such as encouraging regional development and supporting priority industrial sectors, expanding exports, attracting foreign investments, and raising wages. This policy aims to change the economic and social situation through training. Fifth, in addition to the economic benefits, TVET can generate massive social benefits (externalities), such as crime reduction, health improvement and better social cohesion, which accrue to society as a whole rather than to individuals. In this regard, it is becoming increasingly common to see TVET as an important avenue for the socialization of young people. Sixth, TVET can have benefits not directly connected with employment. Vocational skills and knowledge enable people to provide services, such as medical care or car and house maintenance, to their families and neighbors, thus reduce their expenses on such services (Gaskov, 2000).

The implementation of Technical, Vocational Education and Training (TVET) programmes has become one of the most important strategies tackle challenges associated with insecurity and the economy. It is a viable and potent tool for achieving socio-economic and technological advancements in both developed and developing countries. In the light of the above, it can be seen that there is significant correlation between national security, economy and enhanced TVET programme.
TVET, National Security and Economic Development:

Technical and vocational education according to Lawal (2012) played a vital role in national development, especially in areas which include the following:

Generation of employment/creation of job opportunities:

Technical and vocational education helps to reduce the rate of drop outs or unemployment in the society. The Nigerian society is getting more and more insecure, more people are involved in crimes and they are becoming more ruthless, desperate, and sophisticated (Otto & Ukpere, 2012). These crimes range from kidnapping, arm robbery, employment scam, advanced fee fraud (419), internet scam, misappropriation of public funds, prostitution, cultism, ritual killings, political violence, drug trafficking, human trafficking, militancy in the Niger Delta, and more recent Boko-Haram uprising in the North.

The consequent decline in internal security and the reactions it has elicited from the State raises important questions about the level of poverty and youth unemployment in the country. Without doubt, Nigeria has become a state under perpetual internal security threat. At a more general level, the threat has social, economic, political and environmental dimensions, (Ogundiya, 2011). The above issues have been attributed to social inequality and injustice. Technical/vocational education could be used to developed marketable skills in students/youths so that they can become easily employable. It makes an individual to become an asset to him and the nation and also prevent him from being a liability to the society.

Industrial development:

Technical and vocational education helps a nation develop technologically and industrially by producing people competent and capable of developing and utilizing technologies for industrial and economic development. It is a tool that can be used to develop and sustain the manpower needs of any nation.

The best form of human empowerment is by ensuring that each citizen is educated and trained in technical and vocational skills to be able to produce goods and services for national development. Stressing the benefit of Technical Vocational Education, UNESCO & ILO (2002) in Ezeani & Urama (2014) posit that education and skills formulation lead to less unemployment and more equity in employment. The economy and society at large like individuals and enterprises benefit as well. The economy becomes more productive, innovative and competitive through the existence of more skilled human potentials. Therefore, Haruna (2008) cited in Ezeani & Urama (2014) opined that the benefits of vocational and technical education lies in its job creation role in the economy, some of these benefits are:

1. Technical and vocational education prepares the individual to acquire skills for gainful employment.
2. It enables individuals to be self reliant through the setting up of small and medium scale enterprises (SMES)
3. It is a specialized education model for human resource development which is a pre-requisite for national industrial development.
4. It helps improve and maintain the standard of managerial and technical performance in industries and other organizations.

5. It acts as a platform for ensuring sustained supply of qualified manpower to meet future needs of organizations at all levels.

6. It propels employees to high standard of proficiency in their vocation overtime.

7. It helps to raise the profitability and productivity of an enterprise through the effective use of highly trained manpower.

Entrepreneurship strategy:

Technical and vocational education offers the beneficiary the ability to be self-reliant, to be job creators and employers of labour.

Poverty alleviation:

Many who are fortunate to graduate in a regular school system and excel in various fields of leaning fall back to the skills acquired in technical and vocational institutions in time of employment crisis. This has been proven right in recent time when workers of various categories were retrenched in both public and private sectors due to the deteriorating state of our economy. Such workers who possessed skills other than that for which they were previously employed had something else to fall back on and better off financially than those who had no other skills.

Promotion of the Nigerian Economy:

It promotes the national economy through foreign exchange by exporting our products. The knowledge of technical and vocational education helps in the conversion of local raw materials, this reduces the importation of foreign goods which lessen our import dependency and encourage exportation of our local products.

Social development theory also pulls from a variety of issues. Poverty reduction and inequality; democracy, human rights, and political stability; crime reduction; health and net population growth; and environment are some social issues correlated with education and especially with VTE (McMahon, 1999). All of these areas and others interplay to build an extremely complex association. Factors such as location, labor, training, resources, education, and infrastructure come together when shaping social and economic development plans. Manipulation of one variable in this relationship impacts other variables, in both anticipated and unforeseen ways. Much has been written about national, regional, and international economies and how to enhance social-economic development.

The rapid growth of scientific and technological development has made VTE a vitally important instrument in the education process, since VTE can contribute to social, cultural and economic development. VTE allows individuals to develop as full members of society and at the same time provides the basic prerequisite for further education. The main role that VTE plays in economic development is preparing a skilled workforce; and the main role in social development is preparing the future citizens of the society (UNESCO, 1987).
Promotion of Nigerian Culture and Value:

Technical and vocational education helps to promote the Nigerian culture and cause us to value what we have. This can be seen in the national and international appreciation of Aso-Oke work in Okene and other south western part of Nigeria.

Conclusion:

Studies have recognized the role of vocational and technical education in the socio-economic development and national security of a country. This shows that the basic requisite for curbing unemployment and underemployment and security challenges facing Nigeria as nation among Nigerian youths is equipping them with basic technical, vocational education skills, relevant education that leads to self-reliance development.

Recommendations:

In the light of the above, this position paper recommends as follows:

i. Government and other donor organizations as a matter of national emergency should make TVET funding a top priority in order to meet the financial demands of the sector.

ii. There is need for standardization and regular monitoring of TVET in Nigerian institutions. This would be possible if regulatory authorities could develop a strong institutional supervision mechanism to regularly supervise the teaching and learning of vocational education in Nigeria.

iii. Workshop and seminars should be jointly organized by government, vocational and technical educators, schools, schools, accrediting bodies and industries regularly.

iv. Vocational and technical education should be introduced and implemented in all forms of youth empowerment programmes, graduate internship and youth employment training schemes. The national youth service corps (NYSC) should serve as a perfect avenue to train graduates certain technical and vocational skills.

References:


AWOLOWO’S REGIME OF MENTAL MAGNITUDE: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

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ABSTRACT

Largely criticized for fostering regionalism Chief Awolowo’s socio-political philosophy arguably transformed the then Western Region. His propositions ranging from free and mandatory basic education, welfarism, infrastructural development and appropriation of internal generated revenue from the then booming cocoa industry to development the region amongst other laudable achievements are lacking in today’s Nigeria. This paper intends to critically interrogate Awolowo’s regime of mental magnitude, which claims summarily that man is dual as he encompasses reason and desire and that aspiring leaders must as a prerequisite master themselves in the sense that reason thrives over desires and a replication of the triumph of reason over desire is integral in creating a society free of corruption both in private and public spheres. Hence, the tenets of this regime will be further delved into in the course of this study and its likely implications will be elucidated in details.

Keyword: Chief Awolowo, Dual Man, Regime of Mental Magnitude, Nigeria, and Corruption.

Introduction

The philosophical views of Western thinkers be it classical or contemporary have often received celebrated acceptance by African scholars and political leaders alike. There’s arguably a high memento of following the residual paths of Western Philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Machiavelli, Locke and Hobbes amongst numerous others in the quest to attain political and societal excellence. While there is nothing inherently wrong with considering or appropriating philosophical ideas from philosophers of Western background, we however have become obsessive with this trend that our own models, whatever their worth are rarely considered. We have failed to recognise that just as our problems differ from those of the Occident, so should our solutions. While the above contention does not in any way seek to relegate the influence of non-African philosophers, it is however a call to consider indigenous idea in our quest for societal excellence.

In lieu, this paper sets out to interrogate Chief Awolowo’s socio-political philosophy and how its subsequent application can foster solutions to numerous challenges that have marred post independent Nigeria. Excerpts contends Awolowo (1982), was a thinker, ideologue, statesman and political prophet. Being the first Premier of the Western Region in 1954, his sojourn through the rank and file of Nigerian politics is remarkable because of his immense contribution to the Nigerian project. His
numerous works remain a testimony to the fecundity of his mind. Awolowo’s legacies include his progressive political ideas on decentralized federalism, socialist democracy, ethnic autonomy, fairness and equity in resource allocation, planned development, and liberal and scientific education.

Amongst other characteristics he can be arguably considered the country’s leading social democratic politician, who clamoured for limited public ownership and limited central planning in government, it was of his opinion that Nigeria’s resources should be harnessed towards education and state led infrastructural development programmes and the following amongst others;

I. Free and mandatory primary education for all in the West.
II. Established the WNTV, the premier television station in Africa in 1959, which has come to be regarded as Nigerian Television Authority NTA today.
III. Established the Odudua Group, which was financed by the then highly lucrative cocoa industry, which also doubled as the main source of revenue for the Western region.
IV. Provision of free health care service till the age of Eighteen 18.
V. Integral rural development.
VI. Full employment, amongst other notable projects and ideologies that he proposed www.actionkay.wordpress.com.

Having attempted to elucidate in brief the person of Late Chief Awolowo, it is paramount to abstractly delve into some of his propositions before giving a more broad attention to his socio-political philosophy that revolves around the mental magnitude regime. Inferring from the above listed propositions, it is somewhat safe to contend that Chief Awolowo recognized the importance of education to the development of man and subsequently the society and proposed a mandatory level of basic education. Free health care, full employment, rural infrastructural development, regionalism, decentralization and others that are central to his ideals.

Development of Awo’s Socio-Political Doctrines:

Elucidating Awolowo’s socio-political doctrine will be inconclusive without attempting to comprehend the sources, personalities, principles and ideals that influenced and subsequently shaped and defined his socio-political philosophy amongst a vast array of others. Excerpts from Chief Awolowo in Ogunmodede (1986:43), contends I came in contact with other philosophers in what I would call one of my most fruitful (intellectual) periods in life; around 1940-44...so I came in contact with Plato, Hegel, Marx and Gandhi. As it’d seem based on inference, the influence of these four thinkers played significant roles in shaping his views ranging from how a society should be ordered, who should govern and what are the attributes should a leader posses, etcetera.

Ogunmodede in his work “Chief Obafemi Awolowo’s Socio-Political Philosophy”, Ogunmodede (1986) argues from Plato’s perception of state, Awo derived his ethical vision of society and state. The notion of philosopher king as the ideal ruler plays a dominant role in Awo’s theories of enlightened political leadership and mental magnitude to the extent he coined one of his widely read piece “People’s Republic” supposedly adopted from Plato’s Republic. While the influence of Marx on most
classic and modern thinkers cannot be downplayed, for Awo it isn’t Marx’s rejection of a supernatural being in the person of creator of man and his materialistic interpretation of man and society that only appeals to him but his concern for social welfare. And for Gandhi his non-violent principles can be argued to influence Awo immensely and also the Federalist constitution of India in 1948 can be contended to have played an integral role in Awo’s doctrine of decentralized Federalism in Nigeria.

**Regime of Mental Magnitude:**

Awolowo seeks to establish an egalitarian society, the People’s Republic, where good governance becomes a desirable value. Interestingly, Awolowo (1977; 214) Awo, as he is fondly called, is a dualist. He wrote that man; “He is a dual nature; part animal, part god, part conscious, part subconscious, part body, part mind. In his view superiority is a definite attributes of man in contrast to other beings in the animal kingdom. Awolowo’s society according to Abulowodi (2012:60), is just like Plato’s, in his own time, consists of different social classes each represents different value interests. The three classes in Awolowo’s Nigerian society are the educated class which consists of professional people, teachers and clerks; the enlightened class, consists of traders and artisans and lastly the ignorant masses.

For Awo, provision of a desirable form of governance is the main aim of the state. And that such state can be achieved when various classes in the society adhere to and play their respective roles in reference to their class. Furthermore any member of the enlightened class of the who desires to rule most master control over themselves and should be able to successfully instil such on the society at large, thus resulting in a disciplined society.

Abulowodi (2012) claims Awolowo proffers that government is expected to ensure the well-being of these various groups in the society; hence, the reason for the notion that Nigeria deserves the best political order that will promote social justice and engender equity. Awolowo expresses this notion in his theory of mental magnitude. According to Makinde, (2000: 121) mental magnitude is a philosophical doctrine which derives from a theory of mind and body, with the assertion that the mental is superior to the physical element of a person, and should take control over the emotions, desires and actions of man. It follows from this then that when a man has mastery control over his emotion and allows right reason to prevail at all times, he has cultivated the philosophy of the regime of mental magnitude.

The theory is borne out of Awolowo’s observation that most leaders lack the basic ingredients of leadership, namely, self-discipline. According to Abulowodi (2012), he shares this view with Plato who has earlier observed that the interests of the politicians are sometimes in conflict with the interest of the people, especially when the politicians’ desire is simply to satisfy their needs. Plato sees the link between this desire and the politicians’ instincts and emotions, hence his belief that reason should be allowed to control those instincts and emotions which push them to crave material things. For Awolowo the process of conceiving a regime based on the doctrine of mental magnitude should be gradual. It must be initiated and imbibed by the leaders who promoted and encouraged discipline amongst the masses. Hence, mastery of control over one’s self should be a necessary condition for those who aspire to lead as embedded in the notion of mental magnitude theory. He claims, Awolowo (1966,
158) men of affairs and wisdom everywhere are unanimous in the view that only “Those who are masters of themselves become masters of others.” Indeed, Aristotle has said it with the authority of one of the greatest and wisest men that ever lived; ‘Let him that would move the world first move himself”.

In respect to post independent Nigeria, lack of visionary and citizen oriented leadership, prevailing corruption, and institutionalization of informal practices in affairs of governance, teeming illiterate population, varying health challenges, high levels of poverty amidst abundant natural resources, unemployment and other socio-political and economic challenges, can be argued to have mitigated the level of development, encourage unstable and highly volatile societies prone to civil unrest.

For Ogoma (2014:162), he contends not everybody that should aspire for the position of leadership, although, as a democrat, Awolowo would agree that everyone should have the right to aspire for the leadership position. Leadership is a serious position that should be reserved for only those who prepare for it and not those who get it by chance. It is for only those who can pay the exorbitant price it requires and the sacrifices it demands.

Highly criticized for focusing on the development of the then Western region as opposed to the country in totality, should every other premier have considered making basic education mandatory and free, provision of basic welfare services, infrastructural development, and most importantly means of generating revenue internally, the likelihood of attaining a state of aggregate development that would subsequently be replicated in the centre of government are likely to be high.

**Attaining a Regime of Mental Magnitude:**

Although there exists the possibility to contend that most of the forms of regimes as proffered by classical and modern thinkers and philosopher are perfect only but in theory. Taking into account the nature of the societies and era in which most of this forms of regimes were celebrated societies were less complex and weren’t as cosmopolitan as they are today. Consider both the Platonic and Aristotelian views of how societies are to be structured and governed, including creation of small polities, direct form of rule, commonality, and even the notion of justice they are less likely the be operationable, talk more of addressing the numerous challenges of poor governance in the developing world. This assumption does not in any font reject the achievement of aforementioned philosophers in proffering how the best regimes that governs for common good of all, should be structured.

It rather attempts to point out how a society can attain a state of desirable governance as argued by Chief Awolowo. His emphasis on the importance of education in the development of societies as earlier stated during the course of this paper is central to attaining such a society. Ogoma (2014) elucidates the integral role education plays in Plato’ Republic. Like Plato, the goal of education for Awolowo is more than being literate. Literacy is good but is only a means to the final goal of education. Awolowo (1966; 268), “argues the cardinal aim of education is not, as is popularly but narrowly conceived to teach a man to read and write, to acquire a profession to master a vocation, or to be versed in the liberal arts. All these are only means to the end of true education, which is to help a man to live a full, happy and triumphant life. Thus,
institutions of education are charged with aiding alert minds, healthy body, under this conditions societies are likely gearing towards mental magnitude characterized by desirable form of governance inhabited by educated citizens.

He further claims that, (1966; 231) “With right education therefore, every citizen will be well-disciplined and emotionally balanced and when this is achieved, together with ‘Spiritual depth’, the evils of the society will fade away and, in; “Some day in the distant future, we will all of us know the truth and, royally, enter into the regime of mental magnitude where love reigns supreme.” According to a Vanguard Publication dated December 17, 2016 claims according to UNESCO 65 million Nigerians are illiterates without any formal of technical education and further claims the statistics are a cause to worry as the level of illiteracy has a rise in adverse effects both on individual and society levels. The snowballing effects of the pervasive nature of illiteracy in Nigeria and its supposed correlation with poverty can be attributed as some of the mitigations to attaining a stable society, growth, development and even advancements in the fields of science, technology, information technology and others. On the contrary interrogations of more advanced states will likely reveal higher levels of literacy, education can thus be considered as an integral variable with possible direct effect on development.

Appraising the Regime of Magnitude:

Preceding the elucidation of Chief Awolowo’s socio-political philosophy, it is important to consider the possible effects of his proposition on the overall quality of governance in Nigeria today. The Vanguard Newspaper dated December 17, 2016 claims according to a UNESCO document corruption to be of one the most prevailing socio-economic vices that hamper development. If seen from the perspective of Chief Awolowo, had present leaders and public office holder master themselves and put reasoning above desire agreed to amass material health, there likelihood of an improved or better governance are high. Ogoma (2014:162), argues difficulty in fighting corruption in Nigeria can be attributed to so much emphasis on the elite or political corruption. Here, Awo focuses on corruption in general; that is, corruption at home, church and mosque, markets and company, school and university, down to private and public institutions, and among men and women, married and unmarried. Freedom from negative emotions and the cultivation of positive and fellow-men thinking, will go a long way at driving these evil forces away from the society.

The regime of mental magnitude as proposed by Awolowo, satisfying the needs of man as the main function of state, free education, health care, infrastructural development, a decentralized federalism amongst other ideals he stood for are far from actualization. The majority of citizens of post independent Nigeria as many African countries are unable to meet necessary conditions that may usher in such a regime and taking into consideration efforts of both past and present governments if any, has lacked visionary leadership or leaders whom have mastered themselves.

The more less permanent political class in Nigeria have bleed the countries resource dry with little or nothing to show for it, the pervasive level of corruption, disregard for rule of law amongst other vices has not only affected development and growth but has created conditions that are suitable for sustaining poverty.
Conclusion:

The justification behind rationalizing man’s welfare as the major concern of the state and adopting the propositions of the mental magnitude regime as postulated by Chief Awolowo as a likely solution that would address the socio-political and economic challenges that a vast majority have found themselves in today. Desirability of such a regime may be borne out of the argument that claims persons aspiring to be leaders should as a necessary condition masters themselves to enable for them to masters others. Under such arrangements discipline is a top to bottom approach beginning with the leader and then the citizens whom should be educated and can asses certain welfare services. Today one can argue second to pervasive corruption that has come to be institutionalized and shortage of visionary leadership, Nigeria and other resource rich states in Africa should be able to provide basic goods and services to citizens and undertake developmental projects that’d bring about growth and development.

In sum, this paper contends, although attainment of the regime of mental magnitude may seem utopic it is of utmost importance that both academics and policy maker alike should consider some of the propositions of thinkers of African descent, as they’re likely to comprehend the various challenges of the society and proffer possible solutions. While this is not an attempt to discredit the influence on non-African thinkers on society at large, rather it seeks to shed a light on the fact that the challenges of Nigeria are peculiar to Nigerians. Thus, it is up to academics, policy makers and the political elite to reconsider the project Nigeria and the aspirations and expectations that proceeded the early years of independence.

Reference:


FROM MONISM AND DUALISM TO MONI-DUALISM: A NEW APPROACH TO MUNICIPAL ENFORCEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS TREATIES

Abdullahi Saliu Ishola• & Daud Momodu••

ABSTRACT

As a general legal regime in the international law, international treaties are at the mercy of the domestic legal environment for their municipal enforcement. Thus, in conferring domestic enforcement status on international treaties, countries have generally adopted either of the monism or dualism approach. In the countries where monism applies, an international treaty becomes domestically enforceable once ratified by the relevant government. However, dualist states would require the treaty to be specifically domesticated by its enactment as “a national law” after its ratification. This legal regime is without any exception to international human rights treaties. In a departure from either being a monist or dualist state, Nigeria introduced monism for labour related international treaties while it maintains its longstanding dualist approach for other treaties, including those relating to human rights. This arrangement makes it impossible for the country to be categorized either as monist or dualist. To this end, one tends to be jurisprudentially engaged on the classification of the new approach. Consequently, the development is conceived as a new approach to municipal enforcement of international treaties, which could be termed “Moni-Dualism” and whose new approach could be more beneficial to municipal enforcement of international human rights treaties. Thus, the aim of this study particularly is to demonstrate the new approach as a worthwhile measure for easier domestic enforcement of international human rights treaties, especially in the dualist states, that should be advanced worldwide.

I. INTRODUCTION

Many authors have expressed highly philosophical insights into the twin concepts of monism and dualism, which flourished in the early and mid 20s on the appropriate approach to municipal enforcement of international treaties. Although these debates are strenuously polarized, the views expressed tend towards raising questions rather than answering them. Dualism, as an older concept of the duos, conceives the parallelism in the rapport between international and municipal institutions. Their position thus is that, being different legal orders, international laws would not form part of the national laws without further steps to internalize or domesticate them in the legal regime of the state. However, monism, unlike the dualist theory, assumes that

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national and international laws are two parts of a single legal system, hence law is one entity.

The question of which of the systems is preferred may not be objectively resolved as each of these systems favourably, and beneficially indeed, finds application in different countries of the world according to the prevailing legal traditions of those states. The divergence in the approach adopted by member states in incorporating international laws into their municipal laws is informed by the fact that while international laws are made, these laws fail to provide for the mechanism to regulate their incorporation/application in each of the member states. Rather this matter is left to the internal mechanisms of such states.\(^2\)

The United Kingdom (UK), like most of the common law jurisdictions, is a typical dualist country. A treaty signed by the UK has no effect as the British or Scottish domestic laws unless it is made part of it.\(^3\) Thus, most of the treaties signed by the UK relating to foreign affairs were merely ratified as a form of formality as they are rarely incorporated into the domestic legal system.\(^4\)

Russia and other Commonwealth Independent States (CIS)\(^5\) have proclaimed international law to be part of their domestic laws.\(^6\) However, Russia is the first among the CIS states which introduced far-reaching reforms with respect to relationship between international and domestic laws. Gennady observed that Russia’s reform efforts are particularly interesting for at least two reasons: first the “opening” to international law represents a radical departure from Russia’s traditional isolationist stand; second, the “opening” began several years ago. As a result, one can see how the techniques of direct incorporation have been tested and implemented in practice.\(^7\) When countries embrace the idea of direct implementation of international laws, the international system greatly benefits because enforcement of the international laws enjoys much more effectiveness. The Russian Constitution of 1993 captures the dualist position of the country in Article 15 as follows:

The generally recognized principles and norms of international law and the international treaties of the Russian Federation are an integral part of its legal system. If an international treaty ratified by the Russian Federation establishes other rules than those stipulated by its domestic law, the rules of the international treaties will be applied.

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\(^3\) Nemanja Sukalo “How International Law is Incorporated into Municipal Law and Why it is Important” I www.…

\(^4\) Ibid.


\(^7\) Ibid. at 7
In Nigeria, dualism is predominantly practiced. This is in pursuance of section 12 of the 1999 Constitution (as altered)\(^8\) which provides that any treaty between the Federation and any other country shall only have the force of law as conferred on it by an Act of the National Assembly. As a result of this section, all treaties, protocols, conventions or any other international obligations entered into by Nigeria must be domesticated by the National Assembly for it to be enforceable. This position in respect of a dualist country has been judicially long settled by the Privy Council in Higgs & Anor. V. Minister of National Security & Ors;\(^9\) which the Supreme Court of Nigeria quoted with approval in the case of Gen. Sanni Abacha & Ors v. Chief Gani Fawehinmi, where it was held that-

"In the law of England and the Bahamas, the right to enter into treaties was one of the surviving prerogative powers of the Crown. Treaties formed no part of domestic law unless enacted by the legislature. Domestic Courts had no jurisdiction to construe or apply a treaty, nor could unincorporated treaties change the law of the land. They had no effect upon citizens’ right and duties in common or statute law. They might have an indirect effect upon the construction of statues or might give rise to a legitimate expectation by citizens that the government, in its act affecting them, would observe the terms of the treaty’. In my respectful view, I think the above passage represents the correct position of the law, not only in England, but in Nigeria as well.”

A shining example of domestication of an international human rights treaty in Nigeria is the domestication of the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights.\(^10\) The Organisation of African Unity (now African Union) of which Nigeria is a member, adopted the Charter on 19th January, 1981, providing for rights and obligations between member states and between citizens and member states.\(^11\) The dualistic approach to international laws has been solely practiced in Nigeria until during the third constitutional alteration exercise undergone in the country\(^12\) which, for the first time, initiated monism into the Nigerian system making any international convention, treaty or protocol which Nigeria has ratified “relating to labour, employment, workplace, industrial relations or matters connected therewith” to become judicially enforceable without the need for it to be further domesticated.\(^13\) Accordingly, where a treaty ratified by Nigeria borders on labour matters, it can be adjudicated upon by the National Industrial Court as if it was a legislation duly enacted by the National Assembly.

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\(^8\) Within the Nigerian Constitutional law and jurisprudence, any change effected to the Constitution can only be properly referred as “alteration” as against the popular term of “amendment”. Thus, rather than saying “as amended”, the appropriate qualification to the Constitution to show that it has been changed in somehow is “as altered”. For proposition and articulation of this Nigerian constitutional legalese, see *The Times of December 23, 1999*

\(^9\) This was done by the promulgation of the *African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (Ratification and Enforcement) Act*, No. 2 of 1980, now CAP A9, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004.

\(^10\) For example, Article 19


\(^12\) *Section 254C (2) Third Alteration Act*
The question of the relationship between municipal and international laws, hence the concept of monism and dualism, greatly impacts on the extent of promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms at universal, regional as well as national levels within the framework of the jurisdiction of sovereign states. While these twin theories have had their relevance particularly in the mid 20th century, they are facing serious challenges on their continuous importance. Admittedly though, they have played great roles in furthering the thinking on compliance with international treaties which States entered into. Yet, the excesses that are associated with both systems are serious and even challenging to their relevance today. Perhaps this explains why monism and dualism have been described as intellectual zombies of another time and should be laid to rest or “deconstructed”.

Consequently, one of the core propositions in this work is that both monism and dualism have lost their individual relevance and as such cannot on their own exclusivity serve any legal system any longer. This forms the basis for an alternative viewpoint grounded on a combination of both systems (monism + dualism= moni-dualism) and attainable through a conscious reshaping of the rules of law to afford a needed legislative mechanism for its thriving – the type Nigeria failed to achieve in its, though, commendable but feeble attempt at a proposed moni-dualistic arrangement.

II. NATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL TREATIES:

In 1916, Quincy Wright quizzed thus: “Are international treaties and conventions an immediate source of law to be applied by courts?” This seemingly simple question has diverged views among scholars and thinkers of all times. This is more so as international law is taken as a global answer to global problems, it intrudes into domestic legal systems and takes up the role of domestic law. Processes of legal globalization and internationalization have made this question even much more complex to delve into. Forced by the pressures of interdependence, states have allowed more international presence in its legislative affairs, while at the same time private persons are more and more drawn into an internationalized order. This has undermined any stable notion of what is national or what is international.

The Austinian sovereignty is muffled under the growing concern for more applicability of international treaties within states. William Kauffmann theorized unity of legal order in 1899 which idea was elaborated by A. Verdross, G. Scelle and Hans Kelsen. These thinkers considers state sovereignty as an absolute dogma, claiming that it is the supreme will of the state to relate with other states and bind itself by the treaties resulting from such relations.

International treaties have become important source of law for States. Some states throw wide open their constitutional gates to direct application of ratified treaties.

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17 Brindusa Marian supra note … at 4.
Countries like Netherlands, US and France have made provisions in their constitutions allowing for direct application of international treaties which the countries have ratified. Out of the three legal systems, that of Netherlands provides explicit constitutional recognition of direct applicable treaty terms (quote the section of their constitution). In France, the constitution does not differentiate between directly and non-directly applicable treaties terms. Rather, the French Constitution grants duly ratified and published treaties priority over statutes. Article 55 provides that:

Duly ratified or approved treaties or agreements shall, upon their publication, override laws, subject, for each agreement or treaty, to its application by the other party.

However, according to the Plenary Court of Cassation in Pauline Fraisse Levacher et al, international treaties may not override constitutional provisions. It is for this reason that the French Parliament decided that, to implement the Statute of the ICC and those provisions of the Statute that were contrary to the French Constitution, it needed to pass a constitutional law. The law was passed through the amendment of Article 53 of the French Constitution by adding a new paragraph to the effect that the French legal order shall conform to the Rome Statute.

In the US, Article 6 Clause 2 of the United States Constitution, which is the Supremacy Clause, establishes the Constitution, Federal states and treaties as “the supreme law of the land”. It provides that these are the highest form of laws in the United States’ legal system and as such will reign supreme in the event of conflict with state laws. The US Supreme Court for the first time applied the Supremacy Clause in Ware v. Hylton, to strike down a state statute. The Supreme Court found that this state of Virginia statute was inconsistent with the Treaty of Paris entered into by the US with Britain protecting the rights of British creditors and therefore declared the Virginia statute null and void. Although the Court has pointed out that the U.S. Constitution supersedes international treaties ratified by the U.S. Senate, it held in the case of Missouri v. Holland, that the Federal government's ability to make treaties is supreme over any state concerns.

David Haljan points out that besides the broad division of treaties into those that are directly applicable and those that are not directly applicable is the further and luminal issue of whether a treaty becomes transformed into domestic law or rather retains its character as international law though allowed to be enforced domestically.

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21 Supremacy Clause refers to...
22 3 U.S. (3 Dall.) 199 (1796)
24 Reid v. Covert, 354 U.S. 1 (1957)
25 252 U.S. 416
26 David Haljan supra note 14 at 269.
which is often categorized as monist for its inclination towards direct application is restrictive in its incorporation of treaties in the sense that the US Constitution requires two third of the Senate to ratify such treaty after the executive has entered into the agreement. In Medellín v. Texas, the Supreme Court held that even if an international treaty may constitute an international commitment, it is not binding domestic law unless Congress has enacted statutes implementing it or unless the treaty itself is "self-executing." In fact, out of the 16,000 international agreements entered into by the United States between 1946 and 1999, only 912 has been ratified by Senate. Thus, it is not very easy to clearly categorize the attitude of states towards ratified international treaties into one particular form or the other.

III. CONVENTIONAL APPROACHES TO MUNICIPAL ENFORCEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TREATIES:

The two conventional approaches to municipal enforcement of international treaties, generally and human rights treaties in particular are dualism and monism.

i. Dualism Approach

Dualism originated from the writings of legal positivists like Montesquieu, Hume, Ferguson and Milla. Legal positivists believe that law derives its validity and binding effect from the sovereign. Dualism views municipal legal system and the international legal system as two different and mutually exclusive legal orders, each possessing its sources, subjects and subject matter. According to Mohr, international law and municipal law are two distinct legal systems so distinct that conflict between is not possible.

Proponents of dualism have offered some clarification on the reason why the view the international legal regime as distinctly different from municipal legal regime. First, they view state as a sovereign and the highest good in the society. Secondly, municipal legal order is a reflection of the sovereign will expressed inwardly while the international legal order was a synthesis of the will of various sovereigns manifested in the international plane. Thirdly the subjects of law are individuals while the subjects of international law are states. Fourthly municipal law derives its source from the will of the state itself, while international law has its source rooted in the common will of the states. Fifthly as pointed out by Anzilotti,

27 Article II.2.2 of the US Constitution. It is often referred to as the Treaty Clause.
28 552 U.S. 491 (2008)
32 Ibid at 100.
33 Some chief proponents of dualism are Heinrich Triepel, Dionisio Anzilotti.
34 Ibid.
Municipal law operates based on the principle that state legislation is imperative, while international law operates on the principle of pacta sunt servanda.\footnote{Ibid.}

On the premise of the arguments above the dualists believe that neither legal system can operate in the sphere of the other – international law cannot bind individuals or confer rights on them directly. They however agree that communication between the two systems is possible but only through a municipal provision recognising and introducing it. In other words, international law must be nationalised for it to apply within a state. They consider that there cannot exist any kind of conflict since the provisions don’t have the same objects, but that if there is a conflict the courts shall apply the municipal law.


\textbf{ii. Monism Approach}

Monism was developed as a concept from the teachings of natural law theory espoused by early naturalists like Aristotle, Cicero, Thomas Aquinas, Justinian Institutes and Saint Augustine.\footnote{M.D.A, Freeman, ‘Lloyds Introduction to Jurisprudence’, 7th ed., Sweet & Maxwel, London, 2001, P.140-142.} Natural law thinkers believe that natural law is eternal and unchanging and that it appears universally and is in accordance with reason.\footnote{Chukwuemeka A. Okenwa supra note 31 at 116.} This thinking formed a basis for the concept of monism.

To monists, international law and national law are simply two components of a single legal order. Unlike dualists, they believe that law is a single entity which originated from a single grundnorm with a single aim of regulating the conduct of individuals.\footnote{Brahm A. Agrawal “Enforcement of International Legal Obligations in a National Jurisdiction” ...} A major proponent of monist theory is Hans Kelsen. To him, the proponents of dualism, by hermetically sealing the respective legal systems, international and state, closed the door to all juridico-normative ties.\footnote{See Stanley L. Paulson and Bonnie Litschewski Paulson (eds.) Normativity and Norms: Critical Perspectives on Kelsenian Themes (Clarendon Press Oxford, New York: 1998) 29.} The monist school holds the view that
international law is superior to national law on the basis that the former offers better protection in respect of human rights.  

Some clarifications are derivable from the arguments presented by proponents of monism. First, international laws are made to apply upon the states’ legal systems. On this note both systems are affiliated and their relation is that of interpenetration. Secondly, they argue that the membership of an international affiliation is an expression of the will of the states. It therefore makes common sense to presume that the state has agreed to limit its sovereignty. Thirdly, in disagreement with the dualists, international law must be understood to be sourced from the states’ legal system. There is therefore a uniformity of sources between both systems. Fourthly, Scelle, a Sociological School Monist, believes that the subjects of municipal law are individuals and the subjects of international law is “always and cannot be any other but the individual”.

Notwithstanding this heated debate between the monism conformists and dualism aficionados, it is a notable fact that the transformation of international law into a national provision by monist states has not been a uniform or consistent process. In today’s modern world, national matters cannot but be affected by international law and as such conflict between both is possible. But while some monist countries have expressly made their municipal laws subservient to international laws, others have not. Germany’s Article 25 of the German Constitution provides:

The general rules of public international law form part of the Federal law. They take precedence over the laws and directly create rights and duties for the inhabitants of the Federal territory.

This provision gives primacy to public international law, stating that they are part of the law and have priority over national law.

Article 9(1) of Austria Constitution provides that “The generally recognized rules of international law are regarded as integral parts of federal law.” The Article, unlike the case of Germany above, did not superimpose international laws on municipal laws.

iii. Monist Countries and Dualist Countries

As of today, a number of countries can be identified as monist states. Although each of them has its own specification or slight differences on the procedure for the reception of international law, we will broadly categorise them without regard to these differences:

South Africa, Greece, Estonia, Poland, Georgia, Belarus, Ivory Coast, Spain, Russia, Bulgaria, Maldovo, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan.

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43 Brindusa Marian … pg 6
47 Article of Polish Constitution of 2nd April, 1997.
Examples of dualist countries are also abound. Just like monism, there are degree of differences in their method of practicing the dualist mode of reception of international law. They include Brazil, Uruguay, Hong Kong, Bahrain, Egypt. Others include Argentina, United Kingdom, China, Italy, Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania.

IV. MONI-DUALISM: A NEW APPROACH (MOMODU-ISHOLA APPROACH)

Contrary to the general practice of grouping a country into monist or dualist, we posit that in reality and in practice there is no state that is purely monist or purely dualist. The so called monist states always struggle between the extremes of monism which tend towards undermining the sovereignty of the state. This is not unexpected though as the founders of the monism school of thought believes that sovereignty is an absolute dogma, hence should not really be an issue. In addition, extreme monism will greatly erode the legislative function of the states’ legislative arm of government, while at the same time allowing this function to be usurped by the executive arm who will be at liberty to ‘legislate’ by signing treaties.

The dualist states on their part are not realistic with the extent of interdependence between states and the international milieu as informed by globalization. States’ interdependence is mostly felt through issues like human rights, antiterrorism, etc where most states allow their legislation and statutory interpretations to be influenced by the prevailing international standard. Even when a country practices dualism, its legislation often time seeks to be consistent with international standards and best practices. Monism, it may seem, would provide a better platform for cooperation between both systems.

It would seem that at all time both systems leave much to be desired. In recent times some scholars have described the two doctrines as outdated doctrines because of their unsatisfactory nature in resolving legal issues.

At what point would a country be said to be monist or dualist? Is monism-professed uniformity of legal system absolute? Is it practicable for a country to be absolute

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48 Article 6(2) of Constitution of Georgia of 24th August, 1995
49 Article 128(2) of Constitution of Belarus of 1st March, 1994.
50 Article 15.4 of Spanish Constitution of 1978.
51 Article 15.4 of Constitution of Russia
52 Article 8 of Maldovo Constitution...
53 Article 6 of Constitution of Armenia...
54 Article 151 of Constitution of Azerbaijan...
55 Article 4 of Constitution of Kazakhstan ...
56 Article 11 of Constitution of Tadzhikistan...
57 Art. 5(2)
58 Art. 256 and 236
59 Art. 151
60 Art. 37
61 Art. 151
62 Brindusa Marian supra note … at 3.
dualist? Which of these two systems is supreme? The avalanche of arguments from proponents of both systems has only accentuated these classes of questions rather than answer them.

The need has therefore arisen for a new approach – moni-dualistic (Momodu-Ishola) approach – to be adopted that will create an intermediary room for the inherent elements in both systems. This system seeks to channel the practices of dualism and monism in one single legal stream. The approach seeks to harmonize the benefits of both models while seeking ways to, at the same time, minimize the disadvantages inherent in both systems.

The idea of moni-dualistic (Momodu-Ishola) approach is conceived upon a deep consideration on the situation in Nigeria. Nigeria, like other Commonwealth countries that got their independence from Britain, has been an ardent dualist country. The provision of section 12 of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) saw to that in very unequivocal terms:

No treaty between the Federation and any other country shall have the force of law except to the extent to which any such treaty has been enacted into law by the National Assembly.

In the case of Abacha v. Fawehinmi the respondent brought an action under the Fundamental Rights (Enforcement Procedure) Rules, 1979 for enforcement of his fundamental rights as guaranteed under Section 31, 32 and 38 of the 1979 Constitution and Articles 4, 5,6 and 12 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights which was incorporated into Nigerian laws by the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (Ratification and Enforcement) Act Cap 10 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 1990. In its judgment the court held that in the event that there is conflict between treaties and Nigerian laws, the latter shall prevail.

In 2010, the National Assembly amended the Constitution to change the fate of Nigeria as a dualist state. Section 254C (2) Constitution FRN Third Alteration Act, 2010 provides:

Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in this Constitution, the National Industrial Court shall have the jurisdiction and power to deal with any matter connected with or pertaining to the application of any international convention, treaty or protocol, of which Nigeria has ratified, relating to labour, employment, workplace, industrial relations or matters connected therewith.

By virtue of the above provision, individuals can now directly access international treaties in Nigeria where the matter relates to labour. This section specifically uses the supervening clause “Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in this constitution” which in effect relieves individuals of the burden of section 12 of the Constitution.

64 In Switzerland, some Treaties are subjected to mandatory referendum in line with Articles 140(1) and 141(1) (d) especially those Treaties that would affect the future of the Swiss state like the EEA Treaty.
This development has introduced a new dimension into the Nigerian legal system and for which the system is capable of description as a dualist state as well as a monist state. It would seem that the lawmakers intend to better relate with the globe on the subject of labour. There is no better way than to grant individuals direct access to treaties signed by the country. This system is quite commendable because a country, through this system, can define areas of international law where monism will prevail and those where dualism will prevail. However that must depend on a legislative mechanism that will take care of future international matters that may need to be monist in their incorporation. This is where these authors fault the Nigerian moni-dualistic system.

We believe that for this system (moni-dualism) to work in any state, the legislature must stabilize the incorporating element in the constitution to allow for statutory incorporation without the need for a constitutional amendment any time such need arises. This is more so for countries like Nigeria with rigid constitution whose procedures for amendment of is very rigorous.

The system of moni-dualistic approach being proposed here is not just an abstract conception. In fact apart from Nigeria, it has been skimpily practiced in some jurisdictions. To start with, in Bahrain, Article 37 provides:

(1) The King shall conclude treaties by Decree, and shall communicate them to the Consultative Council and the Chamber of Deputies forthwith accompanied by the appropriate statement. A treaty shall have the force of law once it has been concluded and ratified and published in the Official Gazette.

(2) However, peace treaties and treaties of alliance, treaties relating to State territory, natural resources, rights of sovereignty, the public and private rights of citizens, treaties pertaining to commerce, shipping and residence, and treaties which involve the State Exchequer in non-budget expenditure or which entail amendment of the laws of Bahrain, must be promulgated by law to be valid.

It can be seen that the two subsections above harmonise both monism and dualism in the Bahraini Constitution. Thus, the country is a moni-dualistic state rather than categorising it as monistic.

Similarly, in the Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Article 151 provides:

The President of Republic shall conclude international treaties and forward them to the People’s Assembly with the necessary explanations. The treaties shall have the force of law after their conclusion, ratification and publication in accordance with the established procedure. However, peace treaties, alliance pacts, commercial and maritime and all the treaties involving modifications in the national territory or affecting the rights of sovereignty, or
imposing charges on the State treasury which are not provided for in the budget must be approved by the People’s Assembly.

What Bahrain and Egypt have done is moni-dualistic. The constitutional provisions in both Constitutions have established the fact that it is no longer correct to seek to classify a country either just as monist or dualist without more. The argument presented here is that there is at least one more possible approach which, with proper legal mechanisms put in place by each state desiring its application, will work for most states. Each prospective state will end up with its version of moni-dualism and the positioned focus on the possibility of monism and dualism alone must now be shifted.

India offers another interesting platform for what could be seen as another modified moni-dualistic approach. The Indian Constitution imputes the status of directive principle of state policy on international treaties and enjoins the state to “endeavour to foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another.” In Maganbai Ishwarbhai Patel v. Union of India, the Supreme Court held that where a Treaty does not affect the justiciable rights of citizens, no legislative measure is necessary, but legislative approval is absolutely necessary if such Treaty restricts the rights of citizens.

As the law currently stands in Nigeria, the country has set up a mono-dualistic system of its own kind. In other mono-dualistic countries like Bahrain and Egypt, they make broad provisions generally vesting international treaties with the power of law except for some numbered items that will require legislative promulgation. Nigeria on its own part, conversely embraces mono-dualism by making broad provisions generally restricting direct application of international treaties except for numbered items that will allow direct application and specifically as it relates to labour matters only.

V. CONCLUSION:

Moni-dualism is a new horizon that proposes a hybrid platform for the internalisation of international treaties. The world has come to terms with the need to embrace global cultures and practices as factors of sophistication, modernism and higher levels of communication have rendered it impossible to deny the need for such interdependence as stressed by monists. Yet a country’s sovereignty must not be eroded along the line, hence the contention of dualists. The conventional monist approach and dualist approaches push the matter to disturbing extremes, thereby robbing them of their intrinsic benefits. Monism does not have it all and ditto for dualism.

While no system can claim to have it all, moni-dualism can claim to be more encompassing and fluid. It is suggested that countries that apply either monism or dualism should incorporate the approach of moni-dualism for a more effective and efficient legal system. It is particularly more human rights friendly towards advancement of domestic enforcement of international human rights treaties for the new approach of moni-dualism to be put into test.

65 Article 51(c) of the Indian Constitution
A significant breakthrough heralded by this study is the need for focus to be shifted from the globally celebrated error of merely categorising countries, in terms of the approach to domestic enforcement of international treaties, into either monism or dualism, to understanding the possible and indeed real practical need for a third categorisation into moni-dualism (Momoduaism approach). Unknown to some countries by themselves and by the same standard unrealised by scholars of international law too, some countries cannot properly be classified either as monism or dualism; they rather correctly qualify to be classified as moni-dualism. With this reality, the moni-dualistic (Momoduaism) approach should be particularly promoted in favour of domestic enforcement of international human rights treaties as it stands to prove a worthy path to be toed in that direction.
ISLAM, CULTURE AND WOMEN’S RIGHT: THE CREATED CONFLICT

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INTRODUCTION

The discussion of women’s rights, empowerment and equality for women has become a global topic and at the receiving end are the Islamic norms. The Islamic perspective on the rights of women has been under attack, mostly by Western media, its written literatures and in some cases its laws, depicting the Muslim woman as an “oppressive and poor human being”.\(^{67}\) A such advocating for one right or the other on her behalf, sometimes due to lack of the correct knowledge of the Islamic norms on women’s right, but most times due to an outright comparison of the Western culture to that of the Muslim women in an Islamic society with disregard for the loud influence of culture on the said society.

This essay will look into the historical background of the rights of women in both the western and Islamic societies, examining the correct Quranic ideals devoid of cultural and societal dilution. The essay will examine argument that conflict between the rights of women and Islamic ideals are a mere creation of the western world and the infiltration of Muslim culture. The essay would in conclusion draw on these arguments and give logical answers to the question: whether women’s rights and Islamic norms are in fact compatible; and whether the concept of feminism and Islam can co-exist with little or no conflict.

Historical Background of Women’s Right:

The rights of women have evolved over time. History has shown that the fragile physical nature of a woman has been exploited and abused by the opposite sex.\(^{68}\) Varying from one society to the other, the status, role and daily life of women in ancient Egypt, Rome, Athens, Israel and Babylonia for example have all shown how women were treated in less cordial manners.\(^{69}\)

Under the Greek civilization, which has been considered one of the glorious parts of ancient civilization,\(^{70}\) women had no statues what so ever. Women were seen as sub-human creatures and men were the only depiction of pride and honor in the society.\(^{71}\)

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\(^{67}\) Riffat Hassan, Ph.D ‘Are Human Rights Compatible With Islam? The Issue of Rights of Women in Muslim Communities’ http://www.religiousconsultation.org/hassan2.htm accessed 12 may 2015

\(^{68}\) Mohammed Dori, Women Feminism And Islam, (1998) p1

\(^{69}\) Women In The Ancient World http://www.womenintheancientworld.com accessed 12 may 2015

\(^{70}\) Dori (n2)
In the Roman Empire the position of a woman was not any different than that of the Greek. Women were exploited and under oppressions.\textsuperscript{72} In China, India and the Arab society before the coming of Islamic (known as the Jahiliyyah period), the girl child were buried alive.\textsuperscript{73} The western society was no different. Women in the early days had no legal status. The West has over time now affiliated itself with feminism and forges equality for women. This can arguably, seen to have backfired. The image of a woman in the Western society is merely sexual. The society still sees women as an object of attraction to fulfill the ever increasing sexual pleasure of men.\textsuperscript{74} Advertising corporations have been known to use half naked women to sell bus tickets,\textsuperscript{75} ‘very offensive and degrading’ as some groups called it.\textsuperscript{76} Certainly that is not the kind of libration a Muslim woman wants to attain.

\textbf{Islamic ideals for Women’s Right:}

There is no doubt that Islam is a total way of life, anyone, man or woman who testifies that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His final messenger is to abide by the injunctions of the holy Quran and the teachings of the Hadith. Undoubtedly, Islam has changed the community it entered the world through (i.e. Arabia) but Islam is not just for a tribe or a certain community, but for the entire world. The position of women under the Jahiliyyah period was of an unfortunate hardship and oppression, even though some historians argued that it was not entirely so as the prophet’s (PBUH) wife, khadijah (RA) was a wealthy woman who ran her business across Arabia.\textsuperscript{77} But there can be no doubt that the coming of Islam tremendously improved the statues of the women in Arab communities and the world at large.\textsuperscript{78}

Let’s examine what the women’s right entails on the international scene: The UN Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women adopted in 1979 (CEDAW) advocates that the aspect of women’s rights should be seen as a fundamental human right.\textsuperscript{79} The authors argue that this status was given to women by Islam centuries back. Islam stopped the killing of infant girls and gave women right to own property amongst several other rights, while reinstating their position in the society.

Other rights advocated for by CEDAW was for political participation of women, education, equal wages, trafficking, women genital mutilation, forced marriage pregnancy and child birth mortality, all of which Islam has gave such rights as will be seen below.

\textbf{Education:}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{71} ibid
\item \textsuperscript{72} Riffat (n1)
\item \textsuperscript{73} ibid
\item \textsuperscript{74} Dori (n2) p3
\item \textsuperscript{75} \url{http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/howaboutthat/11597104/Ride-me-all-day-for-just-3-bus-advert-with-picture-of-topless-woman-sparks-outrage.html}
\item \textsuperscript{76} ibid
\item \textsuperscript{77} Women’s Rights In Islamic Marriage \url{http://www.meteck.org/islam_marriage.html} accessed 12 May 2015
\item \textsuperscript{78} Ibid
\item \textsuperscript{79} \url{http://www.unfpa.org/resources/human-rights-women}
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The messenger of Allah (PBUH) is reported to have said “Acquiring knowledge is compulsory for every Muslim” (Al-Tabarani). This hadith applies to both Muslim men and women. The first verse of the Quran to be revealed was on knowledge Q: 96 v1-5. “Read in the name of your Rabb…” Also Q51:55. “But teach (the message) for teaching benefits the believers” Q 20: 144 “O Rabb increase me in knowledge.”

These verses show how important it is for every Muslim to acquire knowledge. Unfortunately this is not the position found in most Islamic societies. Culture has infiltrated the interpretation of Islam that the girl child is confined to the home without knowledge whatsoever waiting to be married off. This in itself is the cause of the lack of the very knowledge we are commanded by Allah (SWT) to seek.

Islamic history has shown both men and women as respected scholars and teachers of the religion, Aisha and Hafsah (RA) amongst others.¹⁰ There is no verse in the holy Quran or a narration of the Hadith that prohibits a woman or girl child from acquiring education. The authors like other critics argue that blame should be on culture but certainly not Islam.¹¹

**Equal Wages:**

Q: 4:32 clearly states “…for man there in reward for what they have earned (and likewise) for women there in reward for what they have earned and ask Allah of His bounty surely Allah is ever all knower of everything” This verse clearly shows no discrimination between the wages of men and women in Islam.

**Freedom to choose her Husband:**

Islam allows a woman’s guardian to find a suitable match for her but under no circumstance is such a guardian to force such choice on the woman/girl. Acceptance of such choice is an exclusive right of the woman.¹²

During the time of the prophet (PBUH) a woman came to him to complain that her father has forced her to marry her cousin so as to raise his own status in the society. He (PBUH) told her she was free to dissolve such marriage to choose whom she wanted. She was reported to have accepted her father’s choice but stated “…my aim was to let the woman know that fathers have no right to interfere in the marriage” (Ahmed Nasa ibn majah)

This again is not the position of marriages in Muslim societies. Guardians and fathers force marriage on girls contrary to the teachings of Islam. The Muslim culture has impeded understanding of the Quranic libration of women today.¹³ Most scholars have also argued that marriage in Islam is a contract of which only consenting adults should enter into, and one of the bases of such contract is equality for both contracting parties.¹⁴

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¹⁰ Supra (n11)
¹¹ ibid
¹² ibid
¹³ Riffat (n1)
¹⁴ ibid
Gender Based Violence:

With great pride Muslims let the world know of how Islam stopped and abolished female infanticide. There is a Hadith of the Prophet (PBUH) which states that the best of you are those who treat women in the best manner. This unfortunately is not what we find in Muslim culture today. Studies have shown that female children are discriminated against right from birth and the customary belief is that a son is a gift while a daughter is a trial.\(^{85}\) Other studies have shown that the most common crimes in a number of so-called Muslim countries are violence against women.\(^{86}\) That is certainly not the Islamic norm. Islam has elevated the woman and any act of violence against her is a total deviation from the teachings of Islam.

Social Responsibilities:

One of the basic critics of Islamic norms for women by the Western media is that Muslim women are confined to the home with no public lives or participation in the society. That in fact is not the position in Islam. Q 9:71 states

> “The believer men and women are helpers, supporters, friends and protectors of one another, they enjoy all that is good and forbid all that is evil, they offer their prayers perfectly and give Zakat (obligatory charity) and obey Allah and his messenger. Allah will bestow mercy on them. Surely Allah is Almighty All wise.”

This verse clearly shows that a woman has the right to participate in her community to help, support and protect against all wrong, and perform charitable acts.

This essay cannot exhaust the right of a woman Islam have given and place on her. The right of the women in Islam is certainly beyond what the West argue it to be and what they advocate for her. Muslim women have rights to include; Equality in religious obligation, Equal financial dealings and Property ownership.\(^{87}\) Freedom to express her opinion, Participation in Jihad (in the proper manner), Equality to act as a guarantor, Right to custody of children, The right to “good life”, Right to develop one’s aesthetic sensibility and enjoy the bounties created by Allah (SWT), Rights to procreation from slander, Right to privacy, Right to work, Right to sustenance, Right to respect, Right to justice, Right to life.\(^{88}\) The list is non exhaustive.

The major impediment to the right of woman in Islam can be argued to be culture, and the variation of importation of such culture to Islam as oppose to practicing the correct Quranic teaching and Prophet hadith.\(^{89}\)

Perhaps the western media had basis of faulting the Islamic norms on women’s right based on what entails in most Muslim societies. Many scholar have argued that Muslim culture have lost concern for women right in accordance with the true

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\(^{85}\) ibid

\(^{86}\) ibid


\(^{88}\) Supra (n1)

\(^{89}\) Ibid
teachings of Islam and are now much concern with how women’s chastity are, forgetting that chastity in Islam is for both men and women.\textsuperscript{90}

Very recently the media was swept with the day light mob killing of a woman (Farkhunda) in Afghanistan, an Islamic country. She, like many other killed had the right to life and justice. Men took to the street and stoned her to death “wa’iyazubillah” Not forgetting girls like Malala, who was shot on the head for advocating for schools of girls like her.

The argument is that the statuses of a woman in accordance with the Quranic ideals are far away from what they are in real life Islam countries. Muslim women are often oppressed and denied their divine rights based on cultural norms. The question the western media should be asking is that “is Islam to be blamed or culture?”

The western critics should understand that the right of a Muslim woman goes beyond unveiling her scarf in public and not being able to drive a car (like in some middle east countries). Allah (SWT) has uplifted a woman in Islam. Women and men are created equal by Allah, the society however has made it unequal.\textsuperscript{91}

Under Islamic marriage women and men have equal rights Q2:228 states:

“And woman shall have right similar to right them, according to what is equitable, But men have a degree of advantage over them (in responsibility and authority)”.\textsuperscript{92}

This shows the equality of rights of woman and men in Islamic marriage.

Scholars have in several commentaries stated that the “degree of advantage over women” stated in Q2:228 is as regard maintenance of the family.\textsuperscript{92} A man is under a legal obligation to provide for his family as such the “degree above them” is not connected with superiority or intelligence.\textsuperscript{93}

A Muslim woman should be far from an “oppressed poor human” when treated in accordance with the correct Islamic ideals. She can go on vacations and enjoy the bounties of Allah (SWT), how she dresses on a vacation on the beach is a direct obedience of her creator. The west should not expect a Muslim woman to wear a bikini as a sign of her right, because that in fact goes contrary to her believe and not a sign of oppression from a man.

A Muslim woman can work, have a career and be part of building her society, what she wears while doing so should not be an issue or sign of oppression.

Studies have shown that there is a growing international Muslim feminist movement, who have long advocated for right of women in Muslim society.\textsuperscript{94} Feminism and

\textsuperscript{90} ibid
\textsuperscript{91} ibid
\textsuperscript{92} Supra (n11)
\textsuperscript{93} ibid
\textsuperscript{94} Rachel Rinaldo, Islam And Feminism Are Not At Odds http://bitchmagazine.org/post/islam-feminism-are-not-at-odds accessed 12th May 2015
Islam are not at odds, but in fact compatible. But until the west understands that their so called women’s liberation is different from that of an ideal Muslim woman, this discuss will rage on and laws banning hijab will continue to surface in the west.

**Conclusion:**

Islam left no doubt about the right of a woman as a cardinal part of the universal existence, however; we have seen the patriarchal culture of Muslims society put an impediment to it. As such the western words have capitalized on this and created a problem which they claim to proffer solution to. The women’s rights like all aspect of a Muslim person has being created by God.

Right of women has been given to them by Allah (SWT), not an organization or legislation, so a woman can reach her full potential in this world and gain salvation in the hereafter. These rights can neither be abolished or influence by culture or otherwise. The essay concludes with the verse of the Holy Quran reiterating equality of men and women in Islam.

“The submitting men and the submitting women, the believing men the believing women, the obedient men the obedient women, The truthful man, the truthful woman, the patient men the patient women and the humble men the humble women, the charitable men the charitable women, the faithful man the faithful woman, the chaste man the chaste woman, the man who remember God frequently and the woman who remember, God has prepared for them forgiveness and great recompense.” Q: 33:35.

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95 Ibid
SPOUSAL BATTERY, BETWEEN CRIME AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION: A REFLECTION ON NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

United Nations World Report on women 2015 while reflecting on Nigeria reveals the justification of wife battery as a cultural reality, religious misinterpretation, social norm and paradoxically being justified by the victims or survivors of violence themselves. The Nigerian state has taken a bold step by criminalising this global pandemic, through the enactment of violence against persons prohibition act 2015 which is arguably too little, too late to contained the prevalence of this national endemic malaise. The objective within the purview of this essay is to re-state these opposing poles and harmonised the missing link within the framework of the given legislation. Although there is an emerging interpretation increasingly influenced by the feminist narratives that wife/spousal battery is tantamount to torture, but this paper sought to argue that spousal/wife battery is foremost a human rights violation and subsequently criminal. It will finally critique the bargained dual responsibility of Nigerian state toward respecting and fulfilling women’s human rights on one hand and protecting them from violence and punishing offenders on the other. It will also investigate this dual obligation towards promotion and preservation of women’s human rights. This study adopts qualitative research method but fair consideration of non-doctrinal approach will be made through unstructured interview for emphasis on some silent and remote issues.

Keywords: Spousal Battery, Human Rights, Violation, Criminal, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria was ranked 19\(^{th}\) in the African violence prevalence index,\(^96\) of interest the report reveals a survey conducted on Nigerian boys and girls, adult men and women whom justifies violence against women (VAW) in Nigeria. The revelations were

\(^96\) Africa health, human and social information service (Afri-Dev info), & Africa coalition on maternal new-born and child health, Africa score card on violence against women and girls report (2015)
astonishing as 25% of boys and adult men justified VAW whereas as 28% of girls and 35% of adult women justified VAW perpetrated by the husband as normal married condition. The United Nations (UN) world women’s report 2010\textsuperscript{97} reveals that 30% of Nigerian women justified wife beating by the husband for burning the food, 40% justified wife beating for refusing to have sexual intercourse and 50% justified beating for arguing with the husband. Although the world women’s report 2015 also reveals justification of wife beating for burning food, refusing sexual intercourse, arguing with the husband, not taking care of children and going out without husband permission among men and women. But there is reasonable decline in the proportion of justification to 30% men and 40% women.\textsuperscript{98} The report further reveals that there are higher proportion of men that justifies violence than women, but specifically in Africa and Asia women are higher in justifying wife beating. In a study conducted by oyediran and isiugo-abanihe\textsuperscript{99} reveals that 66.4% of women justified wife beating.

There are quite a number of literatures on physical violence generally and the issue of wife beating is located within the physical violence paradigm. However the significance of this discourse is in its rather paradoxical disposition in which the victims/survivors of beating justify it. This study seeks to interrogate this violence as basically human rights abuse and then criminal. It will also seek to examine the justification with relevance to risk factors in order to determine how ingrained and severity. The implication of beating can lead to grievous injury, deformity and even death. In order to combat this endemic malaise Nigeria enacted violence against person prohibition act 2015\textsuperscript{100} (VAPP act 2015) which expressly criminalises spousal battery.

This study adopt qualitative methodology but due to the need to bring out some salient issues relating to wife beating some interview were conducted through unstructured interview model. Thus the increasing need to further explore the complexities of this pandemic abuse a twin approach of exploratory and descriptive studies were adopted. An exploratory study involves a comprehensive survey or evaluation to clarify or define a problem.\textsuperscript{101} Whereas a descriptive study involves an account of what exist and it is undertaken to describe and ascertains social events, behavioural patterns, institutions or group.\textsuperscript{102} This study interviewed some women/victims and survivors of wife beating and their responses were informative and challenging. They equally consent to respond on grounds of anonymity due to sensitivity of subject of discussion and the involvement of their person, religion and family name.

\textsuperscript{97} UN, department of economic and social affairs, world women’s report (2010): trend and statistics, ST/ESA/STAT/SER.K/19,2010, UN, New York
\textsuperscript{98} UN, department of economic and social affairs, world women’s report (2015): trend and statistics, ST/ESA/STAT/SER.K/20,2015, UN, New York
\textsuperscript{100} Violence against persons (prohibition) act 2015, Laws of the federation of Nigeria, LFN (2015)
\textsuperscript{101} Anwarulyaqin, Legal research and writing, Malayan law journal, Kuala Lumpur (2007), p.128
\textsuperscript{102} Sullivan, T.J, Methods of social research, Orlando Florida, Harcourt college publishers, (2001), p, 15
Conceptual clarification:

Spousal battery is defined as physical beating of wife, girlfriend or children usually by woman’s male partner, otherwise called spousal abuse which is defined as abusive conduct between intimate partners who are married, dating or residing in the same residence. It could be referred to single abuse but usually it means repeated or cycle of abusive behaviour. This definitions have failed to meet the standard of strict Nigerian scenario because ‘spouse’ in Nigeria does not includes girlfriend or woman on permissive cohabitation, but duly, lawfully and legally married couples under Nigerian legislation, Islamic law or customary law.

It should be noted that a spouse does not absolutely means wife but a man or woman under lawful marital relationship. Thus spousal battery is when a husband beat his wife or the wife beat her husband. The law define ‘spouse’ to mean husband or wife as recognised under matrimonial causes act, Islamic law or customary law. But spouse within the purview of this study is wife beating and this is due to the scope and focus of the study. Beating includes punching, kicking, slapping, striking, touching, pushing, hitting with object, pulling of hair, biting, choking or any physical contact with the body which either inflict injury on the body or not. Meanwhile this must be distinguished with physical assault criminally defined as application of force threaten or actual.

However ‘spousal battery’ is defined as intentional and unlawful use of force or violence upon a person, including the unlawful touching, beating or striking against his or her will with the intention of causing bodily harm to that person. This definition did not impute any reference to marital relationship and that spousal battery applied to either man or woman. Thus the apparent confusion in the definition will be remedied with the definition of spouse under the same section of law. Therefore spousal battery is physical abuse between married couples which said married is recognized under marriage act, Islamic law or customary law applicable in Nigeria.

The right of husband to beat his wife:

Whether in Nigeria husbands have rights to beat their wives? Since the law recognised three forms of marital relationships perhaps the question should be answered from the perspective of the three distinct legal systems.
Thus under Nigerian legislation marital relationships from formation to dissolution is regulated by the marriage act and matrimonial causes act respectively. The husband is not permitted to abuse his wife because equality is entrenched and a wife can free herself from abusive marriage if she proves that her husband attempted killing her or has inflicted grievous harm on her person or that he has been convicted of attempted murder. Furthermore the wife can petition for divorce if the husband behave in a way that she cannot reasonably be expected to live with him. This means that a wife married under Nigerian legislation can be freed from abusive husband through judicial dissolution of the marriage.

Although scholars argued that the position of the law pursuant to amendment in 2004 is there is one ground for dissolution of under matrimonial causes act which is “the marriage has broken down irretrievably” under section 15 (1) and that before the promulgation of the act several other grounds exist the most important of which are cruelty, adultery and desertion. This position of law was further affirmed by the courts in the case of Harriman Vs, Harriman.

However under Islamic law marital is predicated on the prophetic tradition which says the best among you in the sight of ALLAH is the best to his wife (s). Thus in Islamic law marriages there is no permission for the husband to beat his wife, even non-provision of amenities or abstaining from conjugal relation by the husband amount to cruelty and ill-treatment and equally grounds for divorce at the instance of the wife. Wife can free herself from abusive marriage through judicial dissolution of the marriage. The grounds upon which the court will dissolve the marriage include husband failure to provide maintenance to wife, desertion, impotence, incurable disease and cruelty.

The wife can seek judicial dissolution of the marriage through Khul or redemption being exclusive legal right of the wife and enforceable by the court. But where a wife seek divorce on the ground of cruelty she must prove by the evidence of two male unimpeachable witnesses or a male and two female this is the decision in JikaVs, Jika. Cruelty can be physical or mental and either is equally a valid grounds of divorce on the application of the wife. Even though some scholars argued that Islamic permitted chastisement of the wife by the husband but such chastisement must not be severe to the extent of cruelty, torture, inhuman or degrading treatment or

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110 See section 16 (e) Matrimonial causes act, Cap 17, LFN (2004)
111 See section 15 (2) Matrimonial causes act, Cap 17, LFN (2004)
114 (1989) 5 NWLR (Pt. 119) 6 CA
117 (1991) 3 NWLR (Pt. 182) 707 at 713
118 Ladan, M, T, A handbook on sharia implementation in northern Nigeria; women and children’s rights focus, Kaduna, Nigeria, League of democratic women, (2005), Pp, 74-75

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punishment. The sharia court of appeal in the case of Aisa Mala & one AnorVs, AlhajiBulamaHussaini,\textsuperscript{119} upheld the decision of the trial court and grant the khul application of the wife victim of abuse without having to redeemed herself by refund of the dowry because she prove her claim by medical evidence and consequently order of divorce entered in her favour.

The fact that no two customary law are the same each customary law is predicated on the culture and tradition of the people that professed it. Therefore there is no common grounds for the dissolution of customary law marriage but there are similarities, and the most identified grounds of such termination of customary marriages includes impotence of the husband or cruelty.\textsuperscript{120} Even though there two modes of dissolution of customary marriages that is judicial and non-judicial,\textsuperscript{121} but even the judicial divorce is premised on the refund of the bride-price or dowry.\textsuperscript{122} Essentially a wife victim of marital battery can only free herself from abusive marriage if she refunds the bride-price or dowry paid at the celebration of the marriage.

\textbf{Statutory permission to husbands to beat their wives:}

In Nigeria violence within the home on the wives are supported and perpetuated by culture and beating women is permitted form of discipline and chastisement.\textsuperscript{123} Under the penal code applicable to northern Nigeria a husband can beat his wife with a view to chastise her provided such beating will not result in to grievous bodily injuries.\textsuperscript{124} The provision also elaborates that such husband must be of customary marriage and that according to the culture upon which the marriage was celebrated beating for chastisement is acceptable and lawful. Except where the beating will lead to loss of sight, tooth, ear or will lead to fracture or dislocation of face or bone or will result in to twenty days of bodily pain.\textsuperscript{125} This provision supports and encourages abuse of women thus it is one of the identified failures of the existing criminal justice system.\textsuperscript{126}

However the existence of this type of provisions in the statutes book is inimical to women enjoyment of fundamental freedoms and civil liberties even though constitutionally entrenched. The paradox is that spousal battery is prohibited with heavy punishment under VAPP act 2015 and here comes penal code with contrary provision. Thus whoever beats his or her spouse commit an offence and is liable on conviction to imprisonment not exceeding three years or to fine of N200,000.00 only

\begin{footnotesize}
\item[119] Sh/Crt/Bscv/92/2005 (unreported)
\item[120] Izunwa, M. O, Divorce in Nigerian statutory and customary marriages: a comparative critiques of grounds, procedure and reliefs attaching thereto, 3 (6), (2016), \textit{Peak journal of social science and humanities}, Pp, 77-83
\item[121] Ibid
\item[122] Nwogugu, E. O, \textit{Family law in Nigeria}, at Pp, 234- 235
\item[124] See section 55 (4) penal code of northern Nigeria
\item[125] See section 216 penal code of northern Nigeria
\end{footnotesize}
or to both.\textsuperscript{127} Whereas VAPP act 2015 jurisdiction is limited to federal capital territory,\textsuperscript{128} Abuja and the penal code is applicable in all northern states of Nigeria.

**Spousal battery\textsuperscript{a} violation of human rights and criminal:**

Nigeria has acceded to all international and regional instruments for the protection of human rights in general and women’s human rights in particular. Thus the (1999) constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria has also elaborately guaranteed human rights of all citizens and people in Nigeria under chapter four entitled fundamental human rights provisions. All acts, conduct or treatment which deny, impedes or interfere with human rights of any person is human rights violation and involves treating another with cruelty, violent or unfairly in less human manner.\textsuperscript{129} In this regard women are entitled to quantum of human rights as inalienable and inviolably vested in them for being human. Thus no one shall be subjected to torture or cruelty, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.\textsuperscript{130}

However the prohibition of cruelty inhuman treatment and punishment was first provided by the UDHR 1948 but due to its significance it has been repeatedly form part of all international, regional and municipal legislations in verbatim et literati and same applied to women’s human rights instruments. Although the convention on the elimination of all discrimination against women is the foremost acclaimed women bill of rights\textsuperscript{131} has not elaborated provision literally on violence against women. But its entrenched system of policing and monitoring compliance by state parties introduced it through its interpretation procedure by periodic issuance of general recommendations.\textsuperscript{132}

Consequently the optional protocol to CEDAW\textsuperscript{133} upon which the committee stand issued general recommendation No. 19 which prohibits violence against women including right not to be subjected to torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.\textsuperscript{134} Significantly the protocol to Banjul charter has prohibited wife beating which is same as torture, cruelty, degrading treatment or punishment, and also add that respect for her life integrity and dignity of her person are fundamentally her human rights entitlements.\textsuperscript{135} This international and regional elaboration on the prohibition of cruelty, torture and punishment has been constitutionally articulated in a solemn declaration.\textsuperscript{136} Thus by virtue of the prohibitions contained in the international, regional and municipal legislation wife beating is tantamount to human rights violation. According to OlateruOlagbegi the most prevalent violation of

\textsuperscript{127} See section 19 VAPP act 2015  
\textsuperscript{128} See section 47 VAPP act 2015  
\textsuperscript{130} Article 5 Universal declaration of human rights, (1948) (UDHR), Article 7 international covenant on civil and political rights, (1966) (ICCPR)& Article 5 of African charter on human and peoples’ rights, (1986), (Banjul charter) (ACHPR)  
\textsuperscript{131} UN convention on the elimination of all discrimination against women, (1979) (CEDAW)  
\textsuperscript{132} Rao, M, Law relating to women and children, Lucknow, EBC publishing Ltd (Third ed.) (2012) p, 47  
\textsuperscript{133} Optional protocol to the convention on the elimination of discrimination against women, (1999)  
\textsuperscript{134} Article 7 (b) General recommendation No. 19 CEDAW committee  
\textsuperscript{136} See section 34 (1 a) of the (1999) constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria (as amended)
women’s human rights is violence against women, and violence against women has been interpreted to include woman battering.

Private/Public dichotomy:

But previously there was strenuous debate about private/public dichotomy which argued that wife battering occurred within private domain which is beyond the jurisdiction of state/law, that human rights regime is predominantly a public sphere concern. It is therefore argued that women frequently seek protection from domestic abuse and often these private violence lead to even death. Consequently scholars and experts call for reinterpretation of general human rights instruments from women focus perspective. It was argued that the private/public dichotomy was actually dismantled by DEVAW (1993) but the shortcoming of the declaration is the non-recognition of violence against women as violation of women’s human rights but a barrier to the enjoyment of human rights by women. These state of affairs existed until the general recommendation No. 19 by the CEDAW committee was issued.

Right to be free from torture, cruelty, inhuman treatment and punishment:

Although feminist scholars have argued that violence against women is tantamount to torture under the UN convention against torture having satisfied the severity threshold of torture as defined by the instrument. It was argued that domestic violence seems less significant to the male dominated international human rights discourse and thus relegated that further trivialised it to the point of ‘double standard’ because domestic violence is exclusively women problem. But the UN treaty on torture cannot be used to integrate this argument of situating violence against women within its purview and scope. Essentially the UN torture treaty depicted the perpetrator of violence to be public official or acting on official capacity or another person acting with the consent or acquiescence of official authority. Whereas violence against women especially domestic violence occurred within private domain, also it can be seen that the underlining purpose and objective as contemplated by the torture treaty must be to extract confession or information.

However domestic violence amount to torture, cruelty, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment because it is a human rights provision and articulated to in all

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137 Nnadi, I, An insight in to violence against women as human rights violation in Nigeria: a critique
140 Ibid
142 United Nation convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, (1984) (UNCAT) which was earlier preceded by general assembly resolution which proclaimed a declaration against torture, cruel, inhuman and other degrading treatment or punishment of 1975
144 Edwards, A, Violence against women under international human rights law, at 259
human rights instruments as one basic minimum of humanity. Therefore if a perpetrator of violence inflict pain and injury upon a his wife he has violated her fundamental human rights under the instruments which is also criminal and the UN torture treaty would not be relied upon to prove violation rather the respective international, regional and domestic legislation on human rights will be applied.

Extent of state party’s obligation:

Meanwhile state parties under the international and regional treaties on human rights and women’s human rights instruments are obligated to primarily promulgate domestic legislation to combat domestic violence in addition to introducing policy reforms to change existing conduct or treatment that are violent to women.145 These municipal legislation and policy reforms are aim at protecting, promoting and fulfilling women’s human rights through preventing, protecting, investigating, prosecuting and reparation or compensation.146 These hosts of ideals and obligations are articulated in to ‘due diligence duty’ which each state party is mandatorily expected discharge for the specific benefit of women. Thus Nigeria having signed and ratified almost all of these treaties had only domesticated the Banjul charter147 while all others are not even though they are unreservedly ratified.

However the implication of the domestication of the Banjul charter is that it is enforceable in Nigeria as if it was enacted by Nigerian parliament whereas all others remain persuasive instruments. Furthermore in compliance with its obligations Nigeria has proclaimed a national women policy in the year 2000 which was subsequently transmuted in to national gender policy. Finally Nigeria enacted the VAPP act 2015 which has expressly criminalises spousal battery with corresponding adequate punishment.148

However the major shortcoming of the VAPP act (2015) is its limited jurisdiction to federal capital territory Abuja. In order words the VAPP act 2015 is not a national legislation because the subject of violence against women did not fall within the ambit of powers of the federal government.149 The exclusive and concurrent legislative list did not provide for violence against women nor women’s human rights either. The federal government has exclusive powers over items contained in exclusive list and both federal and states exercises powers over concurrent list, but the states have exclusive authority over residual matters.150 Accordingly it is therefore expected that states will domesticate the VAPP act (2015) in order to protect, promote and fulfil women’s human rights in their respective jurisdiction.

147 African charter on human and people’s rights (ACHPR) (Ratification and Enforcement) Act, Cap. 10, Laws of the federation of Nigeria, (1990)
148 See section 19 (1-4) VAPP act (2015)
149 Second schedule part I & II exclusive and concurrent legislative list pursuant to section 4 of the (1999) constitution of Nigeria (as amended)
Women response to beating by husbands:

Although it has been opined that wife beating has cultural and traditional acceptability, unequal power relation, illiteracy, poverty and sometimes religion are some of the factors responsible for the beating. But it is still under reported for reason of reprisal or trivialisation of the abuse by law enforcement agents. Other reasons include fear of more violence from the husband perpetrator, fear of divorce and stigmatisation as a result of divorce. One paradoxical reason for justification of wife beating by women is that wife beating is a sign of love. Consequently women justify, endure, accept, tolerate and live with abusive husband in spite of the pain and injury inflicted on them. Of course these factors still have resounding validity but are not exhaustive of factors responsible for the justification to live in abusive home.

This study received five responses from victims/survivors of wife beating four of whom said they endure because the children are too young to be left in the hands of a drunkard due to probability of transfer of aggression to the children. While the other one respondent claimed that leaving away the abusive home is going to the village and the children cannot go to the village. In all of these situations safety, security and continued survival of children define the victims/survivors options to desert the abusive home or endure the violence for the sake and benefit of the children. In this regard therefore they are not justifying living with violent husband nor accepting it either, but they endure having regard to the overriding circumstances.

Findings:

This study has proven that wife beating is primarily human rights violation and then criminal and that Nigeria being a state party to international and regional instruments on human rights and women’s human rights is obligated to protect women from domestic violence wife battery inclusive. Even though Nigeria’s response and compliance to the instrument is the enactment of legislation but the legislation is inadequate to protect Nigerian women due to its limited scope and jurisdiction. The legislation is not a national law and therefore Nigerian women are exposed to the dangers of domestic violence. The government approach that each state to domesticate VAPP act (2015) to validate its application within the respective state’s jurisdiction is far from desirable. Because the study has discovered that culture and traditions supports and perpetuate domestic violence therefore government should holistically address it as absolutely human rights issue which prevails over all cultural and traditional consideration.

The study major discovery is that in spite of the fact that some women tolerate, justify and accept to live with abusive husband due to cultural or religious grounds other women survivors of violence endure to live in abusive marriage basically in the interest of the children’s safety, security and survival. Furthermore government has an

151 Nnadi, I, An insight in to violence against women as human rights violation in Nigeria: a critique
152 Eze-anaba, I, Domestic violence and legal reforms in Nigeria: prospects and challenges,
153 Nnadi, I, An insight in to violence against women as human rights violation in Nigeria: a critique
154 Interview with Mrs, T.A, Mrs G.U, Mrs, Kwajah & Mrs, M. J conducted at Zuba and bwari of the federal capita territory, Abuja on 23/10/2016 this response was predicated on the fact that anonymity shall be maintained and hereby obliged
155 Interview with Mrs, Bukar conducted at Maiduguri, Borno state on 07/03/2016
obligation to ensure the human rights of women in their homes as the private/public dichotomy has since been abolished. Thus this obligation involves prevention, protection, investigation, prosecution and compensation or reparation. Nigeria has failed to meet the due diligence standard notwithstanding the promulgation of VAPP act (2015) and more need to be done in order to save women from prevalently endemic violence perpetrated by abusive husband.

Finally the study discover that women married under statutory law, Islamic law and customary law can seek judicial remedy in order to free herself from abusive home through divorce proceedings. Thus, neither of statutory marriage, Islamic or customary marriages supports wife beating. Even though some customary marriages claimed that wife beating is chastisement and this has received validity by the penal code of northern Nigeria. Some scholars also argued that a husband under Islamic law can discipline his wife by mild beating, but this opinion is wrongfully interpreted to mean wife beating which will lead to torture, cruelty, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. Wives are to be loved and cared for they are partners in the home and play complementary to the effective survival and continuous existence of the marriage. Even though some women opined that wife beating is a sign of love by the husband.

Conclusion:

The human rights of Nigerian women is being trivialised by their husbands, the government and the law enforcement agents. Women in Nigeria are located within cultural and traditional perspective and the stereotypes roles socio-cultural assumption is normally used to define their worth and engagement. Thus a woman is primarily her husband property in ownership and possession before being human being. This gives the husband some unnatural rights and extravagant privileges to inflict violence and abuse on her and she tolerate, accept and justify. She has been conditioned by structural inequality to accept her condition as normal way of live. There are several risk factors to which this situation found it’s continues existence unless address, one such undisputable strategy is through women empowerment.

Nigeria must realise that women’s right is human rights but frequently human rights are interpreted in a male gendered perspective which surreptitiously exclude women. Nigerian women are equally entitled to basic humanity as human being and this is one of the Nigeria’s international and regional obligations, and which Nigeria is yet to discharge. The domestic legislation which purposefully hope to combat violence against women identify the fact violence against women is primarily human rights violation and then a crime. Equally important government must be seen to live up to expectation by observing in strict details the due diligence duty. Perhaps the most potent strategy to combat violence against women and to enthrone effective human rights regime is to empower Nigerian women.

Suggestions:

There shall be national legislation which shall have nationwide application to impact positively on the women’s human rights regime and eliminate all acts, conduct and treatment that are abusive and violent to women. This is possible if the (1999) constitution will be amended in such a manner in which human rights in its entire
ramification is vested in the federal government legislative competence to able it make law for the whole country as far as human rights is concern. Other necessary legislations must be enacted to regulate and control the wide implication of culture and tradition. In order words culture and traditions must be reduced in to codified legal framework for ease of reference.

Furthermore the law enforcement agents must be trained in such a manner to enable them extricate their cultural personality from their official functions. They should be trained to see that they are different from the law and in the cause of discharging their duties the law prevails. It is quite significant that government must introduce policies that will aim at empowering women in literacy and human rights education. Towards this end government must raise the women awareness to enable them redefine themselves as an independent being with rights equal to man and reject the previous version of themselves being inferior or subordinate to man. They should also acquire appropriate skills to defend themselves against abuse and proper capacity to know the necessary step to take when violence or abuse occur.

Finally it is strategically necessary for government to introduce efficient, available and accessible social security programme which will include safe shelter when domestic violence reach deadly climax. This will also integrate women primary concern which largely restricted them from evading abusive husband that is the thoughts of their children. Thus safety and security of children must go hand in hand with all women specific programme.
LEGAL FRAMEWORK ON OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF THE MINERAL RESOURCES IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

“Nigeria is abundantly rich in mineral resources particularly the sub-soil minerals i.e. the oil and gas which accounted for over 90% of the country’s foreign reserve earnings. These oil and gas mineral resources is over 60years old since its formation and has steadily grown since the significant oil find in commercial quantity in 1956 and presently morphed into the mainstay of the country’s economy. To facilitate and enhance the smooth operations of the oil and gas industry, the Nigeria government has over the years evolved several legal framework through legislations in governing these aspect of the mineral resources. This piece offers an in-depth discussion on the legal framework and the institutional/regulatory structure established with a view of achieving a smooth operations of the oil and gas industry”.

Keywords: Legal Framework, Ownership, Control, Mineral, Resources, Nigeria, Common Law, Constitution, Legislation, Property

INTRODUCTION

Countries which are largely dependent on their mineral resources particularly the oil and gas have created legislations which devolve ownership of these resources from the hands of the citizens in whose lands they are found and place them under the managements, ownership and control of the government. The rationale behind this is basically to secure and ensure that such resources are used in a sustainable manner which is beneficial not only to those in whose lands the resources are found, but also their future generation at large.

The resting of ownership and control of the mineral resources in the government of the federation is historical and dates back to the colonial era. This has had a great impact on the country legal system and conception of property rights. Asa British colony, most laws in Nigeria were fashioned after those of the British. Nigeria therefore, inherited a colonial legacy in which ownership of mineral resources was vested in the crown of England. This was due to the fact that the country, as a corporate entity was regarded as the property of Great Britain. Thus, the then Suzerain authority and, naturally, the minerals in Nigeria whether oil or gas or solid minerals also belonged to Britain. It was this concept of state ownership of minerals that Nigeria inherited at independence in 1960 which later became entrenched in Section

140 of the 1963 Republican constitution. According to Professor Sagay\textsuperscript{157} “after Nigeria gained independence, the new state adopted and institutionalized this vestige of colonial experience.”

In Nigeria, we have different legal framework put in place to regulate the ownership and control of mineral resources, principally, the common law principles and theories on ownership of the mineral resources form the basis of the provisions of the various legislations pertaining to ownership and control of mineral resources in Nigeria. Secondly, regulations through the various oil and gas/mineral institutions also play a significant role in the ownership and control of mineral resources regime and the various international conventions and resolution of the United Nations on the subject to mention a few.

This article offer a discussion on the legal frameworks put in place vis-à-vis the institutional/regulatory structures on ownership and control of mineral resources in Nigeria. In the discussion also, we shall examine the common law positions and the various United Nations resolutions on ownership and control of mineral resources generally.

**OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF MINERAL RESOURCES UNDER THE COMMON LAW:**

Originally, at common law, according to the “ad coelum” doctrine, the owner of real property maintained right to the property as it extended from the heavens all the way to the earth’s cave, including any materials found in between. The “Ad Coelum” doctrine still applies to “hard” mineral (coal, gold, uranium, silver and the like). Also in determining ownership of property, the common lawmaxims “Quic Quid plantatur solo solocedit” meaning ‘whatever is attached to the land becomes part of it’ applies. Common law conception of land is that it is made up of the surface of the soil or the surface of the soil and everything inside the subsoil which may include oil and gas. This common law principles has been judicially recognized as an established principle of land law by the Supreme Court in the case of Otogbolu V. Okeluwa.\textsuperscript{158} However, certain exceptions are recognized in relation to the above principles which include:

(a) In respect to things inside the sub-soil, gold and silver are exclusively rested in the crown as a royal prerogative.

Moreso, on the ‘ad coelum’ doctrine, there is a presumption that a landowner also owns all mineral on or beneath the surface of that land. This was upheld in the celebrated case of Commonwealth v. New South Wales,\textsuperscript{159} the ad coelum doctrine or principles are also subject to the exception of the royal metal. As early as the 16th century, the common law held that all gold and silver, whether situated on public or private land belong to the crown.\textsuperscript{160} Consequently at common law, he who owns the land own everything on the land subject to the exception of Royal Metal. Therefore,

\textsuperscript{158}(1981) 68 S.C 99@146
\textsuperscript{159}(1923)33CLE1@23
\textsuperscript{160}Case of Mines (1567) 1 Plowd 316, 75, ER 473
the individual owner of the land retains the ownership of mineral resources including oil and gas under the common law doctrine except the royal metals.\textsuperscript{161}

This common law principles and doctrines has been adopted in Nigeria as part of received English law by Section 3(3) of Interpretation Act 1945.\textsuperscript{162} It has equally import the common law meaning of land into Nigeria jurisprudence. The section defined land as meaning the earth surface and everything attached to the earth or permanently fastened to anything that is attached to the earth and all chattels real. Unfortunately, against the spirit of common law, the section expressly excludes minerals from the definition. It went further to give the ownership of all minerals (oil and gas inclusive) to the central government.\textsuperscript{165} This common law doctrine has since been upheld as no longer applicable to oil and gas because of their nature. Oil and gas may migrate from one piece of property to another.\textsuperscript{164}

**THEORIES OF OWNERSHIP OF MINERAL RESOURCES:**

Some of the more common theories of ownership of mineral resources are Domanial Ownership theory, ownership in place theory, non-ownership theory, qualified ownership theory, ownership in strata theory and servitude theory.

However, some scholars believe that there are two main broad ownership theories; they are the Domanial ownership theory and the qualified ownership theory.\textsuperscript{165}

To start with, the domanial ownership theory is the most common system of ownership of mineral resources practiced in most countries. This system of ownership vests the ownership right in the sovereign. It is also referred to as the state ownership theory. This system has received international recognition in that it has been adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and referred to as the doctrine of permanent sovereignty. Examples of country practicing this system of ownership of mineral resources includes Nigeria. Nigeria adopted this theory rights from the Colonial period through the provisions of the Mineral Act of 1946 in section 3(1) by vesting such ownership to the crown. In the post-colonial Nigeria, such ownership rights is vested in the Federal Government of Nigeria through the provisions of 1961,\textsuperscript{166} and 1999\textsuperscript{167} constitutions.

Secondly, ownership in place theory is slightly different from domanial ownership theory in that, under the ownership in place theory, private ownership is slightly recognize. Under this theory, the owner of a parcel of land has a right to all mineral below the surface of his land that he may work or assigned to another. This is to say that the landowner where mineral resources is been found is entitled to deal with the land and dispose of it in accordance with his wishes subject to regulatory laws of

\textsuperscript{161}Michael W. Hunt, Mining Law in Western Australia, (Lech harad.:) 3rd Ed. The Federation Press, 2001) P.34
\textsuperscript{162}Cap 192, LFN 1990
\textsuperscript{163}Minerals Act Cap 226 1990, Petroleum Act 1969 and S. 44(3) 1999 CFRN
\textsuperscript{164}Kelly V. Ohio oil Co; 49 N.E 399, 401 (Ohio 1897)
\textsuperscript{165}Francisca E. Nlerum; Reflection on Participation Regimes in Nigeria Oil Sector; Nigeria Current Law Review (2007-2010) P. 149
\textsuperscript{166}Part 1, Item 25 Exclusive Legislative List
\textsuperscript{167}S.44(3)
government or the interest of adjoining land owners. Example of jurisdiction practicing this system of mineral ownership is the state of Texas in the United States of America.

On the other hand, the Non-ownership theory of mineral resource ownership is absolutely different from the domanial theory and the qualified ownership theory. This is because, the non-ownership holds that the owner of a severed mineral interest does not have a present right to possess the oil and gas in place, but has the right only to search for, develop and produce it. This is because, mineral resources particularly oil and gas is considered migratory in nature. Therefore, the basis of ownership under this theory is one’s ability to capture such minerals and reduced it into possession. Examples of countries practicing this system of ownership include states in the US like California, Wyoming, Louisiana and Oklahoma.

Furthermore, the qualified ownership theory which is also practiced in the California (USA) and Indian holds that ownership of mineral resources belonged exclusively to the landowner that captures it. This system of mineral ownership was upheld in Elliff v. Texon Drilling Co,\(^ {168}\) where the court held that the owner of the tract of land acquires title to the oil which he produces from well on his land, though part of the oil may have migrated from the adjoining land.

While under the ownership in strata theory, the landowner owns the sedimentary layer containing the oil and gas within the limits of the vertical planes representing the boundaries of his tract. It is noteworthy that in jurisdictions, where ownership in strata theory is in application, there is usually an application one of the other theories such as the qualified ownership theory or ownership in place theory.

All these theories of ownership of mineral resources earlier analysed applied mostly to the sub-soil minerals particularly oil and gas. However, the servitude theory otherwise known as profit a prendre is mostly applied to solid minerals rather than to oil and gas resources. The import of the servitude theory is that, once a person has full mineral right, he can proceed to reduce the mineral to possession. This theory shares a little similarity with the non-ownership theory particularly with respect to reducing the mineral to possession before one could assume ownership of such minerals.

On the whole, in analyzing theses theories of ownership of mineral resources in the context of the legal framework on ownership and control of the mineral resources in Nigeria, it is clear that ownership of mineral resources as adopted by states can be classified as state ownership or private ownership and in some cases, a mix of both private and state ownership. It is however not in doubt that the various theories of ownership of mineral resources discussed above have significantly influenced and form the basis of the legal system and concept of property rights adopted by different countries of the world. For instance, it has been stated earlier that the domanial theory of ownership i.e state ownership theory has been adopted by the Nigerian federation in both the legal system and concept of its property rights as we shall seen in our subsequent discussion.

\(^ {168}\) 1948 146 Tex 575 210 SW 2d.558
LEGISLATIONS GOVERNING OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF MINERAL RESOURCES IN NIGERIA:

As is obtained in other countries of the world, the ownership and control of mineral resources in Nigeria is regulated by some enacted legislations. However, for the purpose of this work, we shall only consider those legislations that pertain to the ownership and control of oil and gas resources in the Nigerian Federation. The most important oil and gas related legislations includes; the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) (As Amended), the petroleum act 1969 (now cap 1- LFN 2004), the land use Act, 1978 Cap L5, LFN 2004, Nigerian Minerals and Mining Act 2007, the Exclusive Economic Zone Act Cap. 116 LFN 2004.

The Constitution:

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (As Amended) confers exclusive power on the Nigeria State to own, control and regulate the activities of the minerals, mineral oil and by-products. This power is firmly provided for in section 44(3) of the constitution and specifically states;

“notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this section, the entire property in land of all minerals, mineral oils and natural gas in, under or upon any land in Nigeria in, under or upon territorial waters and the economic zone of Nigeria shall rest in the government of the federation and shall be managed in such manner as may be prescribed by the National Assembly”.\(^{169}\)

The consequence of this provision is that no person may undertake any activity for the exploration or production of oil and gas without a written authorization of the Federal Government. Such authorization would usually be by the grant of oil prospecting license and/or an oil mining lease.\(^{170}\)

In South Atlantic petroleum Ltd v. Minister of Petroleum Resources,\(^{171}\) the court held that petroleum resources in Nigeria is vested in the federal government. In addition, mines and minerals including oil fields, oil mining, geological surveys and natural gas were included in part 1 of the second schedule of the Exclusive Legislative List in respect of which only the National Assembly have legislative power. These follows the same pattern in both the republican constitution of 1963 and the 1979 constitution.

The Petroleum Act Cap 10 LFN 2004:

The Petroleum Act of 1969 is the main land governing oil and gas. The Act is described in its preamble as:

“The Act to provide for the exploration of petroleum from the territorial waters and the continental shelf of Nigeria and to rest the ownership of, and all onshore and offshore revenue from petroleum resources

\(^{169}\)Chapter IV, S. 44(3) CFRN 1999 (As Amended)  
\(^{171}\)Supra
derivable there from in the federal government and for all other matter incidental thereto”. 172

Section 1(1) provides that “the entire ownership and control of all petroleum in, under, upon any lands to which this section applies shall be rested in the state. This section applies to all lands (including land covered by water) which is in Nigeria, or forms part of the continental waters’ are references to the expression as defined in the Territorial Water Act. 173 The Act elaborate further that continental shelf is defined as ‘...the seabed and the sub-soil of those sub-marine areas adjacent to the coast of Nigeria than two hundred meters (or when its natural resources are capable of exploitation, at any depth) below the surface of the sea, excluding so much of those area as lies below the territorial waters of Nigeria. 174

The Petroleum Act was promulgated in 1969 to be a consolidating legislation for all enactments on oil from colonial period, the ownership provision, substantially re-echoed Section 3 of the Mineral Act 1958. Aladeitan, 175 put the whole Scenario thus;

“A combined reading of both the preamble and the provision of Section 1(1) which stated that the entire ownership and control of all petroleum in, under or upon any lands to which this section applies shall be rested in the state, is clear and unequivocal as to whom ownership is vested”.

The Land Use Act:

This Act expropriated the ownership of land in Nigeria and vested it in the Governor of the State. The land use Act has been described as “the most impactful of all legislations touching upon the terminal systems of this country before and after full nationhood” (Per Irikefe JSC, as he then was) in Chief R.O Nkwocha v. Governor of Anambra State. 176 The significance of the land ownership and tenure system in Nigeria and its impact on ownership of natural resources make any discussion on the ownership of mineral resources incomplete without an appreciation of the enactment of Land Use Act, Nigeria’s land ownership and tenure system had undergone historical development in three distinct stages namely; the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial such that what one obtains in the country before the introduction of the Land Use Act was a dual system of land ownership, the pre-Land Use Act structure was such that in the Southern States comprising of the former Western Region, Eastern Region, Mid-Western Region and Lagos, the communal system of land ownership held sway and it was from this system, according to Professor Ajomo, 177 that private ownership of land evolved through grants, sales and partition.

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172 Petroleum Act Cap 10 LFN 2004
174 S 15(1) of the Petroleum Act
Whereas in the Northern Region, according to Aladeitan, the system of land ownership was governed and regulated by the land tenure law that was enacted in 1962 by the regional government to replace Lord Lugard’s Land and native Rights Ordinance of 1916. He further noted that the land tenure law replaced Lord Lugard’s land and substantially reaffirms the principles and philosophy underlying the Land tenure Law, the only interest available to an individual throughout the Northern Region is a right of occupancy. The effect of this enactment is that it operated to divert the native of ownership of their land and facilitated easy dispossession by the authorities.

Section 1 of the Land Use Act rests all lands comprise in the territory of each state in the federation in the Governor of the State, who in turn shall hold it in trust and administer it for the use and common benefit of all Nigerians in accordance with the provision of the Act. By this provision, the Land Use Act introduced in entirely new dimension into Land ownership in the country by abolishing the ownership right of communities and individuals to land and turning their interest into rights of occupancy only. In attempting to interpret Section 1 and 2 of the Land Use Act, His Lordship Belgore JSC (as he then was) in the case of Olorunfemi v. Asho. “There has been no statute ilke this before. It took away the land from every Zanded gentry’ and vested it for administration in the military governor of the state in which the land is situated for management and control for the benefit of Nigerians…”

Consequently therefore it is clear that land ownership and tenure in Nigeria is a qualified one in which absolute title is vested in the governor. It must however be noted that notwithstanding the resting of title in the Governor’s hand in the respective state, one cannot exercise rights over lands, that belong to the Federal Government and its agencies. This includes lands that contain mineral deposit or land use for related purposes. Hence, none of the state that are component units of the federation have any direct control over the exploration and exploitation of minerals. It is equally noted that, apart from legislation, case law has also acceded to the fact that ownership and control of mineral resources is vested in the federal government. This was confirmed by the Supreme Court of Nigeria in the case of Attorney General of the Federation V. Attorney General, Abia State (No. 2) where it was held that “the federal government alone and not the littoral states can lawfully exercise legislative, exclusive and judicial power over the maritime belt or territorial waters and sovereign rights over the exclusive economic zone subject to universally recognized rights”. The court went on to decide that the mere fact that oil rigs bear the names of the indigenous communities on the coastline adjacent to such offshore area does not prove ownership of such offshore area. There is no doubt from the pronouncement of the Supreme Court that ownership and control of mineral resources whether onshore, offshore, in Nigeria’s territorial waters, the Exclusive Economic Zone or the Continental Shelf is rested in the federal government of Nigeria.

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178 Ibid P.173
179(1999) 1 NWLR (pt 585), 1 at p.9
180 S. 49 Land Use Act, Cap LS LFN 2004
181(2002) 4 NSCC 51
Conclusively, when one read section 1 of the Land Use Act together with Section 44(3) of the 1999 constitution, it will be observed that our law is very clear on who owns what. The land is rested in the state governors, while the mineral resources rest in the federal government.

**The Nigeria Minerals and Mining Act 2007:**

This Act repeals the minerals and mining Act No. 34 of 1999 and re-enact the Nigeria Mineral and Mining Act\(^{182}\) for the purpose of regulating all aspects of the exploration and exploitation of minerals in Nigeria. The 2007 Act is structured into six chapters and 165 section covering matter relating to ownership and control of mineral resources, prospecting, mining and quarrying; small scale mining, possession and purchase of minerals, environmental consideration and right of host communities; offences and penalties as well as miscellaneous provisions.

Under Section 1 of the Act, the entire property in and control of all mineral resources in under or upon any land in Nigeria, its contiguous, continental shelf and all rivers, streams and water course throughout Nigeria, any area covered by its territorial water or constituency and the Exclusive Economic Zone is and shall be rested in the federal government of Nigeria for and on behalf of the people of Nigeria. All lands in which minerals have been found in commercial quantities shall, from the commencement of this Act be acquired by the government of the Federation in accordance with the provisions of the Land Use Act.

However, by virtue of Section 3, some lands are excluded from mineral exploration and exploitation and as such, no mineral title can be granted in respect of such land. The lands referred to in section 3, includes Land set apart for, or used for, or appropriate or dedicated to any military purpose except with prior approval of the president; land within fifty meters of an oil pipeline license area; land occupied by town, village, market, burial ground or cemetery, ancestral, sacred or archaeological sites; land appropriated for a railway, public building, reservoir, dam, or public road; and land that is subjected to the provisions of the National Commission for Museum and Movement Act, Cap N19 LFN 2004 and the National Parks Service Act Cap N65 LFN 2004.

Consequently, even though the ownership of mineral resources is entirely vested in the Federal Government, certain rights and customs of host-communities such as preservation of salt, soda, potash and galena from any land other than land within the area of mining lease or land designed by the minister as security land are all preserved.

**EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE ACT:**

This is another legislative intervention in the ownership and control of mineral resources in Nigeria. It is provided in Section 2(1) of the Exclusive Economic Zone Act that:

\(^{182}\)No 20, which came into force on 29th March 2007
“Without prejudice to the Territorial Waters Act, the petroleum Act or the sea fisheries Act, sovereign and exclusive right with respect to the natural resources of the seabed, subsoil and superjacent water of the exclusive economic zone shall vest in the Federal Republic of Nigeria and such rights shall be exercisable by the Federal Government or by such minister or agency as the government may from time to time, designate in that behalf either general or in any special case”.

The Exclusive Economic Zone Act was formerly a decree promulgated in 1978. However, the provisions of the Exclusive Zone Decree was later re-enacted by a civilian government to bring into conformity with the terminology of a civilian system of government.

INSTITUTIONAL/REGULATORY STRUCTURES FOR THE CONTROL OF MINERAL RESOURCES IN NIGERIA:

Nigeria has over the years been making effort in establishing several institutional/regulatory frameworks for the control and management of mineral resources especially the sub-soil minerals like the oil and gas. On this note, the federal government in its determination to ensure efficiency and maximize the benefits from massive revenue potential of the oil, gas and solid minerals sector have continuously implemented relevant policies aimed at reforming and revamping these sectors of the economy. To start with, the establishment of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation through the merger of the then Nigeria National Oil Corporation (NNOC) and the Ministry of Petroleum Resources in April, 1997 and the enactment of the Nigeria Mineral and Mining Act 2007 which puts the government in a frontal role in mineral development through the Federal Ministry of Solid Minerals Development established in 1995 to facilitate the development of the mining sector in accordance with the policy of the government. For instance, the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation was given powers and operational interests in refining, petrol-chemicals and products transportation as well as marketing. This was in addition to exploration and production activities carried out mainly offshore Niger Delta by its forerunner, the Nigeria National Oil Corporation.

The NNPC was set up as a regulatory structure to manage all government’s interests in the petroleum industry. It carries out these functions through its subsidiaries namely, the Nigerian Petroleum Development Company Limited (NPDCL), Integrated Data Services Limited (IDSL), Warri Refining and Petrochemical Company Limited (WRPCL), Kaduna Refining and Petro-chemical Company Limited (KRPCL), Port Harcourt Refining and Petro-chemical Company Limited (PHRCL), Pipeline and Products Marketing Company Limited (PPMC), Eleme Petro-chemical Company Limited (EPCL), National Engineering and Technical Company Limited (NETCO), Nigeria Liquefied Natural Gas Company (NCNG), Nigeria Gas Company Limited (NGC) Hyson Nigeria Limited and the National Petroleum Investment Management Services (NAPIMS). The Director of Petroleum resources of the Federal Ministry of Petroleum is authorized under the Petroleum Act to express general supervision over all operations carried out under that enactment. In doing so, he is empowered to enforce the provisions of the Act and its subsidiary legislations made there under.
On the other hand, the major institution regulating the operations of mining in Nigeria is the Federal Ministry of solid minerals under the supervision of the minister for solid minerals development who has authority on behalf of the federal government of Nigeria to issue licenses to mining operators.

Other key institutional/regulatory framework put in place in the management and control of mineral resources particularly oil and gas in Nigeria include the establishment of the Niger Delta Development Commission (Establishment) Act with sole objective of making provisions for the payment of 3% of the annual budget of the multinational oil and gas companies for the development of the Niger Delta where the oil and gas is exploited.

Also, the establishment of the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative Act 2007 is another invention in the regime of regulation and control of oil, gas and mineral resources operations in Nigeria. The office is charged with the responsibility of among other things providing the institutional framework for transparency and accountability by imposing, reporting and disclosure obligations on all oil and gas companies of revenue due to or paid to the federal government. According to M.T Ladan,

“There is lack of transparency and accountability in the management of revenues from the petroleum sector. Part of this is now been addressed by the Nigeria Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative (NEITI) Act 2007. There are no records of the level of production, how much is produced and by who, how much is sold at what rate? How much do companies give to the government? This opacity has made people to distrust government and believe that it has been squandering national revenue without commensurate output”.184

Furthermore, so many other legislations were put in place to regulate the operations of the oil and gas industry in Nigeria. For example, the Oil Pipeline Act, the Nigeria Oil and Gas Industry Content Development Act, the Associated Gas (Reinjection) Act, the Education Tax Act, the Federal Inland Revenue Service Establishment Act 2007, and the Environmental Impact Assessment Act, to mention a few.

THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS AND THE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF MINERAL RESOURCES IN PERSPECTIVES:

The question of ownership and control of mineral resources in the past has always received attention at the international level. Certainly, international law secures the nation state’s sovereign rights over natural resources within the offshore arena in terms of exploration and production activities. In many ways, international concepts,

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183 Cap N86, LFN 2004
184 Ibid
185 Cap 07, LFN 2004
186 2010
187 Cap A. 13, LFN 2004
188 Cap E4, LFN 2004
189 Cap E12, LFN 2004
principles and organizations have been the principal driving blocks for national or state rights to own and control mineral resources.

At the early stage of the modern oil and gas industry, investor ownership and control prevailed due to the influence of world power such as Britain, Germany, France, Italy and the United States. In later part of the 19th and early 20th century, the tendency was for international oil companies (IOCS) to exercise rights that amounted to sovereignty over the resource and the area in which deposit were located. International oil companies were, in practical terms, granted unfettered concessions that maximized the freedom to search for and own crude oil winning at the point of extraction. These International Oil Companies enjoyed full control over oil and gas and management to the exclusion of host states on whose territories the resources were discovered.

However, the end of colonial rule and the creation of the organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) transformed the fortunes of oil producer states particularly in the Arabian Gulf. It resulted in a seismic progression from investor ownership and control to state ownership, control and sovereignty over natural resources. Underscoring this in 1962 was the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Resolutions 1803 on permanent sovereignty over Natural Resources. More particularly, the UN adopted in December 1974, the charter on Economic Rights and Duties of States (CERDS) as part of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) to the dismay of Western powers and international oil companies.

The United Nation General Assembly Resolution 1803 (VIII) provides that the right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources must be exercised in the interests of their national development and of the well being of the people of the state concerned. Whereas, the New International Economic Order encapsulates the transformed relationship in that host states had “full permanent sovereignty, including possession, use and disposal over all of its wealth, natural resources and economic activities including the ‘right to nationalize, expropriate or transfer ownership of foreign property’ though appropriate compensation has to be paid to the investor. In other words, the UN General Assembly affirmed the sovereign equality of all states to determine their economic destiny. The major focus was that host states were to exercise effective control over their resources. Paragraph 4 (e) and (f) provides thus.

“No state shall be subject to economic, political or any other type of coercion to prevent free and full exercise of its inalienable rights and right to all states and peoples to restitution and full compensation for exploitation and deception of damages to the natural resources and all other resources under foreign occupation, alien or colonial domination or apartheid”

190 Maxwell M. Gidado, Petroleum Development Contracts with Multinational Oil Firms — The Nigeria Experience, (Maiduguri: Ed- Uniform Services, 1999), pp.111-117
193 Resolution No. 3281
Resolution 1803 (XVII) further demonstrated the importance of host state claims as superior to that of the international oil company. It declared thus:

“Nationalization, expropriation or requisitioning shall be based on grounds or reasons of public utility, security or the national interest. In such cases the owner shall be paid appropriate compensation, in accordance with the rules in force in the state taking such measures and in accordance with international law.”

Also, in 1958, the first law of the sea conference of the United Nations resulted in four Geneva Conventions on the Law of the Sea thus:

i. Convention on territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone (came into force in 1965)
ii. Convention on the High Sea (came into force in 1962)
iv. Convention on the continental shelf (came into forces in 1964)

The conventions clarified and re-ordered the relationship between coastal states and the offshore arena. Important concepts emerged on the rights of coastal states in relation to the territorial seas, contiguous zone and the continental shelf. The preamble to the 1982 UNCLOS recognizes inter alia that:

“The New Legal Order should promote peaceful uses of the sea and oceans, equitable utilization of resources and promote economic and social advancement for all people in the world. Part II deals with territorial sea and contiguous zones, part V Exclusive Economic Zone and Part VI continental shelf”

Also, with the United Nation Conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in place, coastal states have sovereign right over the continental shelf. if the state does not explore or exploit its oil and gas, no other state can undertake such activities without its consent. Thus, the rights of coastal states are exclusive and belong to the state Ipso Jure, without the need for any express act, proclamation or occupation of the area. As a result, the Geneva Convention clearly concedes the right of Nigeria to exercise control over the exploration, production and development of natural resources on its continental shelf. Initially, the mineral Oil Act received the Continental Shelf Concept into Nigeria Law. As a matter of fact, the petroleum Act definition of continental shelf corresponds to that of the Geneva Convention:

“The Sea-bed and the sub-soil of those submarine areas adjacent to the coast of Nigeria, the surface of which lies at a depth no greater than two hundred meters (or, where its natural resources are capable of exploitation at any depth) below the surface of the sea, excluding so much of those areas as lies below the territorial waters of Nigeria”.

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195 Article 2, United Nations 1958 Convention on the Continental Shelf, 499 UNTS 311
Further extension to the rights of the host states were granted under the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEC) concept which developed following several sessions of the United Nations Conference of the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The 1982 UNCLOS provides an area of the sea, beyond, and adjacent to the territorial sea, extending to 370.65kn (200 Nautical anile).\textsuperscript{198}

Conclusion:

It could be seen that Nigeria has a quite number of legal framework in place through the enactments of various legislations in the use, management and regulation of the oil and gas industry. However, key legislations governing the ownership and control of the mineral resources are the constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, the Petroleum Act 1969, the Land Use Act 1978, the Nigeria Minerals and Mining Act 2007 and the Exclusive Economic Zone Act of 1978. All these Legislations have significantly make provisions vesting ownership and control rights over all mineral resources in the Federal Government of Nigeria.

In addition to the foregoing, legislations were also put in place establishing some critical institutions with the mandate to regulate and manage government interest in the oil and gas industry. For instance, the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation, the Federal Ministry of Mines and Steel development, the Niger Delta Development Commission, the Nigeria Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative etc. Apart from all these legislations and institutions in place, the United Nations resolutions and conventions also plays an important role in the subject of ownership and control of mineral resources in Nigeria.

Consequently, in recent years, Nigeria has sought to overhaul the legislative and regulatory frameworks relating to the oil and gas industry. These has resulted in the draft of the Petroleum Industry Bill (PIB) which is currently before the Nigerian National Assembly. The bill is aimed at harmonizing all the legislations and significantly restructuring the industry, particularly the functions of the various regulatory agencies with a view to eliminating overlaps. The passage of this bill into Act will be an effort in the right direction in addressing the numerous challenges facing the smooth operations of mineral resource management particularly the sub-soil minerals i.e. oil and gas.

\textsuperscript{198} Article 55 and 57 UNCLOS 1982
BEYOND THE ISLAMIC LAW IN NIGERIA, THE BOKO HARAM AND THE CHALLENGES OF GLOBALIZATION

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ABSTRACT

Many have sought to understand the phenomenon of Boko Haram in Nigeria and situate its violent activities within the so-called global Jihād movement. Then came Tuesday 11/8/2016 election of Donald J. Trump as the 45th President of the United States. What is Trumpism? What does the “unexpected” Trump’s victory portend for the war on terrorism? What do the “Islamic terrorists” such as Boko Haram in Nigeria want? In an attempt to make sense of this historic election, answer these and other questions and give an appropriate analysis of Trumpism, I propose examining three comments made by scholars, columnists and world leaders in the wake of the election within the lens of American policies, five paradoxes and the therapeutic purposes of the Sharī‘ah punishments of al-Ḥirābah.

Introduction

Northeast Nigeria, especially Maiduguri has long been the heartland of Islam and Islamic scholarship since the days of Kanem-Bornu Empire. The outbreak of Boko Haram (hereafter BḤ) insurgency against the Nigerian state in 2009 and the subsequent descent into terrorist acts that climaxed with the kidnapping of the Chibok girls in 2014 has raised many questions: How should we best understand the BḤ?; Is it a product of Islamic teachings or modern politics of economics, empire and imperialism?; What is the place of the Sharī‘ah legitimizing or delegitimizing the BḤ? And what is the Sharī‘ah therapeutic solution to the BḤ and similar menace such as the ISIS? To answer these and the previous questions, this paper examines three comments made by scholars, columnists and world leaders in the wake of the election of Donald J. Trump as the 45th President of the United States within the lens of five paradoxes, American domestic and foreign policies and the therapeutic purposes of the Sharī‘ah punishments of al-Ḥirābah contained in the Qur’an 5: 33-34.

What Trumpism Is:

The first paradox is that while Hillary Clinton won the popular votes, she lost the Electoral College votes. How did Trump do it? But to answer the question, a question I must first answer is what Trumpism is? To Catholic Boston College Darald and Juliet Libby Professor of Theology and Law, Cathleen Kaveny, “I am as yet unable to imagine the future—I can’t think about the Supreme Court, the fate of immigrants, race relations, Obamacare, the economy, or any other issue. I cannot get Donald Trump’s
From this shocking depiction of an unimaginable nightmare, Trumpism may therefore be understood as Trump’s world view based on putting America first. This entails dismantling the American military, immigration, and health, economic and racial policies etc in order to build an American empire and hegemony. Empires just as kingdoms to paraphrase the Qur’an “despoil a conquered nation and make the noblest of its people its meanest.”

To do this, Orientalism as an ideology that put down colonised peoples as lesser beings played a major role during the days of colonialism.

Similarly, “America First organization associated with Charles Lindbergh,” which among others was isolationist, non-interventionist and supportive of Adolf Hitler provides Trump with an ideology. During the 1940 election that was also a watershed, President Franklin D. Roosevelt who contested for an unprecedented third term as President of America had to contend with Lindbergh’s “America First” and was compelled to vow that “you boys are not going to be sent into any foreign war” in order to defeat his Republican internationalist opponent, Wendell Willkie.

A key point in Trumpism, which made Trump to defeat Clinton, in my view therefore, was his campaign promises to undermine the UN, the global economy and American alliance and bilateral agreements with other countries. Hence, creating a hegemonic economic system where America uses tariffs to leverage its trades with China, Japan and Mexico and where its allies pay for the cost of the American military presence in their countries and regions, as well as supporting Russian President Vladimir Putin’s annexation of Crimea in Ukraine and fight against the ISIS are its features.

Recently, Trump insists on withdrawing from Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) on the first day in office, confirming his unwillingness to negotiate with its allies. Trumpism also promotes hate speech directed at the black communities, women, immigrants, refugees and Muslims etc. The working class people who elected Trump did so because he represented these sentiments and they voted against Clinton because she comes from the establishment. How Trumpim won “unexpectedly” and what it portends for the war on terrorism brings me to the second paradox that America teaches values that might be good for the whole world but not good for it as depicted in the following message:

Germany and America are bound by their values: Democracy, freedom, the respect for the law and the dignity of human beings, independent of their origin, skin color, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or political conviction.

On the basis of these values, I offer the future president of the United States, Donald Trump close cooperation.  

**Angela Merkel, German Chancellor’s congratulatory message** in my view offers what would be the basis of German continued cooperation with America under Trumpism. Whereas America has always claimed to champion these values even when it invaded Cuba in 1961, Libya in 1986 and Panama in 1989/90 to assassinate Fidel Castro, Muammar Gaddafi and Manuel Antonio Noriega respectively, Trump was elected on the platform of dismantling them. Therefore Merkel explains the willingness to sustain these values in spite of Trumpism. However, while this comment like the first implies the unexpectedness of the victory of Trump, I contend that Trumpism has always been part of America. Bolaji Akinyemi identifies this when he observes that:

This election did not create the American ugliness that the whole world has been exposed to. This ugliness has always been there. What masked this ugliness was a consensus (some might say a conspiracy) among the elite and mainstream media to filter out the ugliness and present to the world an image of the United States characterised by the Kennedys, the Obamas, the Georgenst set, the Harvard-Cambridge set. Buried out of sight were Appalachia, rural Alabama, rural Mississippi, rednecks, various white militias.  

I argue that “the American ugliness” subtly depicts in the words of Akinyemi “Donald Trump the “modern-day Hitler” whom makes the world feel what it “must have felt in the 1930s when the original Hitler came along.” This is because to paraphrase Oladosu, “Even if it is Madness, Let there be a Method.” The “American ugliness” or if you like madness is methodical and systematic, permeating American policies contrary to the view of those who hold that its foreign policy is ambivalent. America may be predisposed to act alone by taking a pre-emptive action if it considers it pragmatic as President Bill J. Clinton did in December 1998 when he ordered bombing of Iraq (code-named Operation Desert Fox) without waiting for the UN resolution. It may also get the “UN mandate” to form a global coalition as President W. Bush did after 9/11 yet he was the one who decided which countries were havens of terrorism, when to launch and end the war and whether to leave the Taliban or Saddam Hussein in power. Thus, America may not subscribe to a single counter-terrorism tactic or action, yet it is always guided by its differing interests. For, how could it maintain the

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206 Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, “Where is the United States that I used to Know?” The Guardian (Wednesday, November 9, 2016), 12, also in The Nation (Thursday, November 10, 2016), 18.

207 Ibid.

208 This is embedded in the title, Afis A. Oladosu, “Even if it is Madness, Let there be a Method: Theorizing the Arabic Method in Humanistic Research” text of the paper presented at the University of Ibadan Faculty of Arts Seminar held in 2015, 3.

209 For details, see Gene Rainey, Patterns of American Foreign Policy (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1975).


211 Alan M. Dershowitz, Why Terrorism Works: Understanding the Threat, Responding to the Challenge (Carlton North: Vic Scribe, 2003), 168.

In his recent convocation lecture at Ibadan, Akinyemi examines the prospect of Nigeria’s emergence as a black world power and argues that with Trump’s focus on putting America first, he may subconsciously create the conditions necessary for Nigeria to emerge as a world power.\footnote{Bolaji Akinyemi, “Nigeria Exceptionalism: What Exceptionalism?” *University of Ibadan Convocation Lecture* (November 16, 2016). For post Notes from Akinyemi’s UI convocation lecture, see Ayo Olukotun in Punch Newspapers at http://punchng.com/notes-akinyemis-ui-convocation-lecture/.} What Akinyemi doesn’t mention is that to be exceptional like America, Nigeria also needs mad men for “buried out of sight were Appalachia, rural Alabama, rural Mississippi, rednecks, various white militias,” that today elected Trump and not “the Kennedys, the Obamas, the Georgetown set, the Harvard-Cambridge set.”\footnote{Akinyemi, “Where is the United States that I used to Know?”} This point is paradoxically noted by Anne Applebaum, a columnist with the Washington Post as follows:

**There** is an understandable inclination to believe that by voting for and ultimately electing Donald Trump, white people (particularly working class white people) voted against their own self-interests. After all, this is a man who became a billionaire by swindling and defrauding and sometimes just outright not paying people exactly like them, and there’s no real evidence that a Trump presidency will be much different for them than the Trump industry has been.\footnote{For more details, read at http://www.dailytrust.com.ng/news/general/reactions-to-trump-s-presidency-around-the-world/171034.html#Hu22dJID8HqA65f99 10/11/16}

However, these seemingly mad working class white people voted against Clinton because her worldview is not the “dominant American worldview.” Trump might besexist, xenophobic or Islamophobic but they elected him because his mentality in the words of Whitehead “springs from the view of the world which is, in fact, dominant”\footnote{Alfred N. Whitehead, *Process and Reality* David R. Griffin and Donald W. Sherbune eds. (New York: The Free Press, 1979), vii.} as he attacks globalization for making the rich who donate to politicians very wealthy while wiping out millions of American middle class workers and vows to put America first before its allies. Again, the working class people who elected Trump did so because they were frustrated by their economic conditions. *They voted against Clinton because most often than not, prosperity is judged by development in the big cities while in the rural communities, the economic divide is sharp and so does the resentment of the rural people. This resentment naturally reflected in the votes as people in prosperous cities voted Hillary and those in the rural zones such as the ‘Appalachia, rural Alabama, rural Mississippi, rednecks, various white militias,’ voted Trump.*

To locate this “mad dominant American worldview,” let us flashback to the very beginning. Putting themselves first by way of xenophobic sentiment was started by the European pilgrims who settled and established the new world. Though they wanted to be free, they were not willing to grant that freedom to the “other.” From 1650 to 1661, the Puritan establishment of Boston, who wanted a province, shaped by their own
form of Christianity put four Quakers to death and enacted a law that permitted no Catholic. In Virginia, the Church of England did not welcome dissidents. Further, when Protestants came to power in Maryland, which was founded by the Catholic, they passed anti-Catholic laws in 1704. The fourth of July, 1924 marked a watershed in the Protestant sentiment as the Ku Klux Klan in New Jersey protested the immigration of Jews and Catholics because of the Jewish domination of the economic life and Catholics possible domination of its political and religious life. To them, “the vast alien immigration” was “at the root, an attack upon Protestant religion;” and “a menace to American liberties.” This sentiment won the day and the Johnson-Reed Act set quotas on immigration until the post-World War II\(^\text{217}\) as it is winning today against the Palestinians. The Palestinians are viewed as terrorists and Israeli Jews as strategic to the United States interests of keeping Islam and Muslims in check in the Middle East.\(^\text{218}\)

As John Pilger has argued, by removing Saddam from power, Bush succeeded in protecting the rights of a Jewish minority in Palestine\(^\text{219}\) just as Trump opposes the Palestinian state until Palestinians denounce “terrorism” and negotiate with Israel,\(^\text{220}\) a clear rejection of the UN recognition of the Palestinian state and France current attempt at pushing for an international conference to discuss peace in the Middle East.\(^\text{221}\) This leads to the third paradox that the Jews who during the first century AD introduced terrorism by assassinating people, including fellow Jews, in a political bid to end the Roman occupation forces in Palestine\(^\text{222}\) are today allies of America while the Palestinian state that is fighting their occupation is guilty of “terrorism.” For representing this Islamophobic worldview, the bulk of white evangelicals, in Pew Research’s Forum’s words “eight-in-ten self-identified white, born-again/evangelical Christians” also voted as Christians, not Republicans or Democrats” for Trump while just 1.5 voted for Clinton.\(^\text{223}\)

9/11 and 11/9:

One major parallel that could be drawn between 9/11 and 11/9 is the construction of Muslims and Muslim societies as the “other,” which started with Orientalism according to Edward Said.\(^\text{224}\) While focusing on this Euro-American prejudice towards the Orient, Said stumbles on Islamophobia, that views both Islam and Muslims as “static in both time and place, and incapable of defining themselves” as compared to


\(^{222}\)For the details on how the Jewish sicaris used terrorism to push its political agenda, see Walter Laqueur, *The New Terrorism, Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (London: Oxford University Press, 2000).


the “dynamic, innovative and expanding culture” of the West, as it discredits the religions of the east. This is today reflected in Western scholarship and the alleged long existence of a plan “to achieve three goals: undermine Islamists’ attempts to participate in elections, force Islamists to lose faith in democracy, as a result, and compel them to employ violence as means of vetting their frustrations.” Hence the West “equate terror with Islam” and Jihād with “holy war against non-Muslims.” One implication of this is that Islamophobia is likely to rise under Trumpism as it did after 9/11 when xenophobic incidents targeted Muslims and even “Sikhs were also attacked, as we know, for their beards and turbans that marked them, in the eyes of the uninformed, as cousins of Osama bin Laden.” A Sikh was killed close to his convenience store like a Muslim from Pakistan killed in his grocery store. Perhaps, the greatest parallel between 9/11 and 11/9 is capitalism. America is the greatest consumers of oil while the Bush family has had a long history of multibillion-dollar oil business. Therefore 9/11 was “a great gift” and a convenient excuse in putting a puppet in Afghanistan, guaranteeing America unbridled access to the oil reserve of the country. If it had succeeded in replacing Saddam with a puppet too, it would have dismantled the power of OPEC and thereby controlled global oil pricing. Paradoxically the destruction of Iraq and the killing of Saddam and Gaddafi paved the way for the creation of the ISIS reminiscent of the Taliban and al-Qaida that the CIA sponsored to expel the Russians from Afghanistan. As explained by Balogun, quoting Gen. Saighal, President Jimmy Carter secretly authorized $500 million to create Islamic terror groups and spread “Islamic fundamentalism in Central Asia to ‘destabilize’ the Soviet Union.” Additionally, as the “America First” was to Trump, “The Clash of Civilizations” provided Bush an ideology for separating “us” from “them” since 1648 up to the Cold War were “Western civil wars” while the war from the end of the Cold War will be between civilizations, with Islam as the main enemy of the West due to the cultural divisions because it is “extraordinarily difficult for Islamic societies to accommodate non-Muslims” and “for Muslims to easily fit into societies where the majority is non-Muslims.” Bernard Lewis, the Princeton Professor Emeritus is a considerable voice in this depiction of Islam. This leads to the fourth paradox. Though Muslims tend to reject secularism, they embrace other pillars of modernity, which brings up the last question what do “Islamic terrorists” want?

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226 Ibid, 56.
230 Eck, A New Religious America, Preface.
236 For details on modernity, see A. Touraine, Critique of Modernity (Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1995).
What the foregoing shows is that the global terrorist groups that have emerged within the Islamic traditions such as the Taliban and al-Qaida, followed by the dreaded ISIS are in fact the products of Western global policies and especially the US imperialistic activities in the Middle East. Though this group use Islamic symbols, quote from Islamic traditions and employ anachronistic interpretations of the \( \text{Sharî‘ah} \), their murderous threat, indiscriminate killing and terrorism are forbidden in the \( \text{Sharî‘ah} \) and in fact punishable by the \( \text{Sharî‘ah} \) criminization of \( \text{al-Ḥirābah} \). For this reason, the next section will turn to the \( \text{BḤ} \), its call for the \( \text{Sharî‘ah} \) and perpetration of \( \text{al-Ḥirābah} \).

\( \text{Al-Ḥirābah, the} \text{Sharî‘ah} \) Terrorism and the \( \text{BḤ} \):

According to Juergensmeyer “one of the reasons government is easily labeled the enemy of religion is that to some degree it is” because “by its nature, the secular state is opposed to the idea that religions should have a role in public.”

This in my view is what has been playing out in Nigeria. For instance, Christians opposed the proposal for a Federal \( \text{Sharî‘ah} \) Court of Appeal during the 1977/8 Constitutional Conference because it would distort the “secularity” of Nigeria. Before then, the 1933 Native Courts Ordinance declared certain \( \text{Sharî‘ah} \) penalties such as amputation and capital punishment repugnant to natural justice in the North. However, the same \( \text{Sharî‘ah} \) was out rightly terminated in the Southwestern part where according to Abdul Fatai Makinde, it was administered in places like Ede in form of a customary court. Consequently, Muslims in the words of James Anderson “requested the establishment of a Muslim Judiciary (Sharia) for Southern Nigeria” to avert separating Muslim couples without regard to the \( \text{Sharî‘ah} \). This culminated in “the Settlement of 1960,” which Christians opposed and Muslims reluctantly accepted, because it dawned on the north that these legal and judicial reforms would have to be carried out if the self-governing region was to fulfill its role in the federation of Nigeria and commands respect among the nations of the world.”

This in the words of Ostien and Fwatshak made “Christians missed an opportunity to settle with the Muslims the place of Islamic law in Nigeria on reasonable, honorable, and stable terms.” That it is in the name of the \( \text{Sharî‘ah} \) that some Islamic movements are today deeply enmeshed in terrorist acts as the \( \text{BḤ} \), which has emerged as the second deadliest terrorist group next to ISIS and followed by Taliban and al-Qaida, seemingly supports the label “Islamic terrorists,” and evidence of intrinsic Islamic tenets on terrorism. To interrogate this, I adopt Labeeb

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Ahmed Bsoul’s definition of ħirābahas terrorism and employ the comparative method, which builds on the synthetic analysis of the teachings of the Qur’an, thematic, stylistic and comparative approaches and the classical Tafsīr bī al-ma‘thūr as explained by Ibn al-Kathīr by studying the corpus of Islamic texts as a whole that differentiates between the spirit and letters of the Sharī‘ah because while its universal and eternal principles are rigid, its derivative application is dynamic and flexible. This method reveals that Islamic scholarship requires deep knowledge otherwise “the teachings of Islam” will appear “at best ambiguous about violence,” “as nothing more than a jumble of borrowed and rambling thoughts with no sense of direction” similar to I.O. Oloyede’s first impression in 1970 that Mukhtaṣar Khalīl, the popular Mālikī compendium on Islamic Law “was a compilation of meaningless expressions” as well as create “this insinuation and impression among the public and scholars alike that a practicing religious person who is also a scholar of Religious Studies, cannot teach religions different from the one he/she practises without showing prejudice.” This according to J. K. Ayantayo “has led to the cold war between Christians and Muslims in some Universities, and might account “for the establishment of the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies in the University of Ibadan, independent of the Department of Religious Studies.” Ayantayo continues “in the University of Ibadan, we learnt that some Muslims demand that only Muslims by faith and practice should teach courses in Islamic and Arabic Studies. Statistically, all lecturers in the Department of Islamic and Arabic Studies are Muslims.” My response to “this insinuation” is that it is incorrect that non-Muslims cannot teach Islam as shown by Ismail Raji al-Faurqi. According to him, once a scholar can maintain a skeptical distance between his/her religious beliefs and the study of the religion of the “other,” such a scholar is qualified to “teach religions different from the one he/she practises without showing prejudice.” However, I argue that this is only possible where scholars who “teach religions different from the one he/she practises without showing prejudice” master those religions’ traditions. Personally, I believe that this skeptical distance in the case of teaching Islam must grounded in the use of multidisciplinary approaches, such as the above comparative approach, philosophy, sociology and history as I have been acclaimed to have demonstrated by many renown scholars. In my article “A Comparative Study of the Teaching of Islam in Selected Nigerian Universities,” I revisited the evolution of the academic study of Islam in Ibadan and cited Abubakre that as early as 1635, a chair was

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246Fazlur Rahman, Major Themes of the Qur’an (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1980), xi-xvi.
248Juergensmeyer, Terror in the Mind of God, 80-81.
249Abdel Haleem, Understanding the Qur’an,viii.
252For instance Prof. Oladele Abiodun Balogun of the Department of Philosophy, Olabisi Onabanjo University Ago-Iwoyed declared that I was able to research into Islam without bias and free of special pleading because I employ the tools of Philosophy among others while commenting on a paper I presented at the 13th Annual Conference of the International Society for African Philosophy and Studies (ISAPS) hosted by the Philosophy Department, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa between April 2 and 4, 2007.
established in Arabic at Oxford University. It is therefore not an accident that Ibadan Islamic Studies started together with Arabic pioneered by Profs. B. J. Martins, J. O. Hunwick and I. O. Ogunbiyi, who rose to become the first Professor of Arabic in Southwestern Nigeria and like S. H. A. Malik attained near native fluency in Arabic. If today, there is no non-Muslim in the teaching staff of the department, it may be because Christian scholars, who like Ogunbiyi and even the late Joseph Kenny, attain near native fluency in Arabic are few. This centrality of Arabic must have made Oloyedeto view “Arabic as a sub-set of Islamics” and Jacob K. Oluponanote that the Islamic Studies unit of the department of Religious Studies at Ibadan was fairly good while that of Ife was weak. Today, the reverse is the case. The study of Islam in Ibadan Religious Studies is at best very weak if not totally non-existence after the exit of Kenny while that of Ife can only grow stronger because of the inclusion of experts in Islamic Studies. Even knowledge of Arabic alone is not sufficient because Islamic studies has always entailed multidisciplinary approaches, which cannot relegate the above comparative approach whose neglect explains the Orientalist bias as noted by Said when he asks “isn’t it true that following upon all sorts of advances in twentieth century sociology, anthropology, linguistics and history, American scholars who teach the Middle East and Islam in places like Princeton, Howard and Chicago are therefore unbiased and free of special pleading in what they do? The answer is no.” This is why in my view, the Orientalist and groups like the BJ coalesce in their understanding of Islam and terrorism. Hence, I use the comparative method to unlock the definition of al-Hirah without liberating it from the Sunnah, which some use to freeze its meaning in the words of Tariq Ramdan “into a particular application.”

The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger, and strive with might and main for mischief through the land is execution, or crucifixion, or the cutting off of hands and feet from opposite sides, or exile from the land: That is their disgrace in this world, and a heavy punishment is theirs in the Hereafter. Except for those who repent before they fall into your power: in that case, know that Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful (Q5:33-34).

According to Anas ibn Malik, a group of people from ‘Ukalameto give al-Bay‘ah (the pledge of entering Islam) to the Messenger of Allah (SAW). They fell sick and he directed them to go to the outskirts of Madīnahand drink “the urine and milk of the camel.” They drank as instructed and became cured. Then “they killed the shepherd

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256 Said, Covering Islam, 23.
and drove away with the camel.” When the news came to the Messenger of Allah (SAW), the verse was revealed and they were pursued and apprehended and the above punishments were implemented on them. While based on the above verses and historical circumstances, classical scholars have defined al-Ḥirābah as aggression, armed robbery, and banditry etc. perpetrated on the highway, to Oloso and Uthman, however; since for any crime to be considered al-Ḥirābah, it must take place in circumstances where it is difficult for the victims to receive help or are completely defenseless, it could be perpetrated even in houses, roads and public places in the city where people do not have ready assistance to protection. This is why I agree with Bsoul’s definition of al-Ḥirābah as terrorism, which he bases particularly on the Mālikī position that extends al-Ḥirābahto all forms of anarchy because, wherever anarchy occurs, members of the public become afraid, terrified and scared even if they are not killed or robbed. Therefore, I define al-Ḥirābah as terrorism and those who make members of the public become afraid, terrified and scared even if they are not killed or robbed as muḥāribūn (perpetrators of terrorism).

One implication of this is that contrary to the anachronistic interpretations of terrorist groups such as the BḤ, the Sharī‘ah prohibits the enslavement and killing of non-combatants, which constitutes terrorism regardless of the goals, whether political or religious. This definition is thereby opposed to the view that one’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter and the propagandistic definition of terrorism, which to paraphrase Chomsky refers to “violent acts committed by enemies against “us” or “our allies.” This propagandistic definition of terrorism has been used to delegitimize the murderous activities of the others while justifying one’s inhumanities against them. This unveils the fifth paradox that while Muslims are “Islamic terrorists,” the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda, which perpetrated terrorism with the goal of establishing biblical states shaped by their own form of Christianity and the Japanese offshoot of Buddhism, Aum Shinrikyo, (the Supreme Truth), which in 1995 released a poisonous gas in a Tokyo’s train killing about a dozen people and injuring over 5,500 people, “many with permanent injuries” are not usually depicted as “Christian and Buddhist terrorists.”

Another implication is that the BḤ and the Orientalist interpretation of Islamic teachings, especially on violence and Jihād lis largely the product of their failure to apply the comparative method. This includes the views that the blood of Muslims and non-Muslims alike is permissible to shed in the mould of the early Islam Khawārij because they are sinners or unbelievers. This is totally at variance with the Qur’an and Sunnah as I have shown elsewhere. Ditto is the claim that the penalty of

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264 Jungensmeyer, Terror in the Mind of God, 103-104.
apostasy is death based on numerous traditions including the report on the authority of Sufyān that ‘Alī (the third caliph) set a group of people ablaze. When this got to IbnAbbās, he says”If I were to be the one, I wouldn’t have set them ablaze” because the Messenger of Allah (SAW) says”Do not punish with the punishment of Allah” but “I would have killed them as the Messenger of Allah (SAW) says”Whoever changes his religion, kill him.” That this refers only to al-muḥāribūnīs confirmed by the Ḥadīthof IbnMasʿūd that the Messenger of Allah (SAW) says”shedding a Muslim’s bloodis not permissible except in three cases: married persons committing adultery, life for life, and leaving the religion and the society.” Thisis elucidated by the Ḥadīth of ‘Āishahin Al-Nasā‘īthat the Messenger of Allah (SAW) says “shedding a Muslim’s bloodis not permissible except in three cases: an adulterer who should be stoned, a man whocommits homicide who should be killed and a man who goes out of Islam and wages war against Allah and His Messenger, who should be killed or crucified or exiled.” Ibn Rajab adds that “this shows that the meaning is one who combines Riddah with al-Ḥirābah.” AbūDāwūd’s narration of the Ḥadīth of ‘Āishahis “shedding the blood of a Muslim who testifies that there is god except Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah is not permissible except in three cases: a man who commits adultery after marriage and should be stoned, a man who secedes, waging war against Allah and His Messenger and should either be killed or crucified or banished from the land, or a man who kills a soul and should be killed.” While commenting on this, Ibn Rajab says: “Those who hold that the verse of al-Ḥirābahis exclusively about the apostates use this as evidence. And whoever commits Riddah with al-Ḥirābah will be dealt with according to the versebutwhoever commits al-Ḥirābah without Riddah will be punished in line with the law of retaliation and amputation in case of stealing and thisis one of the unpopular views of Ahmadv.

Therefore many scholars have shown that the Prophet only put apostates to death for “participation in war crimes or murder, not due to their apostasy,” This is supported by Allah’s command that the Prophet should strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites” (Q9: 73), which is repeated in Q66: 9. This verse, I contend like other scholars such as Balogun have argued shows that Jihād does not always mean al-Qitāl (fighting or killing) as explained in the Ḥadīth “strive against the polytheists with your wealth and persons and tongues.” Thus, the Prophet never fought or killed hypocrites though they committed apostasy (Q9: 74) and entered into alliance with those who fought against the Prophet (SAW), building as mentioned by Allah “a mosque by way of mischief and infidelity to disunite the believers- and in preparation for one who warred against Allah and His Messenger aforetime” (Ali, 1405: 534, notes 1355 and 1356). This, I argue also is the clearest evidence that
hypocrisy like apostasy (Q9: 74) is not a punishable sin. On the contrary, the above Ḥadīth “strive against the polytheists with your wealth and persons and tongues” proves conclusively that if the act of apostasy and even polytheism remains in the realm of religious conviction born out the intellectual understanding of the apostate, then it can only be engaged intellectually, hence the Prophetic declaration “strive against the polytheists with your wealth and persons and tongues.” It is only when both apostasy and polytheism leave the realm of intellectual disagreement, becoming al-Ḥirābah and causing terror that they become punishable.

The Secular State and the Persecution of Islamic Movements:

Though the existing Western literature attests to the centrality of the anachronistic interpretation of the Sharī‘ah in the justification of the al-Ḥirābah activities perpetrated by the BH and similar Islamic movements as they utilize Islam as a revolutionary ideology to criticize, de-legitimize and wage war on the secular state, yet it has failed to fully engage how the radicalization of these movements has also been the product of the modern secular state’s hegemonic and despotic marginalization, repression and exclusion of Islamic movements from the political space. Though Islamic movements such as the BH employ anachrostic interpretation of the Qur’an and the Sunnah as also confirmed by BH involvement of women not only as victims as done by other secular terrorist movements but also perpetrators of terrorism such as the use of female suicide bombers. This is further confirmed by BH involvement of women not only as victims as done by other terrorist movements but also perpetrators of terrorism such as the use of female suicide bombers. It is important to note that even HAMAS, the religious wing of the Palestinian resistance force does not consider this use of female suicide bombers as Islamic because it violates the Islamic rules of engagement on the battlefields. However, beyond this extremist misinterpretation, their turning violent and militant is the result of their experience of victimization as their members, founders and leaders are persecuted and executed just like it happened to the Muslim Brotherhood and Hizb al-Da’wah al-Islāmiyyah, a Shi‘ī movement in Iraq. This is also the case with the BH because notwithstanding its aversion to democracy, its founder, Muhammad Yusuf who raided against Muslims who promote democracy, whom he declared as apostates; never advocated terrorism, “neither in his book nor in his sermons.” Instead, he aligned with the former governor of Borno state, Senator Ali Modu Sheriff who armed the BH with sophisticated weapons. However, the

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Soon Sheriff as the devil incarnate for not implementing the full Sharī‘ah. In retaliation for the June 11 2009 killing of 14 Boko Haram members by a patrol team of Borno state Operation Flush over their alleged refusal to wear helmets, the members attacked and destroyed the DutsenTanshi police station on July 26, 2009. On July 30 2009, Yusuf was finally captured and murdered extra-judicially with several Boko Haram members including Alhaji Buji Foi, Boko Haram’s national secretary and Sheriff’s Commissioner of Religious Affairs. Thus, the repression by the Nigerian state “triggered a terrorist reaction and failed to win the hearts and minds of the locals.” Though Yusuf held extreme views, he only called for an Islamic system of government in Nigeria, and if possible all over the globe through preaching the faith but his successor joined the al-Qaida in the Maghreb (AQIM). In other words, though they oppose the modern secular system, Islamic movements do engage with the state regarding the Sharī‘ah, which is Jihad signifying “a physical, moral, spiritual and intellectual effort.” This could be seen in the views of Hasan al-Turabi that Shūrā and democracy are synonymous and al-Ghannushī that Islam supports pluralism manifested in diverse interpretations of Islamic texts and freedom of parties.

How the Western secularism represses the Islamic movements in spite of their democratic aspirations, however, is evident in the case of Turkey when it rejected the wholesale secularization or aping of the West and started re-embracing the cultural values of Islam (Atabaki and Zurcher, 2000). Turkey’s recent imbroglio is a fallout of the contradictions of the Kemal Ataturk years who in his vision to make the country embrace and internalize “all the cultural dimensions that made Europe modern,” attacked Islam, regarding it as an impediment to Turkey’s social, cultural and political modernization (Keyder, 2000). However because the majority of the Turkish people did not share his belief in cultural secularism, Ataturk sought to eradicate all the traces of Islam in schools and the public sphere by using the military forces to subdue the will of their people. Consequently once Turkish military dictatorship eased, attempts were made by the people to give expression to their Islamic cultural aspirations culminating in the rise of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), headed by Recep Tayyib Erdogan, which came to power in 2002 based on a program of rapport between Islam and modernity termed “conservative democracy” (Donmez, 2010). The Turkish recent coup unveils the attempts by some to return to the use of the military in curtailing the resurgence of Islam as seen in the Egyptian case where the military dictatorship overthrew the Muslim Brotherhood that won the election in post Hosni Mubarak Egypt. That Islamic movements now prefer the ballot box to

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carry out Islamic reforms is also confirmed by Turkey’s alignment with the popular aspirations of the people during the Arab spring. This was particularly strong in the case of Egypt, where Turkey committed to providing development aid worth $2 billion to Egypt in 2012. The June 2013 ouster of the first democratically elected president in Egypt; Muhammad Mursi changed this (Aydin-Düzgit, 2016). It is therefore within this brutal repression of the desire of Muslims to participate in the democratic process in order to actualize one of their core missions of establishing an Islamic state that terrorist groups such as the BH develop and operate. I argue therefore that one key factor compelling some marginal Islamic movements to metamorphose into anti-globalist Jihādist or counter-hegemonic movements is the secular state’s hegemonic and despotic marginalization, repression and exclusion of religious movements from the secular space. As the Egyptian scholar, SaadEddin Ibrahim (1995: 52) makes the case, if these movements participation in the political process had been supported by the West, they might have evolved “into something akin to the Christian Democrats in the West.” In other words, there is need for the widening of the political space to include members of the Islamic movements. I now want to conclude by offering suggestions on the therapeutic and curative ways out of the BH and other militant threats in Nigeria based on the Sharī‘ah punishments for al-Ḥirābah in Qur’an 5: 34.

Conclusion: Beyond Secularization: From Global Terrorism to Commonwealth of Religions:

The experience of persecution by some Islamic movements does not justify al-Ḥirābah in the Sharī‘ah, which condemns absolutely the indiscriminate killing of lives and destruction of property. At the same time, the repression of some people and their exclusion from the political space is also not the solution to the menace of terrorism. The menace can largely be viewed as a socio-economic and political problem, the Sharī‘ah in addition to capital punishments, also offers therapeutic and curative ways to treat and cure terrorists by turning them into useful and progressive members of the society, which is considered the chief Maqāsid of the Sharī‘ah. The first is repentance before apprehension, which will then call for amnesty.

The second as I have suggested before, is a polity based on the Commonwealth of Regions, which eschews the extremes of both the modern secular state and the classical Islamic State that suppress “the other” in the words of Alexis Tocqueville with the “tyranny of the dominant secular Judeo-Christian culture” such that Americans observe “Christmas and not the Buddha Birthday” and “whatever religious diversity” the “other” enjoys “is always being negotiated in what can only be described a Christian context” or what I call the “tyranny of the dominant Islamic culture” as in Saudi Arabia and Iran. I argue here that the Commonwealth of Regions based on the Madīnah prototype, which the Indian Professor Muhamad Hamidullah refers to as “the first written constitution of the world,” supports a “confederation” with all the confederating groups retaining “religious freedom as well


as internal autonomy.” It incorporates the “other” into “the community of Islam as equals; they had the same claim to protection by the other participants in the charter and identical obligations towards them.” It should therefore assuage both the Muslim and Christian demand for the Shari‘ah and ecclesiastical laws in the thirty-six states of Nigeria as well as the evangelical demand for “a radical federalism” in the United States that allows Christian law “to flourish in some states and” different laws “in others.”

The compulsory teaching of religions at all levels of education; a key aspect of this Commonwealth of Religions is also in my view a desideratum in counteracting al-Ḥirābah. The compulsory teaching of religions at all levels of education is in my view another very potent tool in counteracting al-Ḥirābah movements like the BH. The massive teaching and interpretation of the Islamic texts carried out by the Prophet (SAW) was the main reason why he succeeded in nipping terrorist tendency in the bud and this is why even movements like the earlier mentioned Khawārij who permitted the killing of Muslim sinners or unbelievers never assumed the terrorist dimensions of contemporary movements. This is one of the reasons why my academic contributions have revolved around the interpretation of Islamic texts to put before the public how the Islam in the text is most often at variance with the Islam that is today paraded in the public, an effort that has been acclaimed by scholars worldwide such as the earlier mentioned Professor Balogun. However, more than these individual efforts, there is need for the government to be actively involved in the promotion of the interpretation project in order to bring about a demystification of the use of Arabic by terrorist inclined persons and movements in the indoctrination of the uninformed minds. In this regard, the call by the former Vice Chancellor of the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN), Prof. Vincent Ado Tenebe that the current wave of insurgency and militancy in Nigeria could be curbed if a well-funded NOUN absorbs all Nigerian currently out of schools becomes relevant.

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THE ROLES OF HEAD-TEACHERS AS TECHNOLOGY LEADERS IN THE 21ST CENTURY DIGITAL AGE

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ABSTRACT

Technology leadership has to do with guiding and controlling or rather the management and effective utilization of human and material resources to achieve the technological needs of the school. Technology leadership is a variable that measures school technology leadership. It represents the organizational decisions, policies, or actions that facilitate effective utilization of information technology throughout the school. The technology leadership variable is the sum of eight other indicators: budget, district support, grants, intellectual property policy, principal days, principal e-mail, staff development policy, and technology committee. This position paper therefore discusses the concept of technology leadership, the responsibilities of the school head in technology leadership, the challenges to technology leadership and the strategies for the use and application of ICT in the schools among others.

Introduction

Technology leadership has to do with guiding and controlling or rather the management and effective utilization of human and material resources to achieve the technological needs of the school. This is done through the head-teacher. Information and Communications Technology (ICT) reforms are a new area of challenge for school leaders (Gurr, 2004). Effective school leadership is associated with successful adaptation of reforms, (Harris, 2003). School leaders must acknowledge the pedagogical use of ICT in education and be prepared to lead these reforms. Harris identified leadership as influencing teachers’ motivation and their willingness to adapt to change. The teachers are ongoing learners of ICT and consequently, they accept and adjust ICT as an essential component of their work place, they will improve their ICT understanding leading towards its pedagogical advantages. The success of a school is in the leader’s ability to effectively lead and develop change, to the creation of a learning community (Collarbone, 2003). A learning community has people working together with a common focus providing members with identity, belonging and involvement giving a sense of direction, order and meaning to the organisation (Sergiovanni, 2003). This position paper therefore discusses the concept of technology leadership, the responsibilities of the school head in technology leadership, the challenges to technology leadership and the strategies for the use and application of ICT in the schools among others.

The Concept of Technology Leadership:

Technology Leadership is defined as the level of administrator technical knowledge along with school climate in explaining the implementation of technology in the classroom. Technology leadership encompasses the knowledge and a skill constituting
the core of what every administrator needs to know about and be able to do with technology regardless of specific job roles.

In the same vein, Flanagan and Jacobsen (2003) and Creighton (2003) suggested that technology leadership is much more than acquisition and management of equipment or software, but instead how leaders can influence and empower teachers to provide ongoing technical learning with their students.

In a related development, Anderson and Dexter (2005) defined technology leadership as a variable that measures school technology leadership. It represents the organizational decisions, policies, or actions that facilitate effective utilization of information technology throughout the school. In their study, Anderson and Dexter (2005) state that technology leadership variable is the sum of eight other indicators: budget, district support, grants, intellectual property policy, principal days, principal e-mail, staff development policy, and technology committee.

According to Januszewski and Molenda (2008), cited in Brown (2009), technological leadership is defined as the study and ethical practice of facilitating learning and improving performance by creating, using, and managing appropriate technological processes and resources. In their technological capacities, school leaders provide finances and technological infrastructure, social and moral support to all the school stakeholders to realise the full potential of ICTs in education (Harris, 2001).

**The Responsibilities of Technology Leaders in Nigerian Schools:**

The school heads in Nigerian schools are saddled with certain responsibilities one of which technology leadership. Technology leadership is very vast and demanding. The head-teacher has to be acquainted with the technology and its types and applications before being an effective technology leader. Discussed below are some of the responsibilities expected of technology leader in Nigeria and elsewhere for their effective service delivery.

An effective technology leader is a public advocate of the mission-driven use of technology, capable of providing guidance in various aspects using technologies such as technology plans, professional development, dissemination of pertinent information, and other related responsibilities. A clearly defined vision for ICT includes Planning, funding and implementation; Improving access and equity of use; understanding of legal and ethical issues; awareness of learning theory, pedagogy and curriculum development (Hately and Schiller, 2003).

Leadership in technology is the responsibility of everyone involved in the educational process. From students to teachers, to school committees, to the Commissioner of Education, everyone has a role to play. Many organizations have listed the characteristics and skills that are needed for leadership in general and technology leadership in particular: vision, innovation, communication, collaboration, respect, trust, goal orientation, the ability to inspire and motivate, planning and budgeting, teambuilding and staffing, professional development, change management expertise, ethics, safety, and equity—these are just a few.
Bailey and Lumley (1997) have identified eight important themes for leaders who want to integrate technology effectively: 1) change with developments in technology, 2) budget and planning for technology, 3) professional development of personnel involved in technology, 4) technological infrastructure, 5) technical support in the implementation of technology, 6) learning and teaching with technology, 7) a curriculum in which technology is integrated, and 8) individuals who consider themselves to be technology leaders.

It is the leader’s responsibility to ensure that the resources, coordination, and climate are in place for the technology plan to be realized (International Society of Technology in Education, 2002).

According to Flanagan and Jacobsen (2003), the forceful impact that technology integration brings to the classroom requires support by visionary and knowledgeable leadership. Manasse (1985) defined vision as the force that molds meaning for the people of an organization (p. 150). Byrom and Bingham (2001) found that the states, districts, and schools with the most successful technology programs were those led by visionary governors, legislators, and committed leaders.

Bozeman and Spuck (1991) emphasized that leaders are expected to have the knowledge and proficiency of how integrating technology in the classroom supports the needs of the students. Responsibility falls to the leaders to recognize and provide a learning environment that fosters collaboration, higher level thinking skills, and creative learner activities that involve technology (International Society of Technology in Education, 2002). School leaders who understand the instructional application of technology must be able to move the entire learning community toward changes in the curriculum and the specific uses of technology.

Similarly, Perez and Uline (2003) suggested that principals must examine computer use from a problem-solving perspective. In their study to understand the relationship between how school leaders think about and act on technological capacity to enhance learning, they found that the educational leader made a vast difference in how their teachers coped with both existing and emergent technologies. Brooks-Young (2002) agreed that administrators wanting to provide an environment where technology is fully integrated should facilitate and support collaborative technology conducive to innovation for improved learning.

Productivity and Professional Practice, encourages leaders’ use of technology to increase productivity and to model ways to effectively use technology (International Society of Technology in Education, 2002). A prerequisite to instructional and administrative technology is the head-teacher’s increased computer awareness and technology comfort.

Head-teachers leading their schools in technology implementation should understand the strengths and weakness of various technologies as well as the issues underlying any application of instructional technology. In order to address this wide array of topics, leaders should combine the theory and practice of leadership strategies with the proposed methods to ensure the effective use of technology in our educational system.
Moreover, purchasing new equipment, software, sustaining the up-to-date technology, and providing technical support has placed demands on leadership. Unresolved cost and incompatibility of software can prevent successful implementation. School leaders are expected to spearhead all the school improvement changes including those that are technological in nature. They, therefore, execute this duty in their capacities as technological leaders.

The following information highlights the roles of the head-teacher’s role as technology leader, the teachers as key to technology implementation, the teacher-to-teacher model of professional development, and questions to consider. The voices of school leaders are included as well.

The head-teacher’s role as technology leader includes:

i. Establishing the vision and goals for technology in the school
ii. Carrying the technology banner in the school
iii. Modeling the use of technology
iv. Supporting technology use in the school
v. Engaging in professional development activities that focus on technology and integration of technology in student learning activities
vi. Providing professional development opportunities for teachers and staff that emphasize the use of technology and that facilitate integration of technology in student learning
vii. Securing resources to support technology use and integration in the school
viii. Advocating for technology use that supports student learning
ix. Being knowledgeable and supportive of national technology standards and promoting attainment of the standards in the school
x. Communicating the uses and importance of technology in enhancing student learning experiences to the school’s stakeholders

Leaders who are comfortable with technology become models of technology use in schools. Head-teachers demonstrate their ease with technology by using e-mail, Web sites, preparing reports illustrated with graphs and photos embedded in presentations, using the students information system to track the day-to-day operation of the school, and using handheld devices to complete teacher appraisals. Head-teachers who are technology leaders showcase technology use during meetings. They invite teacher demonstrations of technology integration in lessons or integrated grade-level projects at staff meetings. Displays of student and classroom use of technology are prominent in their schools. Leaders of technology encourage implementation of technology in instructional strategies. Head-teachers note teachers’ use of technology integration in the lessons they observe. They help teachers establish goals for implementation of technology in instructional strategies. Teachers are the key to implementation of technology in the classroom. Head-teachers note that time to innovate and resources to support innovation are essential. In some instances, Head-teachers have been able to use incentives to stimulate “early adopters” to integrate technology in their instructional practices.
Challenges Facing Technology Leadership in Nigeria:

If the truth is to be spoken, majority of today’s head-teachers in Nigeria schools are not computer literates. They know little or nothing regarding Information and Communication Technology (ICT). Therefore their leadership role with regards to technology will be greatly hampered. Some of the likely challenges of technology leaders in Nigerian schools are discussed below.

Leadership and Vision, leaders are to “facilitate...a vision for technology use and widely communicate that vision” (Brooks-Young, 2002). The successful leadership for technology involves understanding the nature and challenges of technology and having the ability to develop and articulate a vision for the schools.

Before beginning full technology implementation, head-teachers’ should be aware of the challenges and barriers that are inherent in most technology programs. These challenges can easily undermine the confidence of even the most seasoned leaders (Lashway, 2003). Although there is more knowledge available to leaders in addressing problems, there are increasingly more adaptive challenges that go beyond the current way of operation. Some of the major challenges for leadership involve identifying the right time as well as setting the pace for implementation, understanding how technology implementation affects the different learning communities and the continuation of the integration process even if funding is lost.

According to Flanagan and Jacobsen (2003), many school leaders have not been prepared for the role of technology leader and struggle to develop both the human and technical resources to achieve full implementation. Schiller (2003) posed another challenge, suggesting that although the head-teacher’s leadership is critical to nurturing an environment in which technology innovations benefit students learning, constructing this environment presents a dual dilemma. Not only is the school leader challenged by technology implementation, but at the same time he or she must handle school reform that is inherent in effective technology competency. Motivating and convincing all stakeholders to change traditional teaching methods of instruction and embrace new techniques is a major challenge.

Another challenge many school leaders face is their resistance to share the decision making process. Brockmeir et al. (2005) gathered data from 268 principals in Florida that revealed that 59% considered that their technology competency and knowledge equipped them to be effective 30 technology leaders. However, the results revealed that half of the principals surveyed were unwilling to share decision-making about technology with the teachers. This supports the idea that principals exercise leadership in areas where they are unqualified, yet because of their traditional role expectations, they do not want to relinquish decision-making power concerning technology to teachers.

One of the greatest challenges incurred by most principals when implementing technology is lack of training by their respective school. Kearsley and Lynch (1994) reported that most of the time higher education uses the dual approach to teaching and using technology. In other words, technology is taught within a subject area by individual teachers or professors dabbling in computer instruction. Curriculum
agendas in many higher education classes reflect technology use but without the implementation of a hierarchal vision of that institution in the area of technology.

This nation is spending millions of dollars to advance technology in the classroom under the direction of leadership that is lacking in training, expertise, and technology skills, all of which could be considered a huge waste. Leaders who want to effectively implement technology in the teaching and learning process must acquire skills to articulate the vision, model technology use, and empower teachers to embrace technology in their classrooms.

**Strategies for School Leaders in the Use and Management of ICT in Schools:**

According to Adu and Olatundun (2013), the following strategies should guide school administrators in the use and management of Information and Communication Technology (ICT):

1. **Develop a school ICT policy:** In achieving the integration of ICT and technological solution, the school leader must have a proper ICT school policy. The policy is a blue print for the school to design and manage ICT programme for teachers and students in a systematic and progressive manner.

2. **Learn the Technology:** The school leaders’ command of technology is important. Leaders who are computer literate are more aware of his staff member’s needs. Learning the basic of word processing, spreadsheets, presentation software, using web page and the Internet are prerequisite to boost their computer skills. In order to stay ahead and becoming a competitive person, a school leader must keep abreast with the recent technology. A school leader must be well informed and technologically conscious.

3. **Involved others in the Process:** Literally, participation gives one sense of belonging and responsibility. In implementing technology successfully, all staff should be encouraged to participate in the implementation process. Continuous participations in a change process should be encouraged because participation gives those involved a sense of control over the change activity. All teachers should be encouraged to share their technical and pedagogical methods and working in teams in integrating ICT into teaching and learning.

4. **Enhancing Partnership and Collaboration** can enhance technological development and promote decision making of the school leaders. Also having a clear vision for technology is essential in order to make wise decision in integrating and managing ICT in schools. In gaining ICT expertise and fund raising, school leaders can foster good partnership and collaboration with the community, public and corporate sector. Resourceful school leaders should explore many avenues for acquiring technology resources in order to increase accessibility and equity of ICT among the students.

5. **Plan a Training Programme for Teachers:** Teachers are the nation builders; they need to be versatile and conversant with the latest technology. They are the custodians of knowledge dissemination. Therefore constant training programme for teachers will promote the sense of professionalism in them. In planning for an ICT training programme for teachers, the first step is motivating them to learn new knowledge and
gaining new skills and competencies. To acquire new knowledge and skills in ICT, the schools should: • Set up a team which consists of teachers with varying skills and competencies. • Acquire new inputs from other experts such as teachers from other schools. • Implement a mentoring system to help teachers with minimum skills in ICT. • Provide opportunities for teachers to pursue ICT training at any teacher’s training colleges or universities which offer in-service short courses within one to three months. Evaluating and supervising ICT - using teacher in teaching and learning are significant roles that have to be played by the school leaders. These will ensure the skills and competencies of the teachers are met as have been targeted in the school’s documented policy.

6. Benchmarking other schools: As the use of new technologies is increasing, the school should anticipate and prepare for an ongoing change. In doing so, school leaders can exchange information with other schools, be it in pedagogical methods or managerial styles. They can benchmark schools leaders that have good reputation for having an established ICT system in teaching and learning or using ICT effectively in school management. This will broaden knowledge and ideas in integrating ICT in schools.

Conclusion:
Responsibility falls to the leaders to recognize and provide a learning environment that fosters collaboration, higher level thinking skills, and creative learner activities that involve technology. School leaders who understand the instructional application of technology must be able to move the entire learning community toward changes in the curriculum and the specific uses of technology.

References:


PUBLIC HEALTH AWARENESS AND KNOWLEDGE AMONG ADOLESCENT BEGGARS IN KADUNA, NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

There is a heightening concern over the public health implications of destitution and begging among children in northern Nigeria. Against this backdrop, this study investigates disease awareness and health information sources among selected adolescent beggars - Almajiri in Kaduna state. The survey was conducted in the premise of risk communication model, which suggests various conditions and reasons under which risks are perceived and handled by individuals. Findings revealed poor level of awareness on prevalent diseases such as HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STDS). Information sources available to them are inadequate, and most unlikely to be helpful to their awareness on public health issues and disease. The study recommends strategic and targeted awareness creation and sensitization programmes in local schools among the Almajiris, using multiple traditional communication platforms.

Keywords: Knowledge, Awareness, Sexually Transmitted Diseases, Almajiris, Kaduna

Introduction

Nigeria is a country with issues of concern such as poverty, corruption, starvation, insurgency and diseases. These are evident in the local, national and even international newspaper, television, radio and internet reports. Out of these concerns disease is one of the center stages and has claimed millions of lives.

The spread of diseases is encouraged by varying factors, poverty, harmful cultural practices, illiteracy, corruption and ignorance. Youthful exuberance is another key factor to this (www.actionhealth.org).

Health issues have been heightened to create general awareness of modes, methods and strategies to protect one-self from such disease. The status of reproductive health care for young persons in Nigeria is low and inconsistent (Nigerian reproductive health, 2006:P9). The adolescent group constitutes a very important sect when reproductive health and issues of such is concerned and therefore need to be properly informed.
The International organizations such as UNCEF, UNAIDS and Nigerian government/non-governmental organizations at federal level such as the Federal Ministry of Information, Federal Ministry of Education, Federal Ministry of Health, National Agency for the Control of Aids (NACA), Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDCP), Ace Development Initiative (ADI) Centre for Reproductive Health, Aromatheraphy and Development (CEREHAD); and at state level such as Association for Reproductive and Family Health (ARFH), Focus Health and Empowerment Initiative, Winning Generation Foundations and so on have stepped up to the challenge to help in any way possible towards awareness of health and it is with this knowledge that it is being included as a topic of discourse in places of worship, families and schools (Okadigbo, 2007).

Considering the importance of public health, it would be fatal for anyone to be ignorant of it. Unfortunately, there are people who because of their peculiar lifestyle and educational setup have been kept in the dark concerning this very important knowledge. Sadly, this people are adolescents which makes it more dangerous because they are the leaders of tomorrow without which the manpower of the future generation will be at risk. This category of adolescents is the ‘almajiri’

Almajirci is an educational and cultural practice by young rural Nigerian boys still in their formative years to attend Qur’anic school living with Malams (Qur’anic teachers) in cramped conditions and abject poverty. These set of young people roam all day begging for their sustenance making them vulnerable and exposed to dangers and diseases of all kinds.

Their educational system was criticized by several scholars in respect to their overpopulation, obsolete curriculum, unqualified teachers, inadequate leaving materials, hunger, and unfavorable environment and as a result, the objective of giving moral training is being defeated making many of them ending into juvenile delinquents.

This study seeks to assess almajiri access of information with regards to public health. How informed are they concerning this issues of health? Who gives them the information? How qualified is the source? This study reminds people that almajiri are just as important as all other adolescent children across the country and thus they have right to access of information concerning their lives.

**The problem:**

Public health is a life time concern for both women and men from infancy to old age. Evidence shows that public health in any of these life stages has a profound effect on one’s life (www.unfpa.org/sexual-reproductive).

With the reality of sexually transmitted infections such as Syphilis, Gonorrhea, Chlamydia, contagious diseases, typhoid, malaria, cholera and others including HIV/AIDS; the task of propagating public health care and access to its information at all levels become paramount towards ensuring an effective and sustained health availability in Nigeria. (Nigerian National Reproductive Health 2006:9).
A major factor associated with poor adolescent health status in Nigeria is lack of awareness and knowledge of relevant health issues among adolescents, resulting from limited access to incredible sources of information (Ibid).

Many people have suggested that more attention be paid to the phenomenological aspects of adolescent health and development. Such an approach will examine health perspectives, exploring meaning of health to them, motivate them towards health related behaviors and understanding how they interpret and act on health communication.

The Nigerian National Reproductive Health 2006 posits that “information concerning reproductive health is usually withheld from young people mainly as a result of negative traditional and cultural beliefs.

The almajiri system of education does not give room for advancements in the curriculum to include prevailing issues such as reproductive health and the likes. The improper structure and planning of this issue will bring about more deaths in the future of which the youth are the future. Harmful cultural and religious practice, lack of skilled personnel and materials are factors that hinder adequate health care campaign in this area. The backwardness of the almajiri form of education towards preventing issues of modern time especially issues of health should be addressed to avoid losing a huge number of our future leaders.

Public health is linked to human right and sustainable development. When such needs are not met, individuals are deprived of the right to make crucial choices of their own bodies and futures, with a cascading impact on their families’ welfare and future generations. Cumulatively, the denial of these rights exacerbates puberty and gender inequality (www.unfpaorg/sexual-reproduction).

This study is significant to the government and the general public, reminding them of their civic responsibility of informing the younger ones in the society on matters concerning health. And to academics/researchers who will find it useful as a reference for future research work towards better understanding the behaviors of the Almajiris.

The general objective of the study is to assess the Almajiri sources of information concerning public health. The specific objectives of the study include the following:

i. To determine the level of knowledge concerning public health among the almajiris.
ii. To find out the sources of the knowledge they may have and
iii. To find out the effectiveness of the source of knowledge on public health

Research Method:

This study will cover Kaduna metropolis in particular Unguwankaji. Some Qur’anic schools in the area will be selected. Suitable method of interview will be adopted to gather all relevant information. Only four schools will be used with 10 students from each school to carry out the research.
LITERATURE REVIEW:

Adolescents and Public health:

Fitness is a state of complete physical mental and social well-being in all matters relating to the reproductive systems, at all stages of life (http://reproductive-health.journal.bio.medentre)

It is also defined as a state of complete physical and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity in all matters relating to the body system and its function and processes”. (International conference on population and development program of action 1994)

Adolescents could be looked at in different ways; it could be defined in terms of physical development in other words, the age span that begins with pre-puberty growth spurt and ends with the attainment of full physical maturity or, from a psychological perspective, which starts with puberty. (Status of adolescent and young adults in Nigeria, P: 268). This category of people which range from 12, 13 to 18 years of age are greatly vulnerable for they are yet to attain a high level of wisdom for what they see, is what they tend to believe (Ibid).

A healthy life is now considered to be a basic human right for all and is protected by two bodies of law: human rights law and humanitarian law. The foundations of such laws were established in the two fundamental right treaties where the United Nations (UN) Charter adopted in 1945 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948. All of them ensure individuals rights to health issues (Grard and Waldinan, 2000).

Young people especially adolescents have limited access to relevant health services and where the services are available to them, the non-friendly nature of these facilities to them limits their utilization. (www.engenderinghealth.com). This consequences has made them to prefer discussing such issues of special concern such as sexually transmitted diseases and others with friends or peers even with the availability of other sources such as radio, television, print materials, places of worship, hospitals and teachers as an avenue for them to gather information on public health (Gender and socio cultural factors, 2004 P: 11).

Bledsoc (1993) added that attempting to address the unavailability of health information to youths in sub-Saharan Africa is due to the fact that inadequate systems are not yet in place to reach all the adolescents in need of it and unfortunately, families are often ill-equipped to fill the gap by educating their children about it, in fact some parents play no role in educating their children on health issues particularly STD’s and Reproductive health.

World Health Organizations posits that seeking information from uniformed sources may place adolescents at health risk and to protect the upcoming generation, the utilization of peer health education has been recommended.

Sunmula et al (2002) in a research on reproductive sexual and contraceptive behavior of adolescents in Niger state, Nigeria said “majority of the respondents obtained
related information on reproductive health, sexual diseases prevention and care outside the immediate families; teachers (25.6%); friends (13.3%) and medical personnel (21.7%) only (8.4%) of the respondents obtained such information from their parents.

Pate and Umar (2002) posited that adolescents have various sources of information regarding public health which include radio, television, newspaper, school, magazines, churches, mosques, peers, parents, neighbor and health workers but that unfortunately, there is significant difference between rural and urban adolescents in terms of their individual sources and preferences” for example, respondents in the urban areas tend to rely more on television and magazines their rural counterparts who depend more on radio and interpersonal source of information.

The Almajiri system of education:

Almajiri is a Hausa word originating from the Arabic word (almuhajirin) meaning ‘emigrant’ but in Nigeria, it’s referred to who undertakes Qur’anic education in a wrong manner (Ibid). The almajiri heritage is like the Madarassahs in central Asia, a system of Muslim education that dates back several centuries.

It is a cultural practice of education whereby young rural boys, still in their formative years, attend Qur’anic school in urban areas living with Mallams (Qur’anic teachers) in cramped conditions and abject poverty which is predominant in Hausa speaking areas of Northern Nigeria (Journal of Development and Society, 2001 P.46).

The schools run parallel to the national educational system, thus making the pupils unable to communicate effectively as Nigerian citizens. They beg on streets and houses for their sustenance which makes them vulnerable to dangers and disease and also place them at the mercy of others (national council for the welfare of the destitute, 2000, p.31).

Among the attribute of the almajiri system of education is:-

1) Unqualified teachers whom are usually chosen based on their fluency in reciting the Qur’an, islamically knowledgeable and upright but the assessment is usually within the assessment of the people within his proximity (Aliyu 2000, P:150).
2) Inadequate learning materials due to prevalent poverty to the lack of morals are additional point that describes Almajiri system.
3) Hunger is said to be a strong force in deviating the concentration and understanding of these almajiri’s (Oladele, 1998).
4) Medium of instruction is Arabic and local language normally Hausa language makes them unable to write and speak the national language English or read and write their language using English alphabets.

Taiwo (1991, P: 176) observed that, the system of almajiri education has been in existence for centuries long before the advent of western education and have produced religious reformers, judges, rulers and scholars. He was emphatic that the ‘almajiri’ is a powerful vehicle for the transmission of culture among the Hausa people.
www.amanaonline.com describes the system of almajiri education as “a worrisome and a source of embarrassment in northern Nigeria. And another form of child abuse where children are exposed to laborious work at tender ages as the Mallams (Qur’anic teachers) are unable to feed or provide necessities of life”.

An article published in the ‘Daily trust’ newspaper on 14th July, 2004 also posits that almajiris are no longer seen for what they once were ‘scholars’ but ‘beggers’ and that today Sokoto which is regarded as home of caliphate (cradle of Islamic history) of Nigeria, has found itself confronted with the problem of street begging. That It is hard to differentiate between an almajiri who is expected to be a scholar and a destitute on the streets as both wear dresses that could be referred to as indecent.

Ways of solving this degrading reality is outlined in the journal; ‘education today’ 2000 p.15) are:-

i. Sensitization of parents and qur’anic teachers to their responsibilities towards their children/wards.
ii. Government, communities and NGO’s should collaborate in providing alternative acceptable means of livelihood.
iii. Empowering street children through functional education.
iv. Provision of drop-in learning centers and mobile schools street children by government by copying from NGO’s child life line programs etc.

Theoretical Frame Work:

This study adopts the knowledge gap theory which was propounded in 1970 by Philip J. Techenor (Associate Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication), George A. Donohue (Professor of sociology) and Clarice N. Olien (an instructor in Sociology). All three researchers were in the University of Minnesota. They came about the theory when studying the effect of newspaper readership among Minnesota communities in 1960.

The theory posits that “the infusion of mass media information in to social system increases higher socio-economic status segment so that gap in knowledge between them and lower socio-economic increases rather than decrease”. In simple words it means, the information-rich get richer when reading and watching television on new reports where as those with relatively less background knowledge gain information at a comparatively less rate and so as a result, knowledge gap also widens and the people of the higher economic class gain the benefits move. If information services are not made equal for the entire society, this gap of information increases over the years. (eapedia.org/indexphh/knowledge-gap- strategy)

The theory assumes that the followings are the reasons of the gap existences between the two groups

1) Communication skills and understanding of information become easier to a reason with move educational background.
2) Stored information, that is an educated person is exposed to much more topics than a less educated person hence even awareness is move.

3) Relevant social contact which means a person with more education has more social integration and more understanding of public issues.

4) Selective exposure, that is an educated person knows well how to use medium while the other with no knowledge is unlikely to know it.

5) Media target market which means that for any information, a certain segment is usually targeted, normally higher strata of the society and hence the lower strata remain less aware. [Website URL]

This theory is very relevant to this study and can fit the frame work. Could the almajiris be described as ‘information rich’ or ‘information poor’ concerning issues of public health even though they are situated in urban areas? Whatever the case, is the media responsible for this and in what way? With the obvious lack of health campaigns, exposure and technological advancements coupled with literacy and poverty, the almajiris could be very well far below the gap.

**Research Method:**

This is essentially a survey research using oral interview as data gathering instrument. The study interviewed 40 conveniently selected Almajiris; 10 each from 4 selected almajiri schools in the area. This is to enable the researcher cover different almajiri schools (tsangaya). Interview gives the researcher the opportunity to ask limitless questions and because the respondents are illiterates, it is easier for them to respond to the questions forwarded by the research. The responses were translated into English and coded. Data gathered is analyzed using descriptive method of data analysis with explanations percentages.

**Findings:**

All the respondents interviewed showed varying degrees of slightly informed orientation concerning public diseases. Varied questionable sources of information were mentioned which signifies the inadequacy of the knowledge.

1. **Level of knowledge concerning public health**

37(92.5%) are aware of what public health means and were able to mention some names of diseases around. However the level of the knowledge is limited and scanty they seems to have broader understanding of the terms but not specific. Respondents were able to mention diseases such as malaria, typhoid, cholera, HIV/AIDS but no other important ones such as Hepatitis, meningitis, STI’s. Further, the knowledge stops at the level of knowing the name and its existence but not deep as causes, prevention and so on. Knowledge of STI’s was shallow as only HIV was mentioned among 7 respondents as part of it and to them sex is the only cause. Other diseases mentioned were also believed to be simple diseases according to them. They mentioned traditional medicines such as “dilbejiya” “madaciya” as medication for the diseases.
Although 20 (50%) emphasized on good hygiene as a way of prevention, the other ones (42.5%) are completely silent about it, may be due to their age (10-12 years) or because they don’t see it as really important.

When asked about certain names of diseases like the hepatitis, gonorrhea, syphilis, meningitides, ulcers and so on which were not mentioned by the respondents; 12 (30%) said they never heard of them while 25 (62.5%) struggled to say something about it in Hausa like ‘ciwonsanyi’, ‘gyambonciki’, ‘sankarau’.

3 (7.5%) revealed disturbing answers as they portrayed ignorance of the term ‘public health’ revealing that they cannot keep fit because it’s against their tradition and it will prevent them from concentrating on their memorization. Not bathing, washing plates or washing their clothes is part of the belief that it will make them materialistic. When the terms were simplified to them, they found it unconceivable especially STI’s. The common diseases like malaria and typhoid to them are caused by evil spirits and they don’t take it as serious diseases. This could be because of their age (10-11) or because of their cultural background (2 Hausanatives from Jigawa state and 1 Fulani from Wuro dole of Yola state). They seem to be aware of hospital and its function but found didn’t mention it as their source of information on health issues.

On this, the researcher found that age, background and location of tsangaya determines the level of knowledge. This is because out of the 40 respondents, 27 out of which their age lies between 12-15 years are more aware of the topic than their counterparts who younger. Their age may also be the reason why they comprehend the terms used for the diseases easily. They seem to be more free and even helped in explaining to the other respondents. Background on the other hand can be why those respondents from places like Kano, Jigawa, Katsina are a little conversant with common diseases than their counterparts who come from rural settlements.

2. Sources of information concerning public health:

out of the 37 respondents that are aware of public health, 12 (32.4%) attributed their source of information to their Malams in the schools and bosses (people they work for in houses or businesses). 5 (13.5%) attributed their sources of information to be other than their Tsangaya, mostly from fellow pupils (8.1%), during house visitation (2.7%), market places, or by chance (2.7%). 20 (54%) attributed their source of knowledge to media with only radio and television as source. Only 2 respondents mentioned newspapers (Jarida) that can be a source but they don’t really have access to it. None of the respondents accounts for health care providers as source information or knowledge on health issues. Health interventions and campaign programs targeted at the youths or adolescents are also not mentioned among the respondents as a source of knowledge or information.
on public health. This has no doubt explains why this important people are not adequately informed about public health and diseases. They lack effective sources of information and health campaigns targeted at adolescents which they belongs are not rooted or channeled properly at them.

**Summary, Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendation:**

The task of ensuring public health awareness and care is paramount towards achieving a healthy Nigeria. Unfortunately, important group of people who are the potential Nigerians of tomorrow are completely left out in the dark which is posing dangers and loss of lives that could have been prevented. Adolescent are generally vulnerable to diseases and they constitute an alarming number of overall diseases such as malaria, typhoid meningitis, hepatitis, STD’s and HIV/Aids victims. Thus the study investigates the level of knowledge, sources of knowledge and effectiveness of the sources of information on public health awareness among Almajiri’s in Kaduna.

Results revealed disturbing information as these sets of people because of their peculiar nature and living standard are not adequately informed about these issues. Their sources of information on health issues are in appropriate as it is mostly a mere say without any professional assistance.

Although about 20% account for the media as their sources of information, the fact that they don’t possess one personally also limits the information they can get. None of the respondents mentioned hospital and health programs. This is disturbing as it probes to the assumption of the theory used. That information is targeted at the information rich and not to the information poor there by widening the gap between them. The almajiri’s regarded as information poor are further left out of such information because the proper channel to reach them tis not used; instead their counterparts who are privilege to be with their parents, attend schools and hospitals and who have the media at home and even at their fingertips are becoming more and more information reach leaving them behind.

This also supports Pate and Umar (2002) study which posited that there is significant difference between rural and urban adolescents in terms of their individual sources and preferences” for example, respondents in the urban areas tend to rely more on television and magazines their rural counterparts who depend more on radio and interpersonal source of information. In this case, even though the almajiri’s who happened to be situated in the urban areas are limited to certain sources of information as a result of their educational institution, lack of parenting and so on.

It also supports a study by Sunmula et al (2002) who found that “majority of the respondents in a study at Niger, obtained related information on reproductive health, sexual diseases prevention and care outside the immediate families; teachers (25.6%); friends (13.3%) and medical personnel (21.7%) only (8.4%) of the respondents obtained such information from their parents. Although hospital was not mentioned in this study, the fact that these adolescents get their information outside their family members, and rely on teachers, friends and media validates his findings.

Thus, the study recommends that:
More extensive research be done in this theme to fully understand the level of ignorance especially on sensitive issues such as STD’s/HIV aids.

The malams of the almajiri schools be sanitized and taught of the importance of public health and its awareness and knowledge among the almajiris so that their method of teaching and curriculum will be updated to include these issues

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE CLASSIFICATIONS OF CYBERCRIMES IN NIGERIA: REFERENCE TO CYBERCRIME ACT 2015

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ABSTRACT

The paper examines the classification of cybercrimes in Nigeria. The numbers of crimes committed in Nigeria through the cybercrimes are taking dimension in terms of a paradigm shift. The criminals act always affects the innocent citizens and the majority of the victims are not aware of the cyber criminal strategy. Cybercrime encompasses the use of computer and related device. These are technological devices that would be used in initiating a crime and such practices resulted in a loss of money, property and injurious to person reputation. The scenario of cybercrime is a global practice and nations have their own role to play as a country, although the attention of cybercrimes differs in terms of jurisdiction as the central focus. Yet, where the factors that encompassed cybercrime results to a crime, it is considered as a crime in every facet. The objectives of the paper are to examine the classifications of cybercrimes in Nigerian and the relevant applicable law. The existing law is the Cybercrime Act 2015 that was created purposely to regulate the cybercrimes in Nigeria. The methodology adopted is doctrinal approach wherein primary and secondary have been analysed. In addition, few interviews conducted during the field work of the research will also be relevance in the paper. The findings of the paper reveal that the classifications of cybercrimes in Nigeria are not fully understood by the Nigerians. The paper recommends full-time campaigns to the Nigerian citizens on the menace of cybercrimes.

Keywords: Cybercrime, classification, Nigeria, Cybercrime Act 2015

1. Introduction

The practices and abuses of ATM card, online transaction crime, fraud messages, and matters concerning the national critical information infrastructure are one aspect that requires full and immediate attention of the government to see these issues as a threat. The case of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) website during the general election on March 23, 2015 was hacked on the general election day. This is the latest example of the cyber attacks to national critical information infrastructure in Nigeria.

The operation of cybercafé without legal authorisation supports the dissemination of fake information regarding government institutions in a fraud context. For instance, there is a number of government institutions purportedly engaged in job recruitment through the internet which in a real sense the advert was not initiated by the government agency.

The Cybercrime Act 2015 provides for the legal operation of Cybercafé across the country and the operators are expected to register with the respective bodies as well as the Corporate Affairs Commission otherwise there should be a penalty. Such registration will be made available to the law enforcement. Though, some cybercafé operate without a licence from the Nigerian Communication Commission and the NITDA being the regulatory body in the operation of cybercafé.

It is not every operator that is aware of this regulation and procedure and this further supported the criminals in the perpetration of crimes from different corner. In addition, these prominent crimes in Nigeria, such as hacking, fraud, credit card fraud, theft, identity theft, cyber pornography, denial of service, spoofing etc, have fundamental effects on the Nigerian economy and also resulted into property and personal harm.

The expense of cybercrime is colossal and has resulted in the loss of U.S Billion dollars. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) that lost about $ 1 billion in stolen by identity thieves per year globally. In another approximate on the online traders misplaced $3.5 Billion due to fraud activities in 2012. In an up to date information from the Center for Strategic and International Studies estimates that cybercrime and intellectual property theft resulted to the detriment of the U.S. economy as much as $100 billion per year. The amounts are high to imagine, on the other hand, this has a consequential effect on the economic value to abridge the trust in the Internet due to online crime.

In a recent update by the federal government that a projected annual cost of cybercrime to Nigeria is 0.08 per cent of the country’s Gross Domestic Products (GDP), which represents about N127 billion. The NSA further said that in an Annual report by the Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC) in 2014, indicates that, between the year 2013 and 2014, the practices of fraud on the e-payment platforms of the Nigerian banking sector has increased by 183 per cent. In addition, in another report by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, UK, published in 2014

Section 7(1)-(4) Cybercrime (Prohibition, Prevention, etc) Act 2015.
Section 133 and 134 Nigerian Communications Act 2003.
projected the annual cost of cybercrime to Nigeria at about 0.08 per cent of our GDP, representing about N127 billion.  

These become an act of fraud activities as a result of unsecured online activities, some criminals are using this method to defraud innocent citizens from their hard earning and this was the result of lack of adequate laws.

These are serious threats to the government, which had to be taken seriously, because if the government fails to act and without applying the correct measures, the risk of the outcome will affect the government national security. In the statement of the NSA, Mungu stresses the demand to take immediate action having understood the seriousness of the cybercrime for the purposes of protecting the national cyberspace as a national security requirement.

2. Classifications of Cybercrimes in Nigeria:

The practice of cybercrime which is more prevalent in Nigeria, these crimes are centrally focused on economic gain for the criminals and bring victims and government institutions into jeopardy by rendering the country efforts worthless. The effects of this crimes perpetrated was to encourage the breed of criminals in the country and put the moral and social standards into question.

The image of Nigeria has been globally portrayed by the media and political cycles as the nation of fraud and more particularly 419 as “unsettling the myth of Nigerian exceptionalism” and that can be argued that obviously it is not always the position that Nigeria stands to be exceptional in the world of cyber criminals activities. More often, the 419 perpetrators cover email scams and other forms really existed and Nigeria should be the first.

However, the cybercrime activities are associated with Nigeria, at this juncture, it is also important to look again, that the possibility of unknown persons-criminal groups as “Americans”, “British” or “France” are not citizens of other nations. The point here

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297 This was disclosed by the national security adviser (nsa), maj-gen. Babagana munguno (rtd), stated sometimes on monday during the inauguration of the cybercrime advisory council, at the office of nsa, abuja. As reported by senator iroegbu in abuja, thisday newspaper, “nigeria loses over n127bn annually through cybercrime”, dated on april 19, 2016, accessed on 20/10/2016, available at http://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2016/04/19/nigeria-loses-over-n127bn-annually-through-cybercrime/ . In another statement quoted the nsa that “global tracking of cyber-attacks indicates that nigeria is among countries with high cases of software piracy, intellectual property theft and malware attacks. The situation is a serious challenge to our resolve to take advantage of the enormous opportunities that internet brings, while balancing and managing its associated risks.” And that “the situation was made possible due to lack of awareness of cyber-security and poor enforcement of guidelines and minimum standards for security of government websites, particularly those hosting sensitive databases of nigerians.

298 Ibid.


300 For example, the first known exponent of the present day 419 fraud, a former employee of Marine Department of the colonial government of Lagos in 1920 e ‘Professor’ Crentsil, came from Ghana (Ellis, 2016).
is that it is difficult to exonerate the crimes committed by criminals from other nations and regions across the globe that acted or portrayed to be Nigerians and cross the threshold of the world of 419 frauds as players.\textsuperscript{301}

In addition, the repercussion worthy of note is the reliance on the media news, law enforcement agencies and other politician for a genuine data as to the issue of such nature.\textsuperscript{302} It is a huge cost of reputation to appraise, because in the case of Nigeria, that not all claims of the victims are correct information about the real criminals’ identities, as always put forward by media and political oratory on the “Nigeria” fraud activities may have unintended consequences against the cybercrimes perpetrator’s from the victims report unduly as Nigerians.\textsuperscript{303}

\section*{2.1 Yahoo Boys:
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The yahoo boys are an example of the practice of Nigerian cybercrime with fraudulent means. These are young boys who became notorious during the early integration of the Internet, particularly focusing on electronic transactions, they made their names by assaulting yahoo; email accounts.\textsuperscript{304} ‘Yahoo Boys’ as the name implies is now a nickname given to class of youths who are experts in committing cybercrime fraud.\textsuperscript{305} Based on an interview conducted in a research paper reveals that at least 40 active ‘Yahoo Boys’ were involve in a reasonable number of Nigeria’s cybercrimes. Offenders are between the age of 22 and 29 years and they are often educated to an undergraduate level with a different standard of living compare to others.\textsuperscript{306}

Section 2 of the Advanced Fee Fraud Act 2006 penalised this activities where a person by false pretence, and with the intent to defraud, represented himself any piece of material or chemical substance, scientific or any medium of incantation of any of juju or any other means that would portray an invisible personality of a person.

Previously, ‘Yahoo Boys’ were known as the 419 scam in the 1980s, at that time when the Nigerian economy vanished, these acts of 419 are carried out by graduates who are unemployed and they use a document or form to fraud/play a foreign businessmen into depositing money to non-existent business.\textsuperscript{307} These groups of (‘Yahoo Boys’-419 scam) used voodoo that is charms for spiritual protection to

\begin{thebibliography}{99}

\bibitem{301} Adogame, Op. cit, at p. 7.
\bibitem{304} The economic Times: September 11, 2004, at 1.
\bibitem{305} An extract of a study from an interview conducted by Dr. Joshua Oyeniyi Aransiola, Sociology lecturer at Obafemi Awolowo University-Nigeria in the city of Ile-Ife in “Nigeria’s ‘419’ email scams uncovered: The truth behind the Yahoo Boys”, Metro.com, Accessed 4/4/2015, available http://metro.co.uk/2012/03/02/nigerias-419-email-scams-uncovered-the-truth-behind-the-yahoo-boys-

338017/.
\bibitem{307} “Nigeria’s ‘419’ email scams uncovered: The truth behind the Yahoo Boys”, op. cit.
\end{thebibliography}
successfully carry out the inhuman act on one hand and to also charm the potential victim’s on the other hand, which is a commonplace practice. They are also referred as ‘Yahoo Plus’.  

In an example of such a situation of where fraudsters and scammers operated in a particular country for the purpose of committing crimes which is relevant to the discourse is the recent case of United States of America v. Montego Bay, on Nov. 24, 2015, the defendant and his co-conspirators were sentenced to 20 years in federal prison, and ordered to pay $5,672,561.15 in restitution, after having been convicted at trial in North Dakota on charges of conspiracy to commit wire fraud or mail fraud, conspiracy to commit international money laundering, and 35 counts of wire fraud associated with his participation in the Jamaican lottery fraud. In amongst the twenty-five defendants, the ringleader was ascertained to be Sanjay Ashani Williams his co-conspirators were from Jamaica. However, eleven of those defendants arrested pleaded guilty. In addition to separate indictments, four co-conspirators have been charged to court while two have pleaded guilty and the remaining two are awaiting trial. The investigation is still incomplete. This case further identifies the large existing of international criminal groups.

The Cybercrime Act 2015 had provided for the related offences under section 13 on the computer related forgery and section 14 on the computer related fraud, because more often the activities of yahoo fraud revolves around forgery using computer applications. The provisions addresses the scope of their activities but needs to be efficient in the implementation processes, the Act will assist efficiently in fighting the crime at every step. Because more often than not, the fraud activities involves foreign nations and one point the Act has extensively address is the provision of international co-operation.

2.2. Hacking:

The chronicle of “hacking” is popularly known as few numbers of people with computer knowledge who specialised in the technical aspect of computer. The story is different in the current trend, everyone has common knowledge on hacking through the computer system. Hacking means “the unauthorised access and subsequent use of other people’s computer systems”. However, a hacker is “someone who displays skilled software development and they are not always malicious and the term is often applied to skilled programmers working in all aspects of software development”. In another point, a hacker could get access to a computer system distantly through his/her personal computer in office, home or private place to a telecommunication network.

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308 Spy Service Exposes Nigerian ‘Yahoo Boys’, op. Cit; Mu’azu Abdullahi Saulawa, op. Cit.
310 Ibid.
Hacking consists of huge portion of misuse of the internet and it is being encouraged by greediness and wish to take away a person’s property permanently, as in theft. Despite all this, its consequence comes with a number of attacks and which are termed as criminal offences.\(^\text{314}\)

The act of hacking becomes so practicable to some criminals, the Nigerian criminals who are involved in cracking of security codes for generation’s electronic transactions and electronic cards, exploiting the virtual transactions and shopping malls, so as to get accesses to the company’s data for financial gain or suppressing of the data.\(^\text{315}\)

The proliferation of these crimes now extended heavily on the federal institutions, the group of criminals issuing fake advertisement for employment by selling a scratch card before accessing the institution websites and sometimes they sells the forms whereas the institution have not in any manner issuing a directives to sell a form.

The act of hacking in the context of Nigeria has become a practice today, though, the law is not there to regulate but a steps is underway. The Cybercrime Act 2015 had provided in a number of sections, that section 8 on system interference, section 12 on unlawful interceptions, section 16 on unauthorized modifications of computer systems, network data and system interference and section 32 on phishing, spamming and spreading of computer virus falls under the category of hacking which are criminal offences under the Act and attracts a punishments. For this issue to be addressed, the law must be cogent and strong to deal with this crime, though the provisions of the Act had address such extensively by ensuring the law must address the scope of the offence having understood the confidentiality, integrity and availability of the computer system is at risk.

### 2.3 Software Piracy:

The activities of software piracy is an illegal act in the country, particularly in relation to fake, counterfeits products, most of the time; it involves illegal counter production of software, movies especially the domestic based artist works.\(^\text{316}\)

Though these issues had not been exactly discussed by the Cybercrime Act or highlights the related offences, it is essential that the Cybercrime Act be amended to include the software piracy application explicitly but section 28(1) of the Act on the importation and fabrication of the e tools that any person unlawfully produces, supplies, adapt, manipulates or procures for use, imports, exports, distributes, offers for sale or otherwise makes available may be significant in this point. Still, is best the Act to clearly include software piracy.

### 2.4 Identity theft:


\(^{316}\) Ibid.
Identity theft is a crime which a criminal represents the identity of someone and pretends to be that person and further acts in realistic of the victim activities. This act provides the criminal the opportunity to perpetrate criminal offences in the name of the victim. This kind of offence has become predominant in Nigeria; identity theft emerges and becomes a serious crime due to advancement in and availability of technology. Previously, it has existed but such becomes so pronounced in the current global environment. Therefore, it is a modern theft.

The criminal has the opportunity to steal huge number of millions in naira and sometimes in foreign currency from the victims without their knowledge or consent through the internet and until after some time when the crime has been committed. The victim may know.

Section 22 of the Cybercrime Act 2015 penalizes any act of identity theft and impersonation. This is an act in which a person fraudulently or dishonestly uses the computer related devices to represent a victim’s identity or impersonate, and that amounts to criminal offence.

Identity theft is connected to fraud because the process upon which the criminal initiates the act is fraud thereby fraudulently representing the victim’s identity. However, representation of the victim’s identity and obtaining the most crucial information through the act about the victim or someone is among the practical offences that occur in Nigeria. For instance, several persons have been arrested on many occasions in possession of many ATM credit cards which they pretended to be theirs. A person arrested prior to boarding a flight to a foreign country with the credit cards issued by various Nigerian banks, belonging to different persons.

2.5 Cyber Pornography:

The act of cyber pornography in the internet has become an endemic practice; the practices encompassed any films which present images of unpleasant sexual materials that can be accessed through the internet. The unpleasant materials are most of the time free in the websites and sometimes must subscribe to. The websites sometimes are used as a means of committing crimes, by disseminating viruses or request a credit card details, this is another tactic they apply.


318 Sonny Zulhuda and Sidi Mohamed, Ibid, at 170.


321 Ibid, at 48.
The law that existed in Nigeria to combat this practice is Cybercrime Act 2015. The lack of its enforcement have resulted the spread of unpleasant pictures, videos and footage on a popular social media interaction platform Facebook, usually in user’s page without their knowledge.

The Cybercrime Act 2015 had address the pornographic related matters under the section 23 on child pornography and related offences and it provides a severe punishment in the event of conviction. The provision is limited to child pornography to the vulnerability of the child. The increase in the usage of the Internet, particularly the pornographic sites had contributes in affecting the minds of the children by becoming victims to a reasonable number. And more often the access link will come up, sometimes on invitation and sometimes an intrusion by a hacker.

The social media platform is another medium for spreading these activities, particularly Facebook. There is need to review this part of the Act by including the social media platform and also the adult posting in relation to social media.

2.6 Credit Card Fraud:

The purpose of a credit card is meant for payment and usually issue by banks to users for the purpose of making payments and sometimes depositing, it grant a user’s access to transact in different methods. Usually stolen or hacked by the criminals at the point a user’s insert a credit card number during the online transactions, or at Point of Sale (POS) in shopping malls and while withdrawing money using ATM card has become a most prevalent act of criminals. The arrest of a criminal suspect member of international organized group at the Murtala Muhammed International Airport (MMIA) Lagos while boarding Qatar airline flight to China by the officials of Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) with stolen credit cards-180 pieces issue by five different financial banks in Nigeria.

In R v Okunkpolor, The appellant was involved in hotel fraud were a stolen credit card was used to book hotels in different parts of the world. At the appellate court, the court was satisfied that the appellant had no relevant previous conviction and has children. The appellant allowed his bank account to be used by another person in committing fraud. The court further viewed that the trial court that the

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324 Ibid.


326 (2014) EWCA Crim 181, (Transcript: Wordwave International Ltd (A Merrill Communications Company)).
imposed sentence was too high and further agreed with the appellant strong personal mitigation. Therefore, the court allowed the appeal by reducing the sentence from 12 months to one of eight month’s imprisonment.

The situation where the defendant was only aware that his account will be used in some transaction not knowing the transaction is fraud and this is among the practices by some people where they involves the use of different bank accounts in transacting money by using one single credit card. This practice is becoming so common in the daily activities and is one way of committing offences.

The illustration in the above case indicates that allowing the usage of a bank account to perpetrate an offence whether with your knowledge or otherwise amounts to an offence. This further defines the vulnerability of credit card and the bank issuing the credit card should have notified the cardholder of the transactions for authorisation since the transactions are in various places in different countries. That should be by way of email or SMS message and the bank to hold the transaction for a few days upon clearance of the authorisation.

The Nigerian Cybercrime Act 2015, in its provisions had penalised the activities of credit card frauds, section 33 highlights on the electronic card fraud, section 34 on a dealing in card of another and section 35 on the purchase or sale of card of another which is the exact scenario highlighted above. Interestingly, the provisions of the Act did identify the process upon which a criminal will make use or hold a credit card which questions its ownership.

The provisions had gone into establishing the essential of the offences. However, in another section 13 of the Advanced Fee Fraud Act 2006 demonstrate the use of telecommunication in the commission of crimes which is related to the present situation but it did not specifically highlighted the use of computer system or networks in the perpetration of the crime. This further suggest that the provision of the Act had to be strong enough in handling this angle because it has become an endemic practices today and the laws had to be complemented in the fight.

2.7 Denial of Service Attack:

The short name of Denial of Service Attack is DoS, and usually occurs once offender made an effort to take down or cripple individual websites, organizations, government computers or networks and frequently often by downpour them with messages.  

The DoS attack is an attack to electronically to firms and sensitive places, such government infrastructures. The attack usually took place where the attacker gets access to the firms or infrastructures computer systems through interruption, regularly by sending fake information and messages untraceable or otherwise to the servers that malfunctions the systems from a few minutes, days or to completely crash in the system by causing severe damages. In the case of a firm, it touches the confidential information of the customers and earnings of the firms against the competitors. Whereas the government infrastructures, it renders the government into a risk.

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328 Eugene Clark, e tal., at p. 387.
Infrastructures encompass banks, water, energy, power system, medicine sectors, transportations, aviations, oil and gas etc., it also covers private companies not only public. These are among the essentials need by human beings to survive on earth.329

The definition of infrastructure means “the basic system and services such as transport and power supplies, that a country or organization uses in order to work effectively‖330 In the event of an attack, the perpetrators get access to target the systems, creating malicious activities that would initiate at a time set and disappear from the system without being traced.331

The attack on Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) website comes when the Federation of Nigeria is conducting its 2015 Presidential Elections is a new factor in the national critical infrastructure information (NCII) attack. Some of the campaign organizations of the opposition party were not happy in the method of voting system, newly adopted by the INEC so as to ease the count and to have an eligible and credible voter couple with the enhancement of the electronic voting system in the country.

The card readers accept the Permanent Voting Card (PVC) which contains a chip that recognised through the electronic card reader. Each voter has his/her own PVC upon which it automatically identifies the identity of the voter in the INEC database. Further, the criminals infiltrate the website in the early morning of Saturday 28th March 2015, few hours after the accreditation of voters started.332

After some hours, the Independent National Electoral Commission in Nigeria restored it hacked website after it was struck by “Nigerian Cyber Army”. It further reveals that there is no damage in to the database. These attacks are easily perpetrated through the DDOS and defacement.333

The practices of cyber attacks is new and have become an interesting point in Nigeria based on the INEC scenario above. The Cybercrime Act 2015 had made reasonable provisions for penalising such act of offences. Some of the attacks are not meant to be for economic gain but rather political or sabotage to the nation information infrastructures, the above scenario on INEC is an example. Section 5 of the Act provides for offences against critical national information infrastructure to be an offence which attracts a minimum of 10 years imprisonment in the event of conviction while other related offences are above the 10 years imprisonment. The provision is an important thing in this Act for the purpose of address such attacks.

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331 Eugene Clark, et al., op. cit. Sometimes where a computer system have good security, it can trace the perpetrators line of activities but still base on their calculate time, the perpetrators would disappear. It is easy for the system to identify the attack and trace such but most of the time it is not successful.


using computer systems and network. The government has to be strategic in the way and manner such will be implemented so as to achieve the desired objective.

### 2.8 Virus Dissemination:

The spreading of viruses in a computer system for the purposes of infecting data and system software, normally executable programs, by inserting a replication of itself into the data.\(^{334}\) For example, the “Melissa virus that affected PCs in the late 1999 and early 2000”. Computer virus differs and each operates independently depending on its impact on the computer system. The viruses are distributed without the knowledge of the user and sometime the user may request for download or visiting the website not knowing what a user is getting to.

In the case of Philippines, The I Love You Prosecution thus was a computer virus which was spread through an email attachment and affected millions of personal computers and systems around the world in May 2000. The virus was created and disseminated by two computer programmers from the Philippines who were traced by the authorities and counterparts in that country. Since the Philippines did not have a law to punish crimes against the creation and dissemination of viruses at that time, the authorities in that country dropped all the charges against the offenders and they were not criminally prosecuted. This case took a relevant dimension when the United States Department of Justice got involved in the investigation and tried to cooperate in the prosecution and extradition of the offenders to the United States, however such efforts were meaningless precisely because of the principle and requirement of dual criminality, which requires that extradition may be allowed only when the legislation of both countries provides for a specific sanction and punishment, which was not the case in the Philippines.\(^{335}\)

The general issues related here is a sound legislation meant to address this menace in Nigeria, the Nigerian Cybercrime Act 2015 provides in section 32 on phishing, spamming and spreading of computer virus. Having this provision will definitely assist the country in fighting the practices of virus’s dissemination, since such act is used for the purposes of advancing cybercrimes in Nigeria.

### 2.9 Phishing:

This act is an effort of an offender to secure delicate data which includes usernames, secret code, and credit card details of users (and in some cases extent to money) through the electronic communications with a conceal reliable source.\(^{336}\) This aspect of cybercrimes is a related branch to the other cybercrime offences, the Nigerian Cybercrime Act provides in section 32 on phishing and other related offences. The

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\(^{334}\) Eugene Clark, etal, op. cit, at p. 388.


offences in the event of conviction attract 3 years imprisonment or fine of #1, 000, 00 or both.

2.10 Online Copyright and Trademark Infringement:

These are offences whereby the offender uses internet or computer to exploit the copyrights of an original work and further fraudulently uses the internet in taking a credit or a trademark name, symbol, devices or graphic, combination of, so as to identify the product. The key objective is to protect the trademark work and to ensure the original owner enjoys its fruition and the marks stays and identified him solely.

The position of Nigerian Cybercrime Act under section 25 provide for cybersquatting is that where a person intentionally uses of name, business name, trademark and domain name belonging to any individual, corporate, government institution has committed an offence. The Act did not specifically talk about copyright infringement using the computer system or networks which non-inclusion of copyright infringement in the internet or a computer system will definitely put the copyright perpetrators free.

2.11 Spoofing:

This is an act of using a computer network representing one more computer, normally one computer with special access rights; this pair gives access to the other systems on the network. The relevant provision in the Cybercrime Act 2015 to the offence has been highlighted in section 32 of the Act and will be discussed comprehensively in preceding chapters of the research.

2.11 Cyberstalking:

The word stalking covers harassment or frightening through the telephone calls, leaving a note of written messages or any other items such as gifts. In addition, thus signify you are being watch or followed.


338 Ibid.


The criminal who is into stalking known as “stalker” uses the internet as a means to stalk persons constitute a crime. The act of stalking through the internet is cyberstalking. Stalkers are in the habit of using the internet to “willfully and maliciously and repeatedly following or harassing another person and who makes credible threat with the intent place that person in reasonable fear for his or her safety, or the safety of his or her immediate family”. 343

Cyber stalking is an offence whereby an offender uses the potentials of internet to tail, intimidate or harass a person. It could be a form of sexual interest, exploitation or otherwise. The availability of information of users in the internet is enormous, 344 which more often lead to commitment of some crimes related. Sometimes the use of computer system or network will be for the purpose of harassment or intimidation.

The offence of cyberstalking has been addressed by the Cybercrime Act 2015 under section 24, the offence is one of the most practiced in the country through the social network platforms. The practice of cyberstalking affects a number of people, particularly the innocent citizens who does not exactly know they are stalking a person for instance regular monitoring of the social network activities of a person (includes Facebook page, Twitter handler etc.). Some did that for the purpose of sexual harassment indirectly while some others will use such platform to directly harass or intimidate a person like posting of his/her social activities or making a comment on the person page for the purpose of getting his/her attention. While some group of person enjoy posting of nude images for the purpose of getting others attention, this is an offence that are not regulated by any law in Nigeria, except the intended future Bill/Law. The significant presence of the Act is to address such practices.

2.12 Cyber Defamation:

This is an act of defamatory or slander initiates or committed through the internet. The offence can be criminal or civil, some users make social media as a medium of defaming other persons and sometimes the offender may send emails or messages to the victims with a defamatory content to the other people related to the victims post or on the website. 345

This is not intended to preclude the freedom of online speech, in the case of Nigeria, a recent incidence of John Danfulani where he made a statement in a social media - Facebook, though the statement is a hate speech but also amount to defamatory character. 346 However, the statement of John Danfulani contains element of an offence of racist and xenophobic. In addition, any person who threatens, insults or

344 Anah Bijik Hassan, Feunmi David Lass and Julius Makinde, at 628.
distributes information through the internet in any medium of communication platforms constitute the said offence. The offences of racist and xenophobic has been penalised under Section 26 of the Cybercrime Act 2015. The position of Nigeria in cyber defamation is not provided by the Cybercrime Act 2015 and lack of such clause in the Act will inadvertently request for review in the future that is why such should be included in the future cyber law in Nigeria.

The section 24 of the Act which provides for cyberstalking did not directly talk on the cyber defamation but there is a sub-section (2)(c) of the Act where a person harm the reputation of a person is there said to defame his reputation, such clause can be applicable with limitations. As the practices of cyber defamation becomes too open in the social media platform, particularly Facebook, it then become enormous for the government to include the clause in the respective provisions of the Act were necessary so as safeguard the integrity of the citizens in the area of information technology by criminalising this offences.

3. **Conclusion:**

The classes of the cybercrimes in Nigeria is continue to grow in different dimension, except the government make a strong move to halt the spread of the crimes, then there is a serious threat faced. The Nigeria’s cybercrime cost the government into the lost of Billions of money every year, which should be a frighten factor for the government to rigorously put measures to address this menace. The offences of cybercrimes have become phenomena that need to be address as a serious matter. The law establishing thing the Cybercrime Act 2015 is on the process of implementation. From the discussion of the paper, the paper finds that still the Cybercrime Act is not fully implemented in Nigeria. The finding also reveals that cybercrime activities are manifesting through the development of technology. In addition to the findings that youths are integrated in to the activities of cybercrime and finally the manpower to handle the investigation of cybercrime is not sufficient. Therefore, the paper recommends that there is the need for the government to ensure the effective measures out in place for the implementation of the cybercrime Act in Nigeria. However, the government must enhance its prosecution teams for securing successful convictions in the court of law and there should be a special court establishes for this purposes. The cybercrimes are daily activities and requires to be handled with skill and expertise within the reasonable time otherwise the digital evidences and other document might be tempered.
INTRODUCTION

It has become common today for a large section of society to depend on the social media for the major source of their news. This situation has been accentuated by the speed and convenience of accessing information especially through hand-held devices such as mobile phones and ipads. According to a report published recently by Mushroom Networks.com, the reality is that an estimated 28% of Americans get their news from social media. The fast growth and power of social media news is better appreciated when this figure is compared with the 29% of people who get news from Newspapers and a mere 19% through radio, In truth, even here in Nigeria it is through social media that a large percentage of online users discover breaking news as well as subsequent link sources that direct them to more traditional news outlets.

A quick sample of people in this hall can help us gauge online users and their sources of news items.

Those of you on Facebook please signify with raised hands? What of those on Twitter? Instagram? YouTube?

Now how many of us believe the news we get from social media? How many do not? The reasons may vary from person to person.

Here is the result from Pew Research on the same subject matter conducted between 2013 and 2014 in the United States

- Facebook was the leading news power house among social media sites. In fact 64% of US adults used Facebook in 2013.
- 30% of Facebook users derived their news from the site.
- 10% of YouTube users got their news from the site.
- 8% got their news from Twitter
- 4% of Google+ users got news from the site.
Kinds of News on Facebook

Percent of Facebook News Consumers who Regularly See News on Facebook about...

- Entertainment: 73%
- People & events in my community: 65%
- Sports: 57%
- National govt & politics: 55%
- Crime: 51%
- Health & medicine: 46%
- Local govt & politics: 44%
- Local weather & traffic: 42%
- International news: 39%
- Science & technology: 37%
- Business: 31%

Based on Facebook News Consumers N=1,429

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Percent of social networking site users who have...

- Shared or reposted news stories, images or videos: 50%
- Discussed a news issue or event: 46%
- Posted photos they took of a news event: 14%
- Posted videos they took of a news event: 12%


PEW RESEARCH CENTER
Recall that the above findings are as at about four years ago. Social media has since experienced an exponential rise in the intervening years. These survey results can be easily replicated in Nigeria when we sample the views of citizens who consume social media news through hand-held devices. I am aware that many of you are regular visitors to websites such as naij.com, lindaikeji.com, bellanaija.com, newsguru.com, saharareporters.com and premiumtimes.com to mention just a few. Our earlier snap poll had already given us that indication. The survey results clearly indicate that news comes to users of social media at various times irrespective of their favourite topics. This is the reason why there are inherent discrepancies and slants in many trending news items. It is indeed revealing that while some of them may sound as authentic as mainstream media such as CNN, several others vary between the believable and the incredulous.

In the past when traditional media held sway, the scenario was remarkably different. At that time, media houses had known street addresses, telephone and fax numbers etc. The editors were popular and one could even put a number to daily circulation numbers of various newspapers. So it was very easy, especially during the military era, to use armed soldiers to swiftly invade and close down a newspaper house for instance. Editors and reporters were easily arrested and incarcerated while publications meant for circulation were intercepted and seized in most cases. That way the target “offensive” usually never saw the light of day.

Thankfully this ugly trend has changed, many thanks to social media. Many people, especially the Millennials (as the younger generation are fondly called), rather than wait for the vendor now rely heavily on social media for their news of the day. The story has been told of how a family can sit together in a living room with everyone
reading or clicking away on a device even with the TV on! My personal experience is pathetic. My son is an avid Manchester United supporter and we used to struggle for the remote control any time an Arsenal match coincided with an event at Old Trafford. I recently noticed that this is no longer the case. In fact some days he rushes in to the living room screaming “Man Utd has scored”...and the goal actually gets scored on TV seconds later!

It is this speed and immediacy of news access that has led to the boom in social media usage.

Let us now place this in perspective by considering what transpired during the so-called Arab Spring era. In Egypt for instance, the number of Facebook users rose from 450,000 to 3 million people within the six months that followed the revolution. Today that figure stands at more than 5 million users! It was additionally reported that the week before the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak, the total rate of tweets about political change in Egypt rose from a mere 2,300 per day to over 230,000 (an astronomical increase of over a hundred times!).

The wide circulation of social media has created a most interesting scenario which I like to refer to as “Journalists without Borders” (JWB). With JWB, “citizenship” journalism has taken root and it actually very easy to repost or re-tweet information to friends and relations as soon as you receive them. It is no wonder then that news items now go viral within seconds! This is the major reason why social media has become a great tool for mobilisation as we saw with the Arab Spring and most recently in a Middle East country where a coup attempt was reportedly thwarted because of a FaceTime video connection that was streamed on the local version of CNN. We are also very familiar with the recent fatal Police shooting of an innocent driver in the United States because his girlfriend managed to stream the incident through Facebook Live video.

Information sharing via URL (Web address) has become so commonplace that virtually all materials in the web today have a sharing link. This accounts for the reason why the “share” diagram is now so popular and common place on almost everything you read online. Perhaps it therefore does not serve as a surprise anymore the intention of Mark Zuckerberg to make Facebook a “global Newspaper” in the very near future.

We can also be constrained to consider why Twitter has become a core distributor of social media news. Twitter, by the way, is an online site that started off in 2009 with the prompt “What are you doing?”. All that changed the moment that prompt was substituted with “What is Happening”. This became the instant trigger for people to begin to post less about themselves BUT more about newsworthy materials. With about 500 million tweets achieved per day, what followed next can best be described as a massive transformation. Since then social media has succeeded in changing the way news is reported. (See Twitter slides)

Apart from the immediacy, wide circulation and mobilising effect of social media there also exists a number of other positive advantages. The biggest of them is the convenience factor that allows a news alert to arrive on your hand-held device any time of the day. Indeed you need not open any website before weather, security and
sports results alerts hit your mobile phone. Did I forget to mention the credit alert from your bankers?

We may also consider the effective manner through which social media news has been used to directly communicate to target audiences without the fear of being misquoted. This system of bypassing perceived hostile main stream media has been perfected by no other than President Donald Trump.

There is also the multi-media capacity of social media which enables us to transmit not just text but also audio, videos, images and even GIF (Graphic Information Format). This has given rise to the sudden boundless capacity of the entertainment industry to flourish within social media in several formats such as jokes, comedies, skits, parodies and the like. Even Emojis have joined the equation to promote non-verbal messaging. One final important reason why social media has become so popular and convenient is the fact that it is clean, non-messy and occupies very little space due to its non-bulky nature. In this respect therefore, online advertisement has soared to new heights. Besides media managers have found social media inexpensive. Many of them no longer bother to organise expensive media conferences in swanky hotels when their news stories can be cheaply distributed through social media.

Despite all the advantages enumerated above, it is common to find several conflicts in the news items churned on social media. The anonymity associated with this medium of communication has not been helpful. This has been compounded by an obsession to be cited as the first to break “hot” news. The haste to hit the web first has led to “mixed messaging” through many unsavoury, incomplete or sometimes out rightly misleading reports at various times. We have seen unfortunate instances of the publication of the “obituaries” of political office holders as well as the unplanned instigation of violent reprisal attacks simply on account of false information spread on social media. It is safe but regrettable to say that social media accounts for a large degree of unverified or “Fake News” currently in circulation. In Nigerian pidgin parlance we refer to it as “Dem say, Dem say”.

Conflicting messaging is just but one downside of social media. The others include Cyber-bullying and the ease of juxtaposing unrelated images with the aid of Photoshop. The obvious absence of editorial gate-keeping makes social media news susceptible to hacking, adulteration and manipulations. Through anonymity it is possible to engage in extreme political satire and sometimes outright incitement of mob reaction. Some have even utilised social media to settle scores with perceived enemies. Let us consider some recent experiences here in Nigeria. Mama Peace was a popular but unfortunate political satire that surrounded a former First Lady. The reported and convoluted Apostle Suleman saga is another. What about the recent claim of monies discovered in graveyards or even the circulation of a different person as the wife of the DG of an Intelligence agency said to be currently under investigation? In all these examples we can clearly see the funny but also the ridiculous sides of social media.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above postulations is that while social media has presented itself as an essential revolution in information dissemination, there is now a compelling need to consume news stories generated by the social media with a lot of caution. As earlier posited, social media news outlets are primarily responsible
for the advent of the unfortunate “fake news” syndrome and a good way to avoid being caught in this vicious web of spreading falsehood is to authenticate stories from multiple traditional news sources. Seeking multi-layer confirmatory sources may be laborious and time-wasting but nothing takes the place of authentic news.

An English-born Canadian author and speaker known as Malcolm Gladwell is on record as having opined that “true and honest information stems from in-person and face-to-face communication”. He holds that the Civil Rights Movement which swept the United States in the 1950s and 1960s would have been impossible even if Facebook had been available then. According to him, the movement succeeded because the organisers used the black church, where people knew and trusted each other by sight to transmit messages of mobilisation. It simply means that they trusted their news. So can we truly trust social media news? What then is news if it cannot be wholly trusted? Social media news will continue to be dogged by these salient questions until it rids itself of rumour-mongering, fiction, half-truths, mischief, sheer entertainment and political witch-hunt.

Humans have a natural thirst for news, especially bad news. We also thirst for drinks every now and again. But show me who ever entered a bar and chose to drown in all the available liquor. Or show me the one that attends a buffet dinner, no matter how sumptuous, and decides to eat from all dishes? The consequences of such uninformed behaviour are surely dire. Like most things in life, social media news provides us with a cocktail of options. We have to look hard and deep to be able to pick the right choices out of the basket...and in their right quantity!

Finally, the begging question remains; can we safely rely on social media news? Why not?...but only if we verify the stated news sources. The reason for this advice is not far-fetched. Social media news will continue to suffer serious trust issues until such a time as when un-edited and un-censored news begins to experience robust interrogation and serious “fact-checking”.

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EDUCATION OF PEOPLE WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

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ABSTRACT

"Everyone has the right to education," says Article 26, section one of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, educating students with disabilities in Nigeria is not without some challenges. Thus, this paper examines the challenges, policy implications, philosophical, sociological, and legal imperatives of the education of people with special needs. Some important global events that support inclusive and exclusive education were discussed. The researcher reflects on Nigeria’s newly revised National Policy on Education with its emphasis on inclusive education (2008), and the Universal Basic Education policy (1999). Documentary method of research was adopted. It was discovered that those with disabilities deviate from average physical, sociopsychological and mental behaviours to such extent that they cannot profitably benefit from regular educational programmes. It was also discovered that most extant policies and legal status on special education in Nigeria were deficient and that, people with special needs strive to survive amid hostile conditions. The paper concludes with recommendations to improve the status quo.

Keywords: People with special needs, Inclusion, Exclusion, Special education, Documentary

INTRODUCTION

"Everyone has the right to education," says Article 26, section one of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, educating students with disabilities in Nigeria is not without some challenges. This because people with special needs strive to survive amid hostile conditions. For a long time in many African countries persons with disabilities have been marginalized. In some cases, parents regard having such children as a curse (Rukuni 2000). Therefore, one finds that these persons are discriminated against on the job market, in the provision of facilities and programmes meant to uplift their welfare and in educational opportunities. In fact, in some African countries, such as Nigeria, derogatory labels are used to describe these people. In south-west Nigeria, it is not uncommon for local people in rural communities to refer to a person with disability as “abirun”. The word “abirun” connotes a “person who is contagious”. In other words, the person is seen not as carrying a contagious disease, but as being contagious her/himself. No pregnant woman wants to go near a person with disability for fear of having the baby in her womb “infected with disability”. Nobody wants to marry a person with disability because it will mean a perpetuation of disability in their family line. Furthermore, a person with disability is considered too weak and sick to be able to work and make a living. She or he is better off on the
street asking for alms from other members of the community in order to survive. Where some families consider it indignity to have one of their own as a beggar, they quickly get her or him some menial jobs like fixing bad shoes or bags. Other people with disabilities may not be lucky because they are either poisoned to die or abandoned as destitute to fend for themselves.

In every nation of the world, human beings are the most important resource. No country can develop politically, socially and economically when a large number of its population is socially excluded. People with disabilities constitute about 19 million of Nigeria’s population (Lawal-Solarin, 2012, “Nigeria And The Challenged,” para. 1) of over 150 million. No government’s policies or legislations adequately protect them against discrimination or social exclusion. The portrayal of disability issues as “charity” and “stigma” has socially excluded most Nigerians living with disabilities. The consequences of social exclusion, according to Popay et al. (2008), are unjust allocation of resources and unequal rights within the economic, political, social and cultural spheres (p. 7).

Disability as a stigma in the Nigerian context has also enhanced the concept of institutionalization. Due to erroneous cultural and traditional believes attached to disability, some families having people with disabilities, especially the wealthy ones who can afford the exorbitant cost of institutionalization, may abandon their family members with disabilities in one of these institutions to avoid the social stigma and the burden of caring for them. Employment opportunities are not available for most people with disabilities in Nigeria, even when they possess the requisite qualifications. Furthermore, public facilities such as banks, schools, libraries, places of worship and restrooms are not accessible. While some people have argued that the average Nigerians with disabilities do not make effort to get education, it is quite obvious that inaccessibility to education facilities is the primary factor responsible for this. In the past, persons with physical disabilities were referred to as things not people. Nowadays the perception has changed somewhat, but still a lot needs to be done to improve interaction patterns and relationships between persons with physical disability and the “normal” people. This module is essentially about educational needs of persons with disabilities and strategies that can be used to empower them in their learning. The ultimate aim when teaching them is to put them on an equal footing as other persons who do not have disabilities. For a long time, children with special needs were educated along with other regular children in schools. The notion of special education was a western phenomenon and concept in Nigeria. How were children with special needs educated without special education programs? This paper examines the challenges, policy implications, philosophical, sociological, and legal imperatives of the education of people with special needs.

**THE CONCEPT SPECIAL EDUCATION:**

Special education has been defined in various ways by scholars. For instance, Mba (1991) opined that special education is an ideal general education in which individual differences are considered and provided for. Adima, Ladipo and Abosi (1981), in Oladejo (2001) defined special education as an aspect of education that treats people as individuals and makes allowances for the use of special equipment and methods of teaching according to individual needs. Special education has also been described as
classroom or private instructions involving unconventional techniques, materials, exercises, facilities and subject matter designed for children and adults who have physical deformities, behavioural disorders or learning disabilities (Osakwe, 2010).

The Federal Government of Nigeria, gives a comprehensive definition, when it defines special education as:

the education of children and adults, who have learning difficulties because of different kinds of disabilities-blindness, partial sightedness, deafness, hardness of hearing, mental retardation, social maladjustment and limb deformity or malformation, due to circumstances of birth, inheritance, social position, mental and physical health patterns, or accident in latter life. (National Policy on Education, 2004:34)

According to Osakwe (2010), citing the United States Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), special education is that type of education with specially designed instructions to meet the unique needs of people with disabilities. These definitions are relevant to the present discourse, even though, special education is not meant for the disabled only. This is because the present paper is focusing on the education students with disabilities, who might be disadvantaged in the regular educational programmes.

THE CHALLENGES AND THE POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE EDUCATION OF PEOPLE WITH SPECIAL NEEDS:

Theoretically, Nigeria is a democratic government, yet the military characteristics still dominate most part of the country (Eskay, M. et al, 2012). Hence, lack of enough positive changes in the fields of general and special education. Of course, many Nigerians have not benefited from special education programs, as outlined by Section 8 of the Nigerian NPE (National Policy on Education). The reasons were mostly because of inadequate funding (Mba, 1989; Obiakor,1998), cultural beliefs (Afolabi, 1990; Eskay, 2001; Marten, 1990; Obiakor, 1998; Onwuegbu, 1977), negative perceptions (Afolabi, 1990; Obiakor, 1998), teacher qualification (Abosi & Ozoji, 1995; Ekeleme, 1974), and the non-existence of legal mandates (Obiakor, 1992). In addition, other scholars (Abosi, 1992; Marten, 1990) have noted that continuous negative perceptions of learners with disabilities have made accountability difficult to achieve, especially when Federal, State, and Local responsibilities are mishandled. Nwaogu (1988) further found that the deeply ingrained cultural beliefs about people with disabilities and their alleged mistreatment by some administrators cannot be overlooked. Because of negative societal perceptions, teacher training and certification in special education are not maintained, and these in turn, affect funding of special education. These cultural beliefs have continued to influence the formulation and implementation of special education policies.

Onwuegbu (1977) noted that ignorance, superstition, and taboos have caused the lack of care of learners with disabilities in Nigeria. Caulcrick (1980) further found that cultural behaviors resulting from superstition and negative perception of these learners have led to poor identification, evaluation, placement, and instruction. Obiakor (1998) also found that because of the negative perceptions, screening, evaluation, placement,
and instruction have been affected. Further, the absence of legal mandates indicates that parents lack their legal rights to due process, and as a result, they cannot initiate litigation against any form of discrimination against their children in terms of admission, initial screening, comprehensive evaluation, subsequent placement, individualized instruction, and service delivery. Despite the decision of the federal government to give quality education to all Nigerian children through the 1977 NPE, some administrators still perceive people with disabilities negatively (Eskay, 2001). Even in the areas of teacher training and certification, deeply ingrained cultural beliefs create strategic problems. (Eskay, M. et al, 2012).

The question that comes to mind is: How can special education programs forge ahead with problematic cultural views and strategic plans? Many advocates, including some contemporary scholars (Abosi & Ozorji, 1990, 1995; Eskay, 2001; Marten, 1990; Obiakor, 1991) have decried the continuous cultural misrepresentations that impede general and special education programs at all levels. Clearly, there is a critical need to shift paradigm and powers to maximize the fullest potential of people with disabilities.

WHAT IS INCLUSIVE EDUCATION?

Inclusive education is a process of enhancing the capacity of the education system in any country to reach out to diverse learners. The basis of inclusion is that special needs pupils have a right to the benefits of a full school experience, with needed modifications and supports, alongside their peers without disabilities who receive general education. Inclusionists contend that special classes, separate schooling, or other forms of removing children with disabilities from the regular environment should occur only when the nature or severity of the disability of the child is such that education in regular classes (with the use of supplementary services) cannot be accomplished. Today in Nigeria, special educators, parents of students with disabilities, policy-makers and other stakeholders continue to debate the benefits and challenges of this education paradigm (Ajuwon, 2008). The discussions have been shaped largely by the principle of inclusion, which stresses that ordinary schools should cater to all children and young people, regardless of their circumstances or personal characteristics.

In both low- and high-income countries, proponents of the policy of inclusive education are now reaffirming their commitment to education for all and acknowledging the urgency of providing education for their marginalized citizens. The momentum for the inclusive education movement derives from the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO's) proclamation that, among other things, emphasizes that "Regular schools with this inclusive orientation are the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming communities, building an inclusive society and achieving education for all." p. IX. (UNESCO, 1994). Further, according to Article 18 of the same blueprint, advocates buttress their stance by noting that: "Educational policies at all levels, from the national to the local, should stipulate that a child with a disability should attend the neighborhood school that is the school that would be attended if the child did not have a disability p. 17; (UNESCO, 1994).
This latter principle appears to be what is implied in Nigeria's National Policy on Education (2004, p. 49), which tangentially references the concept of inclusive education within the broader Universal Basic Education scheme. Consequently, some vocal advocates now see inclusive education as a favored approach to responding to the needs of all students in ordinary schools. Thus, as inclusion of students with disabilities into regular classrooms becomes a reality within public schools in Nigeria, it becomes imperative to determine the perceptions of special educators toward this practice. These special educators, most of whom have been trained in the country, are gradually being recognized as key stakeholders in the implementation of the strategic inclusive practices at all levels of the education system. Despite the strategic functions of these professionals, the researcher is unaware of any published reports in which special educators' attitudes toward inclusion and disability in the country have been systematically studied. It is this realization that, in part, provided the impetus for the current empirical research.

The strong movement in the industrialized countries to include all students in the regular public schools and classrooms (Avramidis, Buylis, & Burden, 2000; Croll & Moses, 2000; Hammond & Ingalls, 2003; Stainback & Stainback, 1990; Peterson & Beloin, 1998), and the attitudes of both regular teachers and special educators (Forlin, Douglas, & Hattie 2001; Giangreco, Dennis, Cloninger, Edelman, & Schatma, 1993; Leyser & Tappendorf, 2001; Stoler, 1992; Snyder, 1999) have been documented. However, in the context of Nigeria, much of the debate regarding inclusive education has remained theoretical and speculative; yet, we know that teacher attitude is one of the most important variables in determining the success of innovative programs in special education (Larrivee & Cook, 1979; Stoler, 1992).

LEGAL IMPERATIVES OF THE EDUCATION OF PEOPLE WITH SPECIAL NEEDS:

In any democratic society, no program can be successful without legal enforcement. As it stands, there is no legal mandate from the government to carry out the objectives enumerated in Section 8 of the National Policy on Education with regard to people with exceptionalities. This absence of legal mandate leads to civil right violation and lack of adequate programming. In addition, it challenges the Local, State, and Federal governments to fund special education programs. No doubt, the availability of funds would have helped in providing adequate in-service training for teachers, and erecting classroom buildings to accommodate these learners. As Ajuwon (2008) pointed out, the absence of legal mandates to enforce special education programs perpetuates negative societal perceptions of these learners.

It is human knowledge that the lack of legal mechanism affects:

(a) The knowledge of who should be served, why someone should be served, how a person should be served, and where a person should be served;
(b) Procedural safeguards and due process rights;
(c) Non-discriminatory identification and assessment;
(d) Confidentiality of information;
(e) Individualized educational programming;
(f) Parental rights and responsibilities;
(g) Appropriate categorization, placement, and instruction.
WHO ARE THE PERSONS WITH SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS?

Persons with Special Educational Needs are those who manifest/experience more than the usual difficulties and problems in learning and training. The difficulty manifested could hamper or impede the normal physical, mental/cognitive, social and emotional development of these persons. They are the group of persons who need closer personal attention, some modifications and adaptations of the school routines and practices, of the general curriculum and practical approaches to teaching and learning in order to attain their optimum learning levels and development. They are better taught when the teachers are patient enough to recognize and understand their problems or difficulties. And this is best achieved when the teacher is innovative enough to find the most appropriate methods and approaches to meet their special learning needs.

In the past, it was believed that persons with special educational needs were only those with such obvious physical and/or functional impairments as blindness, deafness, physical handicaps, mental or intellectual retardation (Obani, 1997). However, contemporary views have widened the range and elongated the list. There are also milder forms of these challenges which often go unnoticed in schools. There are those who can be described as being socially, psychologically or culturally disabled (Obani, 2001). This includes those who have serious behavioural, emotional and attention disorders that negatively affect their school life and learning. Others include those who are socially and culturally rejected and stigmatized, such as exconvicts, former leprosy patients, former child prostitutes, street urchins and street children. Others are those who have other kinds of social disadvantages like being destitute or poverty stricken, suffering from chronic illnesses, or those living in remote areas where there are little or no opportunities of getting a good quality education.

A composite list of persons with Special Education Needs can be divided into groups as follows:

a. The relatively smaller group of children and learners with the obvious severe cases of sensory, mental or physical impairments and disabilities such as deafness, blindness, mental retardation and physical handicaps of the crippling and paralytic types.

b. The relatively larger group of children and learners with moderate to mild forms of (a) above, who manifest:
   - Moderate to mild forms of hearing impairment.
   - Moderate to mild forms of visual impairment.
   - Mild mental/ intellectual retardation manifested in generally poor lowaverage performance in all school subjects.
   - Mild physical handicaps (nonparalytic).

   These affect the control and use of the muscles of the hands needed for such educational activities and skills as writing, training, drawing, cutting along lines, throwing and catching, and some other body movements involving the use of fine motor skills.

c. The large group of children or learners exhibiting undue specific learning problems in specific subjects or aspects of subjects while performing averagely or above average in other subjects. This is the group called the learning disabled, or persons with specific learning difficulties. They
are said to have hidden handicaps which many teachers misunderstand for laziness, truancy, and so on.

d. The intellectually very superior the gifted and talented of varying types and degrees. Many teachers who misunderstand them regard them as rude, impudent, showoffs, and perhaps cheat.

e. The delicate or health impaired few who present what are termed episodic (periodic) handicaps.

f. The chronically sick and hospital bound persons who cannot attend classes. They need to be reached in their homes and hospitals. In addition to the groups that have more severe or milder physical, mental, sensory or multiple impairments, the following are also listed by UNESCO (1994) as persons with special needs:

- Those enrolled in schools but who are experiencing much difficulty, whether temporary or permanent. (This corresponds to the ‘hidden handicap’ group above)
- Those not currently enrolled in schools but who could be enrolled if schools were made more responsive to their needs (correspondsto the socially disadvantaged group above).
- Those living in severe poverty.
- Those who for one reason or the other lack interest or motivation in learning.
- Those living in remote places far from any schooling facilities.
- Street children and urchins (almajiris).
- Those who are victim of war and armed conflict.
- Females generally, and members of minority ethnic, linguistic and religious groups (UNESCO, 1994)

Those who are socially and culturally stigmatized, rejected and marginalized are also persons with special needs. They include:

- Criminals and ex-convicts
- Prostitutes and young single mothers who have dropped out of schools
- Miscreants and misguided youths on the street touting and hawking wares.
- Children of school age who are adult disabled beggars are around.

The list of persons with special needs is endless, but the point I want to stress here is the need for us to understand how they behave so we can know the best methods and approaches to help them overcome their difficulties.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PERSONS WITH SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL NEEDS (SEN):

The psychology of persons with special needs depends greatly on how emotional the person is, how prepared the person is to accept the condition and make the necessary efforts and adjustments needed to ameliorate the effects of the condition. The nature of the special needs can be considered:

i. By category of difficulty
ii. The level and degree of manifestation schematically, these can be summarized as

Follows;

a) Hearing Impairment (HI)
This is the inability or inefficient ability to hear and to use speech. It includes total deafness and muteness, partial deafness, being hard of hearing, and very slight hearing loss.

Psychological features:
- Always want to sit in the front row
- Often make signs to indicate that he/she has not heard the teacher properly.
- He/she ignores or confuses verbal instructions.
- Cannot follow conversations.
- Makes spelling mistakes.
- May develop sense of fear, suspicion, inferiority complex and isolation.
- May exhibit signs of aggression.

How the teacher can help:
- Keep the face unobstructed and avoid putting the hands in front of the mouth when talking.
- Stand in one place while talking rather than moving around.
- Stop talking when you turn your back.
- Avoid changing the subject abruptly.
- Be ready to repeat or change vocabulary if it is not understood.
- Writing down information and instructions may help.
- Maintain the normal rhythm and intonation of speech.
- Be conscious that group work may present problems if several people are talking or interrupting.
- Find out if the child can benefit from a hearing aid.

These should be faithfully observed for good teaching efforts.

a) Visual Impairment
Visual impairment is the inability to use vision or to do visual activities appropriately. It ranges from total and partial blindness and slight loss of vision to forms of minor visual errors including refractive errors which can be corrected by wearing appropriate glasses.

Psychological features
Lack emotional security. Exhibit behaviour such as;
- Frequent or long pause when reading
- May frequently walk up to the board to read
· Reading with books too close or too far from the eyes
· Exhibit functional problems in varied lighting conditions.

How the teacher can help

· Make appropriate consultations and referral
· Requisite services should be provided for the child
· Large print materials should be provided for each pupil
· Teachers should be willing to recommend the best individualized services for the visually impaired.

c) Mental Retardation (MR)

This refers to a generalized low level learning capacity in school and social learning, and has various degree of severity.

Psychological features

· Learn very little
· Has low language and vocabulary level
· Display ‘zigarmick effect’, that is, it is easier to remember what is wrong than what is right.
· Has a very short attention span.
· Has a very low mental age.
· May show signs of withdrawal.

How the teacher can help

· Work out a modification technique by which environmental events are arranged to produce specific changes in observable behaviour.
· Develop a teaching strategy based on task analysis.

d) Learning Disabilities (LD);

Learning disabilities manifest in undue specific learning difficulties in a few subjects. The level of difficulty experienced varies from slight to more profound in the different aspects of the subjects affected.

Psychological features

· Hyperactivity
· Impulsivity
· Distractibility
· Perseveration
· Emotional instability.

How the teacher can help.

· Try to understand the educational problem(s) of every child in your class.
· Identification and diagnosis rely heavily on informed teacher observation,
A good teacher will be able to observe whether a child is following his/her teaching or not, or if a child is impulsive in attending to class work and problems; is impatient with assignments, is easily distracted, is unhappy and more uncomfortable with some subjects more than with others, or when he/she surprisingly performs very poorly in some subjects than in others. Teachers must, therefore, be able to observe and record the study habits and pattern of the children with special education needs. Observe their behavioural patterns and their learning and achievement trends.

e) Physical Handicap

Physical handicaps present the special needs of reduced or impaired (independent) mobility and other forms of body movements needed for both access to, and participation in schooling and learning activities.

Psychological features

- Show difficulty in processing visual, auditory sensations.
- Some children with hydrocephalous may develop articulate speech and appear to function at a high level linguistically.
- As a physically handicapped child grows older he or she moves from the family to the larger society, beginning from the neighbourhood to the school and the community.
- A very important factor which affects the physically challenged child in the community is the attitude of the non-disabled members.
- A person who is physically handicapped feels defeated where love does not exist.

How the teacher can help

- Teachers should be alert to signs of an impending seizure and be ready to assist the pupil.
- You must understand your pupil’s condition, be comfortable with it and be able to foster a sense of understanding and acceptance among the pupil’s peers. Just as the psychological state of persons with special education needs varies according to different categories, so does the level and degree to which it affects the persons that manifest them. There are mild, moderate, even temporary and occasional (episodic) cases that can easily be remedied. This can be achieved by using appropriate and creative teaching. There are also profound cases of special education needs which place enormous obstacles in the way of schooling and learning. For such cases, some special arrangements and adjustments need to be made in the school practices. Also, some specialized attention and handling will be needed; depending on the nature of the Special Education Needs.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

Education for people with special needs, which began as a laudable path for providing equal education to all Nigerian citizens has found itself struggling with how to make it better for learners who are disenfranchised. It is not surprising that for decades such struggle has not produced any measurable progress in the education and service delivery for these learners. To join other progressive countries in recognizing,
protecting, and maintaining the rights of learners with exceptionalities, it is imperative that Nigeria begins to shift its paradigm in the 21st century by putting away the old tradition of negative perceptions on these learners. In other words, how we think about people with disabilities must change. Nigeria must tow the path of other countries that have special education laws that guide their special education activities. As such laws should be enacted for the enforcement of the National Policy of Education. The Section 8 of the NPE must be amended to provide room for due process. The lack of legal enforcement in special education makes it difficult for people with special needs and their parents to fight for their due process rights.

Advocacy groups must be instituted because they will be extremely helpful. In addition, individuals must lobby for the rights of persons with special needs. Stakeholders must recognize and accommodate various forms of exceptionalities. Nigeria must give quality and equal educational opportunities to all learners because all learners deserve quality and equitable treatment and education. The Federal, State, and Local governments must be involved in these processes.

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THE WATCHDOG ROLE OF THE PRESS: A CASE STUDY OF FORMER PRESIDENT OLUSEGUN OBASANJO’S ILL-FATED THIRD TERM BID

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ABSTRACT

This study which focused on The Watchdog Role of the Press examined Obasanjo’s Third Term Bid by verifying the extent to which the Nigerian newspapers communicated the impact of the Ill-fated Third Term bid. The direction and prominence of media reports concerning the Third Term bid as reflected in the newspapers’ latent contents were analyzed. The contents of three newspapers (The Punch, Vanguard and Guardian) for the period of January 2005 and June 2006 were analyzed. The amount of coverage accorded the Third Term Bid was gauged through a collection and collation of all the news stories, feature articles, advertorials, opinion articles, photographs, cartoons on the issue. The newspapers that were selected and investigated in the course of this study did not give sufficient coverage to Obasanjo’s Third Term Bid but no doubt, they played significant role in pulling the ambition down. In spite of the fact that select Nigerian newspapers did not give deep and analytical touch to the issues, the fact was established of its watchdog role in safeguarding the democratic tenets as enshrined in the statute book regarding tenure of the office of president. On the basis of the observed deficiencies on the part of media professionals, few recommendations were made. More prominence should be accorded similar serious rational issues and phenomena in the future. Newspaper establishment should, besides mere coverage of issues should give intelligent analysis that will give uncommon information to critical readers and intelligent minds.

Definition of Key Terms

The following terms have been contextually defined for the purpose of a common frame of reference and to guide this study.

1. Newspapers: This means a paper containing public news, intelligence or occurrence or any remarks observations or comments printed therein for sale and published periodically or in parts or numbers
2. Third Term Bid: This is a coinage by the media to explain the scheming and maneuvers former President Olusegun Obasanjo administration employed to elongate his tenure from two terms to three terms.
3. Latent contents: Refers to the meaning contained within communications. The determination of latent content would require judgment on the part of the researcher’s coders.
4. Units of communication: such as words, paragraphs, news, features, opinions articles, advertorials, etc are referred to as units of analysis in this context.

Background to the Study:
Scheming for the elongation of the tenure of the president beyond the maximum eight years in office as stipulated by the country’s 1999 constitution actually began some time in 2004. (ThisDay, Nov. 22, 2005). It is on record that some friends of the former president, including late Waziri Mohammed, the President’s political adviser, Prof. Jerry Gana, his Special Assistant on Domestic Matters, Andy Uba, among others, had a nocturnal meeting to map out strategies for the elongation of the President’s term beyond 2007.

ThisDay newspaper’s report reveals that when the paper scooped on the meeting and the clandestine scheming was blown open, Prof. Gana, though acknowledging that a meeting did hold, denied vehemently that the motive was to elongate president Obasanjo’s tenure. Rather, Gana said the meeting was basically aimed at strategizing on how to ensure a free and fair election in the country in 2007. Late Waziri, who hosted the meeting, also granted press interviews to various national dailies rationalizing and explaining the motive of the meeting in the direction that it had nothing to do with the extension of President’s tenure.

The denial and the perceived intention of the meeting died down and did not constitute a contentious issue for public discussion for a while. But the issue resurfaced early in 2005 when the President while on a tour of the office of Transparency International in Germany, revealed to an audience that he was under intense pressure by some people whom he did not name, to stay in office beyond 2007.

When the panic and tension over the issue of the alleged tenure elongation continued to find a dominant bearing on the political scene, the presidency reacted, offering what political observers saw as guided denials. First, it was the Special Assistant to the president on Public Affairs, Mr. Femi Fani-Kayode who said that the President will vacate office at the expiration of his term in 2007, as he would not do anything outside what is contained in the constitution. He, however, continued that the President cannot stop the people campaigning for Third Term as it is within their fundamental rights to do so.

In the same vein President Obasanjo himself also offered what some critics perceive as measured denial in one of his national television interviews (media chat) when he said that he would not do anything that is against the constitution, which put the terminal date of his administration at May 29, 2007. But what continued to worry the concerned public is that in all the denials no hard word or reprimand of any kind was being extended to the campaigners. Rather, their presence in the corridors of power became more visible and a cause for concern as they continued to command the attention of the presidency.

But examined closely and curiously too, a number of factors combined to get discerning minds agitated about the president’s revelations above: the venue of the meeting in far away Europe at the office of Transparency International, one of the highly respected Non-Governmental bodies in the world. Some political watchers even wondered if, indeed, it was necessary for him to make such statement if there was no underlying motive. But the President did not tell his listeners what his stand was regarding the pressures. That revelation may have achieved what the president
wanted to achieve but it only increased the curiosity of political minds in the country, and even outside about the Third Term bid.

Interestingly, the issue took a more alarming dimension when captains of industries who operate as Organized Private Sector (OPS) joined in the campaign justifying their disposition to the Third Term Agenda on the continuity of the reform programmes of the President. These campaigners became regular faces at the corridors of power. In July, 2005 they organized a surprise birthday bash for the president as corporate friends of the president. One of the leaders of the body and the managing Director of Nigerian Breweries, Chief Festus Odimegwu told ThisDay newspaper that he would not mind if the President is to stay 35 years in office in order to take the country to the next level. The same period the president of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN), Chief Charles Ugwuh, said that Third Term for Obasanjo might not be a bad idea if it ensures continuity of the policies and programmes of the reform agenda.

But on the other side of the divide, some Nigerians did not give the Third Term bid an approval as expected by the initiators and the campaigners. Key among them was late Chief Gani Fawehinmi. In an interview with the Tell magazine of April 3, 2006, the Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN), one of the ever-present critics of the Obasanjo administration, on May 29, 1999, at the Eagle Square said, “General Olusegun Obasanjo swore in the Oath of Allegiance to protect, defend and preserve the constitution. The same constitution prescribes two terms. We have not seen any amendment. He contested another election and won. If he had been defeated, he would have gone, but he won. He came back to the same spot and swore another oath to defend the constitution, un-amended. He swore to defend the same constitution, thus; “I will protect it, I will preserve it, and I will defend it: so help me God. So it is immoral, it is ungodly, it is indecent, and it is unconstitutional for him to say ….What I have sworn to I now wish to recant, reshape and amend so that it will not be the same constitution I swore to”.

In the vanguard for the opposition of the Third Term agenda also was the Alliance for Democracy (AD) which vowed to “do all that is within our part to frustrate the evil deal, in the interest of our hard-earned democracy which we fought for while the Third Term advocates were busy singing hosanna to the Military Dictators” (ThisDay, Wednesday, November 16, 2005).

The Nigeria Social Forum (NSF) was also at the fore front of the agitation. The group concluded plans to stage a mass action on January 18, 2006 where Nigerians were expected to be mobilized, against any tenure elongation for the Obasanjo’s administration. The Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) also declared that any constitution amendment embarked upon by the National Assembly to review the tenure of any office in the present dispensation was dubious and a threat to democracy.

In his ThisDay column of Wednesday, November 16, 2005, entitled “Third Term is No Option” Kayode Komolafe averred that it is intriguing that of the catalogue of proposals for constitutional review and even larger political reforms, the possible extension of tenure of the President and Governors ranks among the priority of the sub-committee. From the results of the Oputa Panel and the Political Reforms Conference, there are fundamental proposals about how to strengthen the Nigerian
federalism, widen the frontier of popular democracy and develop institutions on
which democracy thrives. These critical elements of reforms are not attracting the
attention of the National Assembly or the executive. The issue appears to be whether
the tenure of the incumbent Chief executives should be elongated.

But against what happened in Nigeria, for instance, Jerry Rawlings of Ghana
completed his constitutionally allowed two terms in office and handed over to John
Kufuor. Today, Ghanaian politicians and people can beat their chest to say their polity
is more democratically tested than that of Nigeria. Similarly facts have been recorded
in South Africa where legendary former President Nelson Mandela showed exemplary
leadership and today this example has been widely and internationally regarded as the
‘Mandela option’ He demonstrated how to relate positively to power and avoid its
temptations. According to a ThisDay newspaper report of Wednesday, November 16,
2005 “South Africa is a fast maturing liberal democracy and the ratings of its political
economy on stability and predictability are of a very high index.”

The media – print and electronic played major roles in instituting viable governments
in the instances of the two countries cited above. They also stood against the
scheming of political gladiators to elongate the tenure of the former presidents. But in
Nigeria, its politicians generally treat the Nigerian press as tolerable irritants and its
opinions barely concealed contempt, unless it is singing their praises. Also history has
shown that one thing Nigerian leaders at all levels of government swear not to do is to
allow themselves to be influenced by the press. No wonder Gurevitch and Blumler
(1977: 270) aver “assumptions about the political impact of the mass media have
played a formative part in guiding the direction of mass communication research ever
since its inception. In-so-far as the pioneer investigators accepted popular impressions
of the media as omnipotent and capable of being employed for manipulative
purposes”.

The mass media by their set up and preeminence in society, they are expected to
perform certain basic functions. These functions essentially are to educate, inform and
entertain the public. Beyond these, they persuade and catalyze social mobilization and
also act as watchdogs on government and its institutions. But beyond the traditional
term of ‘watchdog’ is a broader sister concept ‘watchdog journalism which refers to
forms of activist journalism aimed at holding accountable public personalities and
institutions whose functions impact social and political life. This concept which is
most commonly found in think-tanks, alternative media, citizen journalism, such as
blogs has been widely applied in mainstream journalism practice of most developed
countries. Since independent media and think tanks are profit-oriented, they have
more latitude in which to adopt strong positions and cover a wide range
of topics. However, it is also more difficult to determine the backing of non-mainstream outlets
so those are sometime subject to covert exploitation by well-funded interests.

The thinking of some observers is directed towards the fact that this brand of
journalism is gradually finding it way into journalism in Nigeria and greatly
demonstrated in the attention the media accorded the Third Term agenda. For
instance Ladipo Adamolekun in The Vanguard of Wednesday, June 27, 2007 said
“the media - print and electronic - that are independent of government - were in the
vanguard of opposition to the Third Term agenda – through editorials, numerous
feature articles and letters to the Editor”. They played their watchdog role creditably
and deserve a share in the praise for the death of the Third Term agenda. In particular, DAAR Communication’s Africa Independent Television (AIT) that aired the secret debate on the subject live can justifiably claim that it rendered a great service to the fatherland.”

Therefore, to play this role effectively and to remain an alert watchdog as opposed to a lapdog James Deakin, an American journalist who covered the White House for the St. Louis Post-Patch for 25 years avers “the government and the press should function at arm’s length. If they do not stay apart, and their purposes forced into an artificial and unnatural agreement, the nation is harmed. The purposes of the press and the purposes of the government are not the same, should not be the same, and cannot be the same” Deakin may have echoed the views of John Delane, a onetime editor of the Times of London who got into trouble with the British for publishing the story of secret negotiations between Britain and France in 1852 when the Prime minister went livid and threatened prosecution, the editor replied: we cannot admit that a newspaper’s purpose is to share the labours of statesmanship, or that it is bound by the same liabilities. The duties of the two are constantly separate, generally independent, sometimes diametrically opposite.

Statement of the Problem:

The importance Nigerians attached to the issues surrounding the Third Term agenda has relatively been for a very long time in Nigerian media and in the public domain. The issue attracted criticisms from several Nigerians from all walks of life. The Alliance for Democracy (AD), for example vowed to do all it can to frustrate the “evil deal” in the interest of the nation. Nigeria social Forum (NSF) said it concluded plans to stage a mass action on January 18, 2006, where Nigerians were expected to be mobilized against the project. The Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) also declared that any constitutional amendment embarked upon by the National Assembly to review the tenure of any office in the last dispensation was dubious and a threat to democracy.

As a result of the several confrontations to the agenda, Gani Fawehinmi, a veteran lawyer said “Obasanjo’s government is becoming too edgy and nervous about newspaper reports after the defeat of his Third Term agenda. He is now turning the heat on the press” Fawehinmi continued that in the wake of the defeat of the perfidious third term agenda, I had warned that various sections of the Nigerian society must be prepared for the vengeance of a badly wounded President Obasanjo. One did not need a crystal ball to read what was likely to be the response of the despot to his utter defeat by the Nigerian people, so I had said then that the political elite and the media would be particularly targeted. This was not long in coming.

Among others the responsibilities of the Nigerian press as enshrined in sections 22 and 39 of the 1999 constitution is to make government accountable to the Nigerian people. This empowerment derives from the constitution and it is within its ambit and in pursuit of the public good that the media exposed the iniquities of the Third Term bid which is the real basis of the fury against the press.

But beyond mere coverage the media in any society, as captured by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1963), are expected to service the political system through
information; discussion and public debate; public enlightenment towards the capacity for self government; watchdog of the society in order to safeguard the fundamental human rights of the individual members, among others.

From the foregoing the media, especially the print, were expected to give sufficient attention to the issue through discussion; debate; analysis and projection thereby affording the populace the latitude and leverage to read, discuss, interpret, analyze and make substantial inputs providing enough feedback for further analysis which would be gauged via media reports as showcased in news stories, opinion articles, advertorials, letters to the editor and the like.

**Objectives of the Study:**

This study is set out to ascertain the following:

1. To find out how the media (newspapers) carried out their watchdog role in the face of the Ill-fated Third Term bid in Nigeria.
2. To verify the extent of Nigerian newspapers’ communication of the impact of the Ill-fated Third Term bid.
3. To ascertain the prominence newspapers in Nigeria accorded the Third Term.

**Significance of the Study:**

This study is significant in the following ways:

1. This study will be useful to practitioners of communication, owners of mass communication outfits, be it government or private individuals, editors, reporters, government officials.
2. The media would also use the data generated by this study to gauge their watchdog disposition generally, especially the heat ignited by burning national issues such as the Third Term bid.
3. It will help bring out the strategy on how the media can strengthen their watchdog role to align with internationally recognized and acceptable practice. It will also make Nigerian journalists to go beyond the watchdog role to watchdog journalism proper.
4. This study will add to a rich galaxy of material to studies of this nature. Also other dimensions of research on this issue can be identified and carried out by researchers who could be interested in the area.
5. This study will whet the appetite of media critics and provoke further research in the area of watchdog journalism.

**Scope of the Study:**

The scope of this study will cover all the editions of The Punch, Vanguard and The Guardian newspapers from January 2005 to June 2006. The choice of this period for the study is deliberate because it represents the pick period when the Third Term issues dominated national discourse.
The newspapers were purposively picked because of their wide acceptance and coverage of national issues and events. The study was, therefore, limited to only the print media comprising only newspapers because newspapers have their peculiarities that other print media do not really share. Moreover, the study did not concern itself reports about the Third Term in the electronic media.

**The Nigerian Media Challenge in Sustaining Governance:**

Unfortunately, the current media structure in Nigeria does not actually allow for effective performance of these roles; despite the steady growth in the number of media organizations in the country. Nigeria has the largest press community in Africa, followed by South Africa and Kenya (Parker, 1995). Ogbodo (1996) conservatively puts the number of publications (weeklies, dailies, and magazines) at 116, although a number of these are at the margins of survival and several others have sprung up across the states of the federation including Abuja. A more recent census of the Nigerian media published in the 1999 edition of the Media World yearbook puts the number of regular newspapers at 78, magazines at 45, television stations at 52, and radio stations at 31 (Oseni, 2000) but later researches have come to supplant the above statistics due to the proliferation of broadcasting across the nation in recent times.

The period since 1999 has witnessed a mushrooming of sorts in the newspaper industry, with new titles like the Anchor, the Sun and the Daily Independent springing up as well as the re-launching of moribund titles such as the Daily Times. We should also take cognizance of the recent proliferation of NTA relay stations under the Obasanjo government and the direct supervision of the then Director General of the National Television Authority (NTA), which has considerably added to the number of television stations in the country (Olukoju, 2004). All these however do not guarantee the ideal system that will help in building a virile democratic society.

While the print media have been very dynamic due to private involvement, their shortcomings lie in the limitation of their reach. This limitation covers economic, content and availability issues. The poor economic nature of the country does not allow for affordability of the newspapers and magazines; consequently, the print media reach is limited to small fraction of the population who can afford them and few others who have free access to them. This, of course, brings the problem of access; since the media organization will not necessarily produce copies that are beyond the number they can conveniently sell. Beside this, the print medium is limited to the literate members of the society, thus large unlettered population cannot be reached by this medium.

In broadcasting, while the deregulation of the industry from 1992 has brought little change, allowing for divergent views through the private stations, the problem of monopolization is still much in place. The monopoly enjoyed by the government media continued to be perpetuated by the exorbitant annual license fee charged by the National Broadcasting Commission NBC). This situation puts the private stations at a disadvantage as they have to compete with the government-owned stations (that are not subjected to the same payment) in the same market.
This difficulty, coupled with the commercial interest of the private stations cannot allow the effective performance of the media responsibility demanded in democratic societies. They must first succeed as a business before thinking serious in terms of public interest and service; consequently, most of their programmes are tilted towards fulfilling their business goals and satisfying the needs of their proprietors. Their programmes are anything but alien, elitist and imitation of foreign programmes not just in content, but also in presentation, entertainment aimed at audience maximization being the main menu (Ayankojo, 2003).

The government-owned media also, most of the times are mere loud-speakers of the government they serve. The government’s interests are presented as public interests and the level playing grounds that will allow rational contention of opposing views by different interest groups are not provided. Evidences abound of how the government-owned media have become propaganda machines for the politicians and political parties in power.

**Media Pluralism and Democratization:**

The challenges highlighted above needs to be corrected through the application of the democratic-participant media theory. The theory advocates media support for cultural pluralism at the grass-roots level. Media are to be used to stimulate and empower pluralistic groups. It calls for development of innovative “small” media that can be directly controlled by group members. The existing bureaucracy, commercialization and professional hegemony in media access to all potential users and consumers (Folarin, 2006).

The theory condemns the commercialization and monopolization of private owned media and the concentration and bureaucratization of government owned media. It also criticizes the public media for being too elitist, too susceptible to the whims of the government, too rigid and too slavish to professional ideals at the expense of social responsibility (Baran and Davis, 2003).

It therefore calls for greater attention of the media to the needs, interests and aspirations of the receiver in a political society. It calls for pluralism in the place of monopolization, decentralization and localization in the place of centralism. It also advocates that media conglomerates be replaced, or mixed with small-scale media enterprises. The theory calls for “horizontal” link in place of top-down communication to ensure feedback and a complete communication circuit.

The two necessary conditions for active participation and contribution to democracy are media freedom and pluralism. Therefore, the existing media policy needs to be changed to allow for the establishment of non-commercial radio stations.

As practiced in the United States, there are three types of non-commercial stations namely: community radio, college radio and public radio. Community stations are licensed for civic groups, no-profit foundations and religious organizations. College radios comprise stations licensed for universities and some secondary schools under the umbrella of Intercollegiate Broadcasting Society (IBS). The public radio stations are also known as Corporation for Public Broadcasting-qualified Stations. These
stations receive funds and programmes from National Public Radio (NPR). Thus, the stations do not have sales department; instead a fund raising unit.

Radio by its nature is said to be the ideal medium for development in Africa. It is a veritable medium which has provided a good access to communication for large numbers of people, both literate and non-literate. Its advantage over other media lies in its relative simplicity, cheapness and ubiquity without dependence on electricity supply. FAO (1998) identifies the strengths of radio in development process. It states that radio is an important mechanism for rapid diffusion of development information in a diversity of languages and widespread geographical areas; a channel for interactive communication, for dialogue and debate on the major issues of rural development; a platform for democratic and pluralistic expression of the opinions, needs and aspirations of rural communities and a means of raising public awareness and motivation.

Habermas (1991) believes the public sphere can be most effectively constituted and maintained through dialogue, acts of speech, through debate and discussion. He claims that public debate can be animated by "opinion-forming associations"-clubs, groups of concerned citizens, grassroots movements, and trade unions-to counter or refashion the messages of authority. The pluralism and democratization of media will definitely give these categories of people space in the public sphere.

Community broadcasting has enormous potential in the area of introducing plural voices to the media sector, to deliver development messages, and to empower communities to take charge of their own information needs and to develop appropriate formats for meeting them. The essential question regarding the establishment of a community station is not one of technology but rather the question of how the community will be able to control the medium technically, politically, and culturally. It is possible therefore to have a community station in a poor area, and to have editorial independence even when the station receives government support. For example, the United States public broadcasting would not have been possible without state and federal supports. Some of the first radio stations in the country were educational ones operated by state universities in order to extend resources to rural schools and farmers. Through legislative safeguards, there is no government interference with content of local programming.

With the establishment of non-commercial radios, the stage is set for full participation of members of the community. The responsibility then lies on radio practitioners to design radio format that will ensure people’s participation. Variety of format like straight news, group discussions, testimonial type interview, magazine programme, a combined entertainment-formation format, radio drama of serial, sport announcements etc., can be used to package people-oriented programme that will attract and topic of discussion would be determined by the producer who is trained specifically in that for such purposes.

Great potentials lie in the exploration of non-commercial radio stations for raising political awareness and mobilization. Its democratized nature allows provision of the required access to information and freedom of expression for deepening of democracy. It is therefore necessary that the current media practice be restructured to permit the type that will aid the growth and sustenance of democracy in Nigeria.
An Examination of the Mass Media in Nigeria’s Fourth Republic:

The mass media welcomed the Fourth Republic with joy and criticism. The mass media and the entire citizenry were very happy that they had won another war for the entrenchment of democracy. The media regarded the Fourth Republic as the end to the ugly, cankerous and painful era of military dictatorship in the country. Considering the huge casualties the mass media had suffered during the military regimes while fighting for the entrenchment of democracy, the mass media therefore, had cause to celebrate the fall and end of the military junta.

The mass media did not just go to sleep in the new democratic era. They had a duty to perform. They had to protect the embryonic democracy jealously from all forms of danger; election rigging, the allegation of Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) taking sides with the dominant political party, (PDP), political thuggery, political intolerance and violence. Others include gross corruption by political office holders, serious cases of indiscipline by many political and public office holders and non-performance by the government at all levels. The project finally crumbled and the entire nation and beyond celebrated.

The battle was not won without causalities on the side of the press. Many media people were harassed, arrested and detained illegally. Some were killed in very suspicious circumstances. For instance, an editor with ThisDay newspaper was assassinated in Lagos in a manner suggestive of political orchestration. ThisDay corporate headquarters in Lagos was burnt during the struggle against the tenure elongation. The African Independent Television (AIT) also suffered similar fate in Abuja. Some of its facilities were destroyed extra-judicially in Abuja. Additionally, other broadcasting equipment of the station was burnt in Abuja in suspicious manners during the struggle against the Third Term project. AIT was one of the major media organizations that went out totally to fight against the project. Indeed, the station ran live broadcasts on the debates on the tenure elongation in the National Assembly. The live broadcasts helped the members of the public to understand the full negative implication of the Third Term project. This probably provoked the government to harass the workers of AIT and many other media houses during the period. Finally the project crumbled and elections were conducted ending the administration of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo.

The mass media as usual played significant roles in the 2007 general elections especially educational and enlightening roles. They educated and enlightened elective office seekers and other categories of politicians and political parties. In essence, they gave general orientation to both the electorate and politicians on how to conduct peaceful, free and fair elections. Some electronic media such as NTA, AIT and Channels TV organized debates for the contestants.

The media monitored and reported the political activities preceding the elections as well as the actual elections. Many print space and airtime respectively were devoted to electoral matters during the elections. There were hardly any other group of professionals that dedicated their time, energy and resources to the successful conduct of the elections as did the mass media. Many journalists were injured and their personal and professional effects destroyed during the elections. In a nutshell, the mass media stood firm to ensure that the elections were conducted successfully, even
after the elections; the mass media have been following the electoral cases going on across the country. In addition to reporting such cases the media have been running editorial comments and other forms of opinionated write-ups on the cases that have already been dispensed with by the election tribunals and other agencies charged with such a responsibility.

Appraising the Political Scenario and the Role of the Media Generally:

Although democracy provides the forum for self-expression without undue inhibition, there is the need to understand that freedom to report news and disseminate information must be accompanied with the desire by the journalist and consciousness of the political environment in which he is operating so as to truly assess every situation as it comes responsibly.

Media whether print or electronic, is thus the only institution which can keep people as well as those in authorities, informed on all matters and at all times of the day. Consequently, it is the media, which enables the people to perform their three-fold functions in democracy to participate in the day-to-day affairs of the society, to take informed decisions, and to keep a check on the authorities that rule on their behalf.

The media has also other helpful roles to play which are implicit in and flow from its role as an informer and educator of the people. For informed debate and discussion, freedom of speech and expression is necessary. This includes freedom of the media as well as freedom to receive and collect information and to disseminate it. The common man, however well placed he may be unable to exercise this right. He has neither the means nor the time to do so. If at all he does, his means to collect and disseminate information as well as his audience will be limited. It is the media which virtually exercise this right of the people on their behalf and bring about debates and discussions which are absolutely necessary in democracy. Were it not for the media, the fundamental right of the common man to free speech and expression would remain on paper. When the media represent and speak on behalf of all sections of the society, particularly the voiceless, it gives meaning to democracy as a truly representative regime. The Nigerian press must also understand that past frequent military incursions into governance have robbed politicians of progressive political growth. The need for a re-education and re-engineering of our lineages and cleavages cannot be overemphasized. Our political will and psyche have been butchered and there is the need for urgent surgery to restore our sanity. Nigeria’s economy is in shambles and expecting a miracle in five years of another attempt at democracy is to demonstrate ignorance, which is not a hallmark of journalism.

Who can furnish the people with such information constantly and regularly, except a mass communicator like the media which reach the largest section of the society directly or through secondary readership and viewer-ship, regularly and constantly. Almost every hour news bulletins of the electronic media lie, TV and radio, even newspapers are published at different hours of the day. With the advances in communication technology, news can be collected from any corner of the world, and disseminated instantly to any part of the world.

Secondly, the media can act as channels between the people and the authorities. The media to the people may in turn convey the grievances, the need, the problems, the
hopes and aspirations of the authorities. The media thus facilitates the constant give-and take between the authorities and the people. The major deficiency of the indirect or representative democracy viz., the lack of a direct dialogue between the people and the authorities, can thus be made up by the media. The media, by educating the people’s representatives about the problems of the people and keeping them constantly informed about them, which, it is not always possible to do, particularly for those who represent large constituencies of the modern states, may serve at least to some extent to ensure direct democracy.

What is more is that since the media at the same time educate both the people and the policy makers about the issues and problems, which are not possible in the absence of the media, the decisions taken in today’s democracy though it is indirect, may be more informed than even those which were taken in the direct democracies of the Old Greek City states.

Thirdly, because of the role they perform, the media can also act as day-to-day parliament of the people, which may be more effective than the parliament itself. For one thing, the parliament meets only during certain limited period in a year. Secondly, the rules of business of parliament line both the subjects discussed as well as the duration of the discussion. Lastly, the discussions may not always be informed and in-depth. The media can provide a forum for the people to ventilate their grievances and to debate and discuss the pros and cons of the issues and problems confronting them. Through news reports, articles, letters to the editor, interviews, panel discussions etc., the forum created by the media may supplement, and sometimes act more effectively than the parliament.

Importantly the media through their various forums and genres can act as an independent and constructive opposition to those in power. The political parties in Nigeria, which act as opposition, often have coloured views, and many times oppose for the sake of opposition to serve their own political interests. Sometimes, both the ruling as well as the opposition parties is afraid of saying and doing things for fear of losing votes, although they may be in the larger national interests. Like the judiciary, the media should not have any particular constituency. The nation as a whole should be its constituency. The media can therefore act as an impartial, objective and constructive critic of the official policies and programmes, and protect the interest of the country from the politicians’ vote-catching actions and inactions.

Fourthly, the media can perform the task of the watchdog of the people’s interests when they expose the acts of omission and commission, of corruption, waste, inefficiency and negligence on the part of the authorities. Through investigative journalism, scams and scandals can be unearthed, anti-social activities exposed and implementation of the policies and programmes monitored and pursued. The media can thus act as an ombudsman on behalf of the people almost every day, as well as help keep those in authority within the bounds of law and on the straight path. Thus, the accountability to the people of all the authorities, individuals and institutions performing public duties, for their day-to-day acts and omissions, may be ensured through the media. Accountability of those in power is the soul of democracy, which distinguishes it from the other political systems, and to this extent the media acts as an instrument to ensure the day-to-day accountability of the authorities they serve to make democracy real and effective.
Every society is in need of peace, stability and progress without which the building of the nation is impossible. The Nigerian media as mass communicators can help preserve and promote harmony between different social groups within the country, as well as between the people and the authorities. They can also help build bridges of understanding and good will between the nations. They can also propose and pursue policies, programmes, projects and measures for betterment of the people. They may also act as catalysts of the needed changes and reforms. The legal and administrative measures adopted to alter and improve the conditions of the people, need to be pursued constantly, and the media have the capacity to do so by keeping up the pressures by debate and discussion and by persuasive means, in the absence of which the changes being sought may be brought about by the people through violent and undemocratic means.

Discussions with reporters, editors, publishers, public relations men and others reveal that practices that are subversive of media integrity are more common today. It is proven that there are newspapers whose editorial column may be bought and delivered to special interests. In addition, poor pay has driven many media men into taking outside work which can, sometimes, result in conflict of interests. The usual excuse is that of poor remuneration. According to Shehu (1998), there are numerous beat reporters who are called in and given jobs as members of task forces or panels and as such will not be in a position to write critically of the task forces if the facts dictate it, considering they might be risking the loss of their outside income.

Also, some highly respected veteran reporters are hired to write press releases or called upon occasionally to help do an outside publicity job. How much objectivity in the government house coverage could be expected from the state house reporter who has taken up part-time job to launder the governor’s image? The ‘Brown envelope’ syndrome is also prevalent, as Nigerian journalists have been found to collect gratification to distort facts, kill stories or give prominence to trivialities.

Junketing is also widely viewed as a threat to objectivity. Junkets are trips by reporters whose travel and other expenses are paid for by the news source, other than his/her own medium. The sources normally stage events as an excuse, but the real motive has always been to maintain good relations with journalists as well as to generate some publicity in the process. An example is the media tour of projects executed by state governments initiated by Professor Jerry Gana, a one-time former minister of information in 2002.

All expenses paid trips are very common carrots in the travel and entertainment industry. It is no secret that airlines providing junkets expect in return, a good number of favourable stories. This practice also happens in politics where journalists are put on the payroll or hired as consultants and in various other areas where the contractor is in a position to offer incentives. Obstacles to press performance include the following: restrictive press laws, Official Secrets Act, pressure to disclose source of information.

According to Duyile (1989), journalism is a craft, which depends heavily on accessibility to sources of information. News sources are very crucial in newsgathering exercises and should be sought, developed and sustained so as to keep abreast of events unfolding in the journalist’s area of operation and influence.
Yakubu (1999) contends that the press is the agent of its citizens whose duty is to collect information and disseminate such information without being compelled to disclose its sources either by means of discovery before trial, or during cross examination at trials or by subpoena. If journalists are compelled to disclose their sources of information, they would soon be denied of the information they should have and their sources would dry up, leaving misdeeds and injustice unattended to. As much as possible, the journalist’s source of information must be kept away from embarrassment, exposure and threat to their lives and job security because information filtering to the media are from public servants, military personnel, policy makers, parliamentarians, business executives, etc. (Daramola, 1999).

According to the code of conduct of the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ), journalists are to observe the universally accepted principle of confidentiality and should not disclose the source of information obtained in confidence. While courts, tribunals of enquiry or a committee of any of the legislative houses have the power to invite any person including journalists as a witness and to require him to disclose his source of information, some courts have adopted authoritative approach to the issue of non-disclosure of source.

A courageous press that serves the reader as the guardian of his interests and the protector of his rights, exposing abuse of power and criticizing failure and wrong decisions, would be a thorn in the flesh of the government. According to Merrill (1964), a government that is touchy has always striven to keep such a press under control. Sometimes such a government uses methods, which consist of direct threats, intimidation, confiscation, censorship or even proscription. Sometimes a government may tamper with press freedom through legislation, which either restricts what is to be published or laws that out rightly proscribe certain newspapers from circulation.

Most press laws throughout the world are more restrictive of press freedom than protective. In Nigeria, such laws include the infamous Public Officers’ Protection against False Accusation Decree 4 of 1984. This decree created an offence for the publication or transmission of “any message, rumors, report or statement, which is false in any material particular or which brings or is calculated to bring the federal military government or the government of a state or a public officer to ridicule or disrepute”. In addition, the federal government was empowered to prohibit the circulation of a newspaper or revoke the license or close the electronic medium where it is satisfied that the unrestricted circulation or any part thereof. Another legislation in which at least three journalists have been detained was the state security.

Osibanjo and Fogam (1991) describe this act as the most comprehensive legislation on the restriction or access to Nigerian government held information and that it concerns itself with the prevention of spying, espionage, and sabotage of the nation’s strategic installations. According to them, section 1 of the act makes it an offence for any person to transmit any classified matter to a person whom he is not authorized on behalf of the government. It is also an offence under this section, for any person without being authorized by government to obtain, reproduce or retain any classified matter. Also a public officer who fails to comply with any instructions given to him on behalf of government, as to the safekeeping of any classified matters, which by virtue of his office is obtained by him or under his control, is guilty of an office.
A journalist who comes across a classified document and publishes it forms a ‘prima facie’ liable for the offence. Where a public officer gives classified information to a journalist, both of them are caught by the provisions of Section 1 and in addition the public officer is liable for failing to comply with instructions given to him on behalf of government, as to the custody of classified matters.

There is no doubt that this act is in conflict with the role of the media as the watchdog of the society whose duty is to report activities of the government and the governed uninhibited. Elias (1969) puts it succinctly when he alludes to the fact that the Nigerian journalist finds himself between the devil and the deep blue sea, in that while state security matters are secrets to be kept away from the public, the media are not organs for keeping secrets, but rather for leaking and publicizing them.

It is the effectiveness of the monitors of the watchdog that will determine a responsible performance of its constitutional role. Such monitors of the press include:

- The people themselves who consume the products of the press. If a medium is associated with lies and fraud, it will die because the people will lose faith in it.

Regarding the ethics of the profession, the media in Nigeria have a code of ethics which practicing journalists subscribe to. International demands entail that the Nigerian press is a member of the world press, and the world press has many media watchers the world over. Press suppression and excesses are documented. The Courts protect people’s right and state security. They also ensure that publications do not harm people’s moral health. Hence there are laws of defamation, Official Secrets, and contempt, among others. The Press Council as a statutory body exerts check on the performance of the press. It is the body that is charged with enforcing discipline in the media.

According to Merrill and Barney (1982), objectivity in the overall reporting of public affairs, is generally possible not as the total truth about anything or as means of the absence of all subjective elements, but as means a substantially truthful account of contemporary public affairs. Some of the things that must be done to overcome the difficulties in the path of media effectiveness include: the recognition of the existence of the reporter’s personal history and experiences and the effect on his work, with constant effort made to broaden and objectify that experience; more professional education and training in the art of investigative reporting both in professionally oriented journalism schools or a liberal arts programme in the universities or on-the-job training with the newspapers and broadcast stations.; insistence that reporters and editors bring to their work a broad educational experience, so that they can interrelate the economic, political, social and cultural elements of public affairs and provide the context which will illuminate what they are reporting; rotation of reportorial beats and assignments to avoid monotony and boredom; there should be avenues for comparing reports of some events covered amongst newspapers and broadcast houses for the purpose of comparative learning; assigning reporters to the level of assignments in which they could be consistently more objective and a periodic review of performance; providing an enabling working environment and professional guidance to enable reporters do a careful and thorough job; a continuing communications commission to monitor the performance of the press and the broadcast media and to make public its evaluations; subordination of the profit-making tendency of the mass media to the service of its communication function; and a reporter should aim for the highest degree of accuracy in the information he selects and present. By choosing
representative details from the vast amount of information the media writer has gathered, he can create a realistic picture.

Theoretical Framework:

Theories by their nature are requisites for any empirical research such as this. Therefore this study is anchored on the following theories: Agenda Setting and Functionality theory of the media.

Agenda Setting Theory:

The term ‘Agenda Setting’ was coined by McCombs and Shaw (1972; 1993) to describe a phenomenon which had long been noticed and studied in the context of election campaigns. The core idea behind the agenda setting theory is that news media indicate to the public what the main issues of the day are and this is reflected in what the public perceives as the main issues. As Trenamen and McQuail pointed out, ‘the evidence strongly suggests that people think about what they are told but at no level do think what they are told’ (1961: 178).

The evidence of collected at that time and much since consists of data showing a correspondence between the order of importance given in the media to ‘issues’ and the order of significance attached to the same issues by politicians and the public. Dearing and Rogers (1996) define the process as ‘an ongoing competition among issue protagonists to gain the attention of media professionals, the public and policy elites’. Lazarsfeld, et al. (1944) referred to it as the power to ‘structure issues’.

The Pulitzer – prize-winning author, Walter Lippmann in 1922 stated that the mass media act as the mediator between “the world outside and the pictures in our heads” (Griffin, 1991: 333). About 40 years ago later, Cohen (1963), as noted by Wimmer and Dominick (2000: 390), was to further articulate the idea, when he argued that the media may not be successful in telling the people what to think, but they can be stunningly successful in telling the people what to think about. Also Lang and Lang, equally quoted by Wimmer and Dominick, emphasized this notion by observing, “The mass media force attention to certain issues…. They are constantly presenting objects suggesting what individuals in the mass should think about, know about, and have feelings about”.

In the same vein, McQuail and Windahl (1993: 104) state that the Agenda - setting theory has become one of the flourishing effects of mass communication. They state further that the mass media by the simple fact of paying attention to some issues and neglecting others would create an effect on public opinion.

Folarin (1998: p.68) lists the elements involved in Agenda - setting to include the following:

1. The quantity of frequency of reporting
2. Prominence given to the reports – through headline displays, pictures and layout in newspapers, magazines, films, graphics, or timing on radio and television.
3. The degree of conflict generated in the reports and

**Functionality Media Theory:**

Essentially, functionality theory explains social practices and institutions in terms of the needs of society and of individuals (Merton, 1957). Society is viewed as an ongoing system of linked working parts or subsystems, each making an essential contribution to continuity and order. The media viewed as one of these systems are positioned to provide the necessary information that will ensure adequate surveillance and correlation of all aspects of society. And it is by responding to the demands of individuals and institutions in consistent ways that the media achieve unintended benefits for the society as a whole.

The media within the functionalist orientation functions to among others, to provide information about events and conditions in society and the world…explain, interpret and comment on the meaning of events and information and the like.

Originally, theoretical elements of the dominant paradigm of functionality theory were not invented for the case of the mass media but were largely taken over from sociology, psychology and an applied version of information science. This took place especially in the decade after the Second World War, when there was a largely unchallenged North American hegemony over both the social sciences and the mass media (Tunstall, 1977). Sociology, as it matured theoretically, offered a functionalist framework of analysis for the media as for other institutions. Lasswell (1948) was the first to formulate a clear statement of the ‘functions’ of communication in society—meaning essential tasks performed for its maintenance.

Secondly, the theoretical element influential in the dominant paradigm guiding media research stemmed from information theory, as developed by Shannon and Weaver (1949), which was concerned with the technical efficiency of communication channels for carrying information. They developed a model for analyzing information transmission that visualized communication as a consequential process.

A third pillar of the dominant paradigm is to be found in the methodological development of the mid-century period. A combination of advances in ‘mental measurement’ (especially applied to individual attitudes and other attributes) and in statistical analysis appeared to offer new and powerful tools for achieving generalized and reliable knowledge of previously hidden processes and states. The methods seemed able to answer questions about the influence of mass media and about their effectiveness in persuasion and attitude change. An additional contribution to the paradigm was the high status of ‘behaviorism’ in psychology and of the experimental method in particular, often based on one version or another of stimulus-response theory. The last research question which is geared towards ascertaining public’s perception of newspapers’ coverage of the ill-fated Third Term bid would be used in garaging the public view the implementation of the basic functions the people expect of the media in society.

**What is Public’s Perception of Newspapers’ Coverage of the Third Term bid?**
Data emanating from the various sections in the survey questionnaire were analyzed using certain codes that grouped the responses into sections for easy presentation. Some respondents of the respondents, whose responses were collected, collated analyzed and presented for the purposes of this study were presented thus:

A good percentage of the respondents argued that Obasanjo and his supporters were careful to neither publicly announce their desire for a third term, nor deny the rumors, a point that sparked off an increasingly heated national debate and led to widespread speculations among journalists, politicians and regional watchers. Specifically one of the foreign respondents James Walter pointedly said "This embassy is not aware of any third-term agenda," a political affairs officer for the Nigerian embassy in Washington, D.C. who refused to speak on the record about the subject said. "We have no information or briefing. All we know is that an election is scheduled for 2007 to change the presidency and the parliament." But, regional experts watching the political situation in the newly democratic country disagree by saying that "The reality is that we see very definite, tangible initiatives by the President and the people around him to try to float the idea of extending term limits," Peter Lewis, a professor of African politics at American University said. "It was not just rumor, it was an actual campaign."

Another respondent said several recent actions fueled the speculation that Obasanjo voted into power in the country's first democratic election in 1999, and the leadership of the ruling People's Democratic Party had aspirations to remain in power. In January, as part of a national political conference aimed at reviewing several provisions of the country's constitution -- a document written under military rule in 1999 -- a Nigerian Senate sub-committee proposed the idea of an amendment that would allow the President to run for a third term, according to the BBC.

Some respondents were of the view that the recommendation for an amendment to the country’s constitution to allow for a Third Term was stoutly opposed by the National Political Reforms Conference(NPRC), a group formed after the 1999 election to oversee democratic reforms in the country. Then later a group of senators and representatives from the Nigerian parliament launched a campaign in opposition to a tenure extension.

A few said that "For some time, there had been speculation in our polity concerning the reality or otherwise of a Third Term agenda by President Olusegun Obasanjo and some governors," they quoted Sen. Uche Chukwumerije as saying. "We want Nigerians not to accept any longer the half-truths, lies, deception and manipulations of the presidency on this issue."

Some Diplomats told some news organizations in the country that Obasanjo actually planned public hearings in six provincial capitals rather than in major cities in order to prevent larger protests about the Third Term agenda. The uncertainty and protests sparked editorial writers in multiple newspapers to call for an answer either way from Obasanjo. And a poll of 2,400 Nigerians in Nigeria taken by Afro Barometer -- a research network run by the University of Cape town in South Africa, the Center for Democracy and Development in Ghana and Michigan State University -- reported that while 13 percent of the people surveyed believe Obasanjo should be allowed to serve as many terms as he wishes, 84 percent oppose a third term extension. The same
research organization showed Obasanjo's popularity and trust ratings among the nation's voters sagging badly, particularly among Muslims from the North who themselves want more autonomy from the central government and those who feel that widespread corruption common under 45 years of military leadership still is prevalent, said a respondent.

Some residents of the oil-rich Niger Delta, where poverty abounds despite Nigeria's status as the world's eighth largest oil producer, also condemn the country's leadership. Should Obasanjo mount a campaign again, according to the respondents, it is those groups who pose the greatest danger to a possible victory. "There are definite achievements that Obasanjo can point to in my view," Lewis Akpondekie said. "He has been very effective in asserting civilian control of the military. ... In the last three or four years, he has been relatively effective in putting together a competent team to manage the economy ... [and] he started a vigorous anti-corruption campaign and there have been a lot of high-profile arrests, investigations and even some convictions but the Third Term ambition almost rubbed all these laudable achievements."

Lewis further pointed to a stabilizing, growing economy and to a pending deal between Nigeria, the International Monetary Fund and the Paris Club that would virtually wipe out the country's $33 billion debt with the government paying off $12 billion and the rest being canceled. The Nigerian public remains skeptical. A second Afro Barometer poll showed the President's approval rating at 32 percent and a February10 editorial in the country's Vanguard newspaper blasted the PDP for its failure to improve quality of life.

"Life in Nigeria, outside Abuja, is becoming increasingly unbearable. In Lagos, the commercial hub of Nigeria, electric power is as rare as two hours a day. The informal sector, which has been the backbone of the ailing economy, is badly threatened by power outages ... [and] the roads are washing away." Any effort by the Nigerian PDP to keep Obasanjo in power would also face widespread opposition from key members of the international community. U.S. State Department officials have condemned the idea of amending the Nigerian constitution to allow for a Third Term. Arguments that keeping Obasanjo in power longer would allow the President to continue on the path to ending corruption and would help stabilize a country that has seen 13 leaders -- many of them military -- since independence in 1960 have fallen on deaf ears.

Obasanjo's reputation as an international statesman and peacekeeper also holds little sway among American officials who view any threat to term limits as a threat to democracy. "Our view is very clear that term limits should be respected," Assistant Secretary of State Jendayi Frazer said in a state department briefing in December after being asked about the rumored intentions of Obasanjo and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. "It's extremely important in Africa to respect term limits because it allows for the grooming of new leadership, it supports the rule of law and it demonstrates that ... most of these countries ... haven't developed under those 20- or 30-year Presidents," she said. According to Frazer, term limits protect against coups and violent rebellions by those who see few alternatives to a lifetime President.

Nigerian officials maintain Obasanjo did not actually make any statements asserting his desire for a Third Term. "Nobody has ever heard the President say he is going to run a Third Term," the embassy official said any changes to the constitution are
purely legitimate, the embassy asserts. “There is absolute need to amend the Nigerian constitution and it's not motivated by any Third Term extension," the official said. "It was the departing military government that imposed that constitution. It's really a military document, which was to serve as a transitional, constitutional framework and there are a lot of contradictory provisions.”

The embassy said the Independent National Electoral Commission is preparing for the 2007 election, though observers say no one has formerly announced a candidacy, including the country's Vice President Atiku Abubakar, reportedly at odds with Obasanjo over the third term debate because of his own presidential aspirations.

Regardless of the speculation and who will run, amending the constitution to allow for a Third Term would require a two-thirds majority from the federal legislature. “To amend the Nigerian constitution is a very rigorous process," the embassy official said. "If it happens then that must be the will of the people, not of one person and we should not be afraid of this."

From the above analysis it could dissected that majority of the respondents did not favor the idea of Third Term for the Obasanjo’s administration. The newspaper reports which also formed the bulk of information for this section did not also provide enough information pointing to the support for an Obasanjo Third Term.

SUMMARY

The preoccupation of this study from the beginning was to explore newspapers’ analysis of Obasanjo’s failed Third Term Bid via the reports from the manifest content of those chosen.

The amount of coverage accorded the bid was determined through a collection of all the news stories, feature articles, opinion articles, photographs cartoons, etc; the newspapers carried concerning the failed Third Term bid. Direction of stories which were positive, negative and neutral were determined by examining the stories; prominence was determined by an examination of the placement of stories in The Punch, Vanguard and The Guardian newspapers at the front page, back page, centre spread and banner headlines, and such stories as cover page, from the editor, editorial, opinion articles, feature articles, etc.

Considering the prominence of the issues the media, newspapers especially carried critical stories on the subject matter, and which explains the importance attached to the entire debacle.

Albeit a good percentage of the respondents argued that Obasanjo and his supporters were careful to neither publicly announce their desire for a third term, nor deny the rumors, a point that sparked off an increasingly heated national debate and led to widespread speculations among journalists, politicians and regional watchers. Specifically one of the foreign respondents James Walter pointedly said: "This embassy is not aware of any third-term agenda.”

CONCLUSION:
From our findings, the newspapers that were selected and investigated in the course of this study did not give sufficient coverage to the Obasanjo’s Third Term Bid but with varying degrees of under-reportage generally. This shows that Nigerian newspapers although focused attention on the issue but did not give deep and analytical touch to the issues.

The papers also provided slight analysis but these analyses need to be stepped up beyond mere reports to investigations to enable readers, on the basis of their investigations, take informed decisions and act accordingly in the face of other burning national issues.

From our analysis also it was seen that all the papers studied were very critical of the issues at stake and to a large extent negative of the issues. This conclusion was reached after considering the latent content of the issues. Prominence was also accorded the third term bid considering the time span of this investigation.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. From our analysis it was discovered that not much editorials were carried by the newspapers that were studied. Considering the critical place of editorials in issues of analysis, it is expected that newspapers should carry more editorials to enable the readers know what the papers’ stands on issue really are and on this basis take informed and guided decision.

2. In as much as the newspapers investigated in this study gave a reasonable coverage to the Obasanjo’s Third Term issue, more still needs to be done in terms of objectivity and analysis. This will bring more credibility and believability to the papers’ reports.

3. Newspaper establishment should, besides mere coverage of issues should give intelligent analysis that will give uncommon information to critical readers and intelligent minds.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER INQUIRY:

This study has shown that the overall coverage, prominence and analysis that the newspapers gave to the Third Term issue summarily reduced its popularity and caused its eventual death.

It is therefore suggested that a similar study should be carried out in the broadcast media to ascertain the level of coverage they gave to the failed Third Term Bid. The broadcast media could ascertain the level of prominence by examining all the news stories, commentaries, recorded live programmes on the issue within the time frame. This advocated study should be a comparative analysis of government-owned and privately-owned media institutions on coverage of the Obasanjo’s Third Term Bid.

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BORDER CONTROL AND THE CHALLENGE OF TERRORISM
IN NORTH EASTERN NIGERIA

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Abstract
Since the attainment of independence in 1960 trans-border crimes have posed serious security challenge to Nigeria. Issues of illegal immigrants, smuggling of small arms and light weapons, human and drug trafficking has been recurring decimals within the political landscape of Nigeria. The implications of these activities are multidimensional and its impact is beyond Nigeria as most neighbouring states such as Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin Republic are equally affected. It is based on this premise that this work intends and attempts to interrogate the relationship between border control and the spread of terrorism in Nigeria. It is the position of this paper that the inefficiencies of law enforcement agencies and their ineffectiveness to properly manage activities within the territorial circumference of Nigeria has precipitated and encouraged terrorist activities. In terms of data collection, this work employs the secondary method and adopts Securitization theory. In the final analysis it recommends amongst others the need for a national and sub-regional collaboration for effective border management.

Keywords: Border Control, National Security, Terrorism

Introduction
Terrorism has evolved over time moving from affecting their host nations to neighbouring states due to porous borders and the nature of interconnectedness of the international system. This interconnectedness of the international system arose from
the need to promote trade amongst states through deliberate policies which commenced at the end of the twentieth century and in the long run, it changed the dynamics of border control in the world (Louise 2006; Hasen & Papademetriou 2014). These border policies were aimed at ensuring that movement considered beneficial is facilitated and unwanted movement is blocked.

For Africa, the advent of border started during the Berlin conference of 1884, which birthed the partition of Africa. This was the period when the European imperialist negotiated and deliberated in Berlin in 1884 to partition the continent of Africa. At the conference, the European nations devised a means to share the territories without a need to fight and then a concession was reached to achieve the portioning through diplomacy or war (Odiong 2008; Babatola 2012). At the creation of borders, security threats began due to the fact the imperialist powers perceived these borders to be weak and so borders were recreated and Africans who had become frontiersmen had no knowledge that their kinsmen had turned foreign due to the divide. To them the demarcation created were seen as important to the whites until it became imperative that they were checked when crossing to the other side for businesses and other purposes thus, the borders they once knew became alien to them (Sosuh 2011; Apya 2015). More so, Africa’s arbitrary nature of border which stemmed from colonial exploitation resulted to the distortion of the cultural systems of the people (Sosuh 2011).

In post-colonial Africa, the dynamics of borders changed. It became more of an arena for cross-border crimes and other activities. This is from the fact that no state is an island and thus they are opened for legitimate trade and transactions (Hasen & Papademetriou 2014). Superlatively, borders which serve as the line that connect and also as a demarcation between two states can either endanger or enrich a state. It is in this fashion that borders in post-colonial Africa exhibited porosity and the perceived notion of borders changed. With the rise of internal conflicts from its fragility after independence, African states began to conceive borderland security as a vital concern for their states. In the case of Liberia, she exhibited a long standing history of internal conflict which in turn had a spill effect on Sierra Leone and Guinea (Alberto 2010). Thus, both states grappled with refugee crisis, the possibility of political instability and high crime rate amongst others. In such situations, states major fear is no longer the invasion of neighbouring countries but the fear that terrorism and transnational crime pierce their boundaries (Farer 1999). In this context, Human flights are no
longer seen as light threats to the economy but as a major threat to national security and a state’s stability. Nevertheless, the traditional view of security which is the protection of national boundaries from external threats has continued to be the main objective though it is only that the perceived threats have changed (Andreas 2000).

In West Africa, transnational organised crime has existed since the 1960s where individuals and transnational syndicates operated smaller scale activities. Since the troubled 1990s in Liberia, small arms and mercenaries added to the problem. It is from the 1990s that criminal activities have became more widespread and complicated in West Africa (Addo 2006). The wake of globalization in is increasingly forcing the rapid breakdown of border lines and thus activities as low intensity conflict in which small arms are widely used, perpetually threatens the non-negotiable core value (national security) of developing countries in West African Sub-Region (Egungbemi 2013). The international boundary of Nigeria is delineated from four points. Benin Republic is to the west, Chad is to the east, Niger to the north, Cameroon to the South and the Atlantic Ocean to the south and southwest (Anene 1970; Monguno&Waziri 2012). In Nigeria, the nature of border activities and its challenges is somewhat similar to that of her neighbours. Most of her neighbours, in time past have had cycles of internal conflicts which have bred consequences that had rippling effect on the Nigerian state. Most recently, Nigeria is faced with the issue of terrorist threats internally and externally. This is due to the potential spread of threats related to international terrorism and cross-border crime in the Sahel region to the coastal states and the growing power of Boko Haram in the Northern parts of Nigeria (Blum 2014; Policy Brief 2016). More so, the collapse of Gaddafi’s regime in Libya and the expansion of violent conflicts in the Sahel have brought much attention to the porosity of the borders between Nigeria and her neighbours especially from the North Eastern part (Policy Brief 2016).

It is in this vein that the task of border control becomes more challenging as porous borders expose the nation to related security threats like criminal network, arm smuggling and the spread of terrorist network inter alia. Despite the presence of border control officers and other security agents, security measures put in place is far from the reality the nation seeks. Therefore, this paper seeks to examine the border challenges faced by Nigeria especially from the North Eastern region. More specifically, the study seeks to explore the linkage between the porosity of border and the tendency of terrorist building a strong network. It is in this manner that the study
starts with an introduction, the second part is the clarification of concepts and theoretical framework, the third part is challenges faced in the pursuance of border control and a nexus between border and terrorism with the last part dedicated to conclusion and recommendations

**Operational Definition of Terms and Theoretical Framework**

For clarity sake, the terms used shall be narrowed and strictly used for the purpose of the study. **Border Control:** it include agreements about borders with neighbouring states which can be bilateral or multilateral in nature that consist of administrative and management of borders through the cooperation of security agents serving as checks and regulators of illegalities for the sole purpose of states security. **Terrorism:** is the unlawful and threatened use of force or violence against individuals or a group directly to indirectly generate fear with the intent of intimidating a government or a state for political, social, or ideological purposes.

**Theoretical Framework**

Securitization theory primarily does not focus on states alone as security actors but attributes the role of security processes to security agents also. It is in this vein that the concept of securitization is centred on survival by seeking to inquire into those that are responsible for the security measures, the possible threats to the polity and what measures are used as checks to deter these threats (Buzan, Weaver, Wilde 1998; Balzacq 2005). More so, Buzan et al (1998) is of the assertion that security is all about survival. Thus, it is when an issue poses as a potential threat to a referent object, that is the state and its entirety, then the justified use of extraordinary measures come to play. Supporting this assertion, Huysmans (2006); Neal (2009) are of the opinion that securitization as a theory considers in which political discussions can be shaped in the manner of incorporating the existential threat and survival into political debate. This is further backed by the need of various security actors to act swiftly on security issues through adequate institutional and political authority to enable a proper formation of political and social relations.

The theory shows that every political system is made up of structures and every structure performs a function. In the context of this study, the security agencies in Nigeria which includes the Nigeria Customs Service, the Nigeria Immigration Service and the Armed Forces are structures designed to perform several functions. The basic and fundamental functions of these agencies are to ensure the defence and security of the territorial integrity.
of the Nigerian state. It therefore means that the failure of these structures to perform their functions will generate a lot of security challenges to Nigeria. It is important to note that the security threats and challenges faced by Nigeria are not unconnected to poor border control and management systems. The challenge of terrorism, arms proliferation, smuggling, children trafficking and other trans-border crimes are manifestations of the failure of the agencies of the state to properly man the perimeter fence of Nigeria. However, securitization theory clearly shows that security is not the business of only state actors, emphasizing the role that individuals, groups and communities can also play as far as border control and management is concerned. People live around borders and other border communities are key and pivotal instrument for border control as they can be useful in terms of intelligence gathering and community policing.

**Challenges of Border Control in Nigeria**

Controlling borders to prevent transnational crime and terrorism can be considered tasking due to its required complex strategies. These include not only addressing transnational organised crimes (TOC), illegal movements and terrorism activities, but the materials used to carry out their operations, the commodities and assets used to finance their operations (Shelly 2006). According to Richardson (2007), border challenges can be categorized into actors and goods. Threat actors include potential terrorist, transnational criminals, and unauthorized migrants, among other types of people whose entry into states may produce harmful consequences. Threatening goods include weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and certain other weapons, illegal drugs and other contraband, counterfeit products, and products that are branded potentially harmful.

To start with, border control is crucial to hinder the expansion of armed conflicts across national borders. The rise of regional conflicts, network-based transnational crime, and terrorism, seriously undermine the ability of both weak and strong states to control their borders (Shelly 2006). Nevertheless, the need to secure borders is even more challenging as transnational criminals and terrorists have enormous motivation to cross the borders to realise whatever form of ideology they uphold (Duffield 2000; Reno 2000). Therefore, there is a great gap between those seeking to violate border regulations and the capacity of even the most affluent states to safeguard their borders because the excessive focus on the insufficient number of border control offices tends to divert attention from the (Shelly 2006; Policy Brief 2016) major issue
because it is from most armed conflicts that terrorist movement emerge. More so, when border crossings happen in an irregular manner, then they pose even more problems and in modern times, such irregular border crossings are multiplying everywhere (Brainard& Hanlon, 2004). These illegal migrations, asylum seekers, integration of foreigners and immigrants can be attributed to unclearly defined borders from the colonial era till the present period is likely to assist in the increase of terrorist movement (Cinoglu& Altun 2013; Papademetriou & Hansen 2014).

In addition, it has been observed that regular traders, transporters and passengers circulating within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) usually provide various kinds of informal payments to state agents. This most times come in the form of bribes which allow users to escape the taxation of goods or rigid procedures imposed by state agents and in return, state agents allow imported goods and the identity of the persons to access the border undeclared or unregistered, thus even legal commuters without anything to hide are compelled by control agents to provide small amounts of money (Policy Brief 2016). For Rose-Ackerman (1999), border and custom officials are often pointed out to be corrupt law enforcement officials. This corruption can be attributed to low salaries paid by the government that is barely sustainable. On the other hand, integrity is another major element in the dealings of border officials and this has further compounded effective border management (Shelly 2006). However, this illegal practice at border areas is likely to have serious consequences on the nation’s security.

Furthermore, smuggling and trafficking are serious threats to a nation’s border and international image. This is somewhat different from illegal migration activities due to the fact that trafficked migrants are either most times forcefully transported against their will or are compelled to remain dependent through payment or they are pressured into the providing sexual and other illicit services (United Nations General Assembly 2000). As analysed by the United Nations on Drugs and Crime (2009), the global pattern of smuggling as been observed to include an involvement of organised criminals through their involvement by offering smuggling services to unauthorized criminals and also for the sole purpose of making high profit due to the demands for such movement and the consideration of the level of the risk involved (Papademetriou & Hansen 2014).

Similarly, drug trafficking has become another popular threat to Nigeria. Nigeria is neither a producer nor consumer nation in the illicit drug trade but serves as a major
The porous nature of the borders has made Nigeria to be a major distribution and exit points of drugs towards their markets in Europe, Latin America and the United States of America (Amado 2008; Sosuh 2011). Series of arrests have been made by the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) at security checks in border posts and at the airport but overtime the implementation of justice takes slow procedures. More interestingly, is the dominance of substandard goods, fake drugs and prohibited items in our local markets which appeal for serious concern as these goods are sources of worry to the nation’s human security. This has been a major battle for the National Food Administration and Drug Control and other concerned agencies because it questions the role and effectiveness of these agencies, the government fiscal policies and the implementation process at the nation’s border.

**The Nexus between Border Porosity and the Challenge of Terrorism in North Eastern Nigeria**

The nature of Nigeria’s border at the North Eastern region is prone to terrorist invasion from one angle and the terrorist activity within is likely to expand its footing on the other hand to neighbouring states. The external border threat from the North Eastern region like arm proliferation and other potential terrorist network groups issued to her proximity to the Sahel region. The drastic change in the Sahel region has significantly transformed overtime. In recent past, the Sahel region which is closer to the North Eastern Nigeria has built a web of international terrorism and this evident (Blum 2014). Globalization has in a way, strengthened international terrorism. For instance, Al-Qaeda and other external terrorist groups have formed formidable links with West African crime networks to enable them access their nations (Onuoha & Ezirim 2013).

These terrorist groups have in recent times identified with the Boko Haram sect due to the fact that they share similar ideology. The Boko Haram sect who has its roots in Nigeria poses to be a potential threat to other parts of Nigeria and more significantly to her neighbouring countries if its impact expands across the Nigerian borders (Salifu 2012). The events of the sect have been greatly encouraged by the porosity of the West African Sub Region. Countries bordering Nigeria are potential targets to the rising power of the Boko Haram movement due to the porous nature of the border and with little or no presence of security personnel at the desert borders. The proximity of these countries that border Nigeria to the North Eastern region make them peculiar threat due to their fragility and developing state. This fragility has
somewhat given a relative easy access through which the terrorist network can take its roots. Closely examining the North Eastern states of Nigeria that border other countries, Taraba and Adamawa bordering Cameroon are the most disturbed part and most times, the trans-border activities of the sect have in recent times expanded to Cameroon (Salifu 2002).

The movement of terrorist group networks internally and externally is only a fraction of their terrorist act but more significantly is the need to transport materials or the raw components for a bomb.

As in the case of one of the many incidents in North Eastern Nigeria, Yauri is a central market place for smoked fish, a very lucrative business in Northern Nigeria. In February 2014, a man suspected to be a gun runner was arrested by the Nigerian police in Yauri. The man was smuggling weapons from Mali to Nigeria via the Niger republic. He was transporting cartons that contained “unspecified quantity of guns and ammunitions covered by smoked fish”.

Over the years, the suspect had operated under the cover of an international smoked fish dealer from Mali to Yauri. This event, which was not isolated, occurred in a highly volatile security context in which weapons, illegal goods, terrorists and money circulate beyond borders in the Sahel since the collapse of the Gaddafi’s regime in Libya in 2011 (Policy Brief 2016p.3)

Moreover, it is well known that beside the donations received from abroad, terrorist organisations such as Islamic State in West Africa (ex-Boko Haram) gather funds at the local level by controlling part of the trans-border trade between Nigeria and Niger, including the lucrative business of smoked fish from the Lake Chad area (Policy Brief 2106). This has occasionally caused seizure of goods and other illegal smuggled goods by security operatives in such regions. But these measures taken by security operatives have not prompted a sporadic transformation of border control activities. This is attributed to the fact that the financial resources needed to execute these terrorist activities are not as elaborate as that which is used for military operations.

Thus, the control of the commodities which fund terrorist activities is a necessary part of border control as is the control of the people who carry out these acts (Shelly 2006) and the control of potential terrorists, materials and the sources of terrorist financing are all needed if one is to successfully address terrorism. It is therefore necessary for security operatives to equip themselves with the right modalities to combat the menace of terrorism.
Conclusions/Recommendation

Border control cannot be disassociated from migration of people from their host countries to other countries. This is due to the fact that these migrations most times are illegal and it is through this medium that terrorists are able to penetrate into neighbouring states. In the case of developed nations, they grapple with little border control problems. This is linked to their prosperous economic, social and political environment. Such states are less bothered because the measures put in place enable a tight and effective border management.

Unlike developed nation, developing states like Nigeria still battle with the issue of border control. This is as a result of her internal problems like corruption, political issues and economic downturn. Addressing border issues in Nigeria is quite difficult due to her fragility state. This further implies that Nigeria can effectively control its borders only when all institutions responsible for the nation’s security function properly.

It is in this light that the paper recommends that Nigeria should not just focus on the borders for the improvement and security of her borders but should focus more on developing the state of the country in all spheres. Through this development, Nigeria would be able to have a better control over her borders. More so, institutions responsible for border control should be enlightened and an attack on the corruption rate would majorly bring a reduction of border patrol guards.

Furthermore, the adage of good neighbours makes better fences. It is on this note that Nigeria and her neighbouring states should jointly work to enforce border policies. More so, a call for regional and sub-regional cooperation between Nigeria and her neighbours will greatly reduce border control problems in general and terrorist activities specifically. Finally, continuous and intensified checks at borders should be reinforced; intelligence gathering on terrorism should be done collectively for a better understanding of the menace for easy tackling of the problem.

References


ABSTRACT
This paper reports the outcome of a test of peace journalism model on newspapers’ coverage of the Ombatse conflict in Nasarawa state, Nigeria. Four leading national dailies – Leadership, Daily Trust, Vanguard and The Nation were selected to 1) compare peace and war journalism manifest in the coverage of the conflict; 2) determine the indicators of peace and war journalism in the coverage of conflict, and 3) determine the causal definition of the conflict in the newspaper coverage. Using framing theory, the study draws upon content analysis method to answer its objectives. An aggregate of 283 units of analysis (article) was coded into applicable categories. Result shows an overwhelming support for war journalism as compared to peace journalism in the newspapers’ coverage of the conflict. Visible effects of the conflict such as death and destruction, elite- and differences-oriented stories; use of demonizing and emotive languages dominated the war journalism approach, while peace journalism was lightly indicated with non-partisan, agreement- and people-oriented stories. The cause of the conflict was framed as ethnic hate between Eggon and Alago communities. The study concluded that the newspapers failed to provide sufficient background on the conflict to aid public understanding, particularly as it relates to the political affairs of Nasarawa state in which the Eggons and the Alago ethnic nations lays counterclaims to marginalization.
Key Words: Ombatse Conflict, Nigeria, Peace Journalism, War Journalism, Nasarawa

INTRODUCTION
Mass media are considered as having the potential to aggravate or escalate conflict “through incitement, stereotyping and supporting the growing disillusionment with the peace process” Kasbari (2006). Hence, this mind engineering institutions are found to have severally been used to inflame disagreements and mobilize public support for conflict in various parts of the world (Ozohu-Suleiman 2013, Rasaq and Mahmud 2012).

Considering the significance of media’s role in shaping public understanding of conflict, interest has continued to grow on the need move away from a sensational tradition of coverage that encourages conflict escalation, to a sensitive tradition that encourages peace in the society. This idea, broadly known as peace journalism was introduced by a Norwegian Scholar, Johan Galtung in the 1970’s with a set of parameters that guides conflict reporting.
Clarifying on peace journalism, Lynch and McGoldrick explains:

Peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices, about what to report and how to report it, which create opportunities for society to consider and to value non-violent, developmental responses to conflict (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, cited in Ottosen, n.d.)

An issue that has continued to feature in scholarly discourse however, is the journalism code of objectivity, by which critics have express fears regarding the adoption of peace journalism (Lynch, 2007, cited in Ottosen, ibid). The question is whether it is ethically correct for the media, as professional institution that is guided by “public interest” to support peace reporting in conflict” (Ozohu-Suleiman, 2013). This might be linked to the assumption that the media will tend to undermine professionalism by suppressing the truth because the media often sensationalizes conflict for commercial benefits. So far, there are few empirical studies on the practice of peace journalism in Nigeria. Most of the existing studies on peace journalism focused on international conflicts. In the light of the foregoing, this study was conceived to investigate peace journalism in local coverage of the Ombatse conflict.

THE OMBATSE CONFLICT

Nasarawa state since its creation has enjoyed relative peace within a largely troubled Northern Nigeria. In recent times, Nasarawa state has witnessed series of communal conflicts that attracted significant media attention. Historically, the Eggon ethnic group (the largest ethnic group in Nasarawa state) has severally been attacked by smaller ethnic groups in the state, like Fulani. In response to these attacks, the Eggon ethnic group invoked an alleged spiritual body called Ombatse, for support (Olarewaju, Atasie and Popoola, 2013) to cleanse the land of social vices and other political problems they face within the state system.

Ombatse is said to be a spiritual body and a movement that preaches peace and nonviolence. In connection to this claim, a media observer had argue thus:

For God’s sake, if these are the basic tenets of Ombatse, why is it so easy for educated elite of the fourth estate of the realm to be bought over, instead of going into investigative journalism to unravel the truth? Instead, they have chosen to make demonic, a religious group which is out for peace within Eggon and beyond. (Oghenemaro, thebluntculture.Blogspot.com).

The Eggon ethnic group, who has been rivals with the Alago ethnic group for ages was reported to have complained of being marginalized in the political affairs of Nasarawa state (DailyPost, Akwati, 2013). The immediate event leading to outburst of violence occurred on May 7, 2013, when many security personnel, after the arrest of the spiritual leader of Ombatse “Baba Alakyo” were killed. Though the question has been that of knowing the original killers of the security agents. Media report held that the Ombatse killed the security personnel with knives. The 76 years old spiritual leader claimed that it was the god of Eggon who killed the security personnel by getting them drunk.
MEDIA’S ROLE IN CONFLICT
Conflicts abound everywhere in the world and journalists report them to the very
doors of the audience. Fisher (2000) cited five stages of conflict as follows:

(a) The first is the pre-conflict stage, a period when goals between parties are
incompatible, which could lead to open conflict. At this stage, the conflict is
not well known because parties try to hide it from public view but
communication is undermined between them.

(b) The second stage is that of stagnation, at which point the conflict becomes
open or manifest. This is characterized by occasional fighting, low levels of
violence, and search for allies by parties, mobilization of resources, strained
relations and polarization.

(c) The third stage is the stage of conflicts, which represents the peak of the
conflict. In violent conflict, this is the stage of war and intense fighting,
leading to killings, injuries, large scale population displacements and the use
of small arms and light weapons, etcetera.

(d) The fourth is believed to be outcome stage. There is an assumption that all
conflicts will pass through this stage one way or the other. One side wins and
another loses, or a ceasefire may be declared, one may surrender or the
government or the third party intervening forces stronger than the warring
parties intervene to impose a solution.

(e) The fifth is the post-conflict stage. At this stage, violence has either ended or
significantly reduced, and the parties have gone past this conflict stage. This is
the stage to address the underlying causes of the conflicts in the first instance,
such as the needs and fear of the parties. If they are not tackled at this stage,
the conflict cycle may be re-enacted and a return to the pre-conflict stage, with

According to Umuerri (ibid) citing Akapule (2010) has articulated three reasons for
ethnic conflict. First, it has been historically proven that colonialism in Africa carried
within itself the seed of ethnic conflict, which is because of the arbitrary demarcation
of boundaries. The second reason is linked to the infamous policy of separate
development in certain parts of the society and the policy of indirect rule through
which the colonial authorities were able to govern by using minority groups,
accounted for some of the inter-ethnic conflicts in the continent. The third cause
of ethnic conflict is the challenge associated with political tension especially in the
nations that are emerging from one party and dictatorial regimes into democracy
The mass media also wield the power to extend audience eyes and ears to almost
unfixed distances and to multiply communicators’ voices and written words as far as
they can find listeners and readers (Imoh, 2013). During conflict period, both in the
past and present, it is documented that the majority of conflicts since the cold war
have been fortified through carefully orchestrated media machines even after political
agreements bring an end to physical violence, propaganda and inciting messages tend
to sustain the culture of violence in the media (Bratic, 2013). This violence which
often continues to exist in a non-tangible form – cultural violence – as aspects of
culture, ethnicity, religion, language which function as the symbolic sphere of our
existence. It also continues to exist most obviously in the media and as such,
constitute a major impediment to the peaceful transformation of conflict.
Rasheed (2013), writing on the role of the media explains that:

One of the major functions of the mass media is the provision of adequate information about ongoing or current events in society as a way of serving the public need to know. The news media, in particular, serve this basic human needs by providing information on what, who, why and where of a particular event, which the media consider worthy of relaying to the public. Indeed, it is possible to argue that there is no particular time the public is more in need of information from the media than when the safety, or even the survival, of the public is threatened (p.3)

CONCEPTUALISATION OF WAR AND PEACE JOURNALISM

Peace is often not news worthy, while conflict always is. In reporting conflict, the media often focus on damages, death and violence, winning, losing etc. This is war journalism, where the media is itself involved in the conflict (Bui, 2012; Ozohu-Suleiman, 2013).

Siraj (2008) noted that war journalism is characterized by military triumphalist language, an action-oriented focus, and a superficial narrative with little context, background and historical perspective.

This approach has been seen as the global character of mass media (Siraj, Ibid), where the media aggravates conflict with frequent and furious claims (Fong, 2009; Neumann & Fahmy, 2012). Added to the features of war journalism is the heavy reliance on official sources, which leads to a general zero-sum analysis and deepens divisions (Robie, 2011) focusing on conflict arena, elite-actors and the visible effects on belligerent actions (Neumann & Fahmy, 2012)

Peace journalism is seen as an “expression of, and improvement upon the best practices of journalism, as well as a means of ameliorating conflicts and opening up new opportunities for their peaceful resolution” (Hackett, 2006). As Ersoy (2006) noted, Peace journalists’ ideology is to enhance peace and prevent conflict. This concept is grounded on humanity, truth and solutions, in which balance in news selection and use of language is prioritized. In peace journalism, the causes of conflicts are made transparent, while empathy with others rather than antagonizing as “you” and “us”. Precautionary measures are taken to prevent violence before it occurs, and attempts are made to de-escalate it when it breaks out by uncovering conflict backgrounds that are not evident.

As an antonym of war journalism, Galtung (2002) noted, “the role of peace journalism is to go beyond the mere shallow reflections of the violence in the war zone, reveal the root causes of conflicts, and thereby showing opportunities for peace without violence. Contrary to the zero-sum game model of war journalism, peace journalism is metaphorically envisioned as health reporting in which reporters must see beyond the battle of a human body against the disease, so as to inform causes, cures and preventive measures” (Galtung cited in Bui, 2012: 20).

Suggesting a need for change from the “give and let the people judge” orientation of journalism, which could always exacerbates the situation, Kasbari (2006) reasons that if the media is part of the problem that has led to the violent conflict, then the media must also be a part of the solution. However, just as war propaganda did not alone cause the war, peace-oriented media cannot alone end a conflict. Despite the
limitations, media appears to have a crusading interest by making sense of what goes around (Okon, 2013) and making itself a necessary element of every future peace procedure. This is the more reason why peace journalism can be seen as an arbitrating third party between all the other parties that are involved in the conflict, aimed at finding common ground for all conflict parties.

From the determined and strong influence the press has on conflicts (Olajide, 2007), and with the possessive capacity to affect conflict pre-emotively, restoratively and even intervene in conflict as mediators (Olajide, ibid), the media should have an overarching will and potential for peace building. However, the media often relishes in encouraging and sometimes inciting various parties in the society against one another, thus making conflict the bread and butter to itself.

However, despite the years of study and researches on peace journalism, practitioners are seems not to have done well in the areas of lifting the banner of peace journalism by fashioning conflict stories in line with the recommendations from the studies. This is evidence in some of the studies conducted in line with this. For instance, in her investigation of the media coverage of the war in Northern Uganda, Nassanga (2007) found that the tone in the articles in the independent paper “The Monitor” took a largely pacific tone, thus “seeking to encourage a ‘win–win’ attitude in the interest of all sides and encouraging peaceful conflict settlement” on the other hand, government-owned newspaper “The New Vision” (published in English) was to a large degree confrontational and partial. The main sources of information for the privately owned newspaper were local residents followed by district and government officials and the military meanwhile, the order was reverse for the government-owned paper.

A study of the same nature was undertaken by Lee and Maslog in 2005 and Lee, Maslog, and Kim (2006) using two opposing approaches of war journalism and peace journalism with regard to the news coverage of different Asian conflicts, such as the Iraq. Lee, Maslog and Kim revealed that Asian newspapers articles were framed as war journalism in covering local conflicts but employ the idea of peace journalism in framing the war in Iraq. The study further found that while news stories written by local journalists were more likely to use peace frames, foreign or Western media organizations expressed war frames.

THORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theory has for long provided a conceptual ground for understanding how things work. The theoretical background to understanding the power of media in shaping events is related to, among other things, how news is framed.

This study is hinged upon framing theory of the media. This theory does not only elucidates the play of intersection between media perspective of events or issues and the meaning people attach to it and the judgement formed around the issues, but also, explains the power of the media to fix people attention on certain events. Norris, Kern & Just (2003), have seen the notion of news frames as an interpretive structure that journalists and media professionals use to set a particular event within their broader context. They explain that:

News frames bundle key concepts, stock phrases and iconic Images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting developments. The essence of framing is to prioritize some facts images or developments over
others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events.

Norris in Siraj (2008) also described news frames as cognitive schemata, and that journalists commonly work with news frames to simplify, prioritize and structure the narrative flow of events. “Framing is unavoidable in the course of news construction”, he concluded.

Entman (1993) definition of frame is more comprehensive as it explains all the research questions. He sees frame as “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient (…), to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation” (see Coleman, 2009 p.150).

Frames can thus be understood as culturally flavored frameworks that help journalists orchestrate information and package it for their audience. From this constructivist perspective, frames are always demonstrated when distributing information, which is peculiarly central in mass media.

The major premise of framing theory according to Chong and Druckman (2007: p. 2) is that, “an issue can be viewed from a varieties of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Though, agenda setting theory and framing theory are contagious as framing is an offshoot of agenda setting theory and owing to the bona fide savvy of Lippmann (1922) who talked about how media content influence the “picture in our heads”, the influence of the pictures or understanding in our heads are executed through framing which consequently affects and constructs our view of the world as Lee and Maslog write that the transmission of object salience occurs in the first level of agenda setting. In the second level, framing or indicator salience illustrates how the media tells us how to think about something which is as a result of the posture the media takes in its reportage which is anchored in the way the news is packaged, the amount of exposure,--- and the labeling and vocabulary (Parenti in Ersoy, 2006: p 12).

Therefore, from the above explanation, the promotion of a particular interpretation by the virtue of using or prioritizing some developments over the other brings to the picture the thrust of peace journalism which leans on the notion that the media can model peace through constructive framing that outlines peace process, tempo down ethnic and religious difference, presents further and future conflict, concentrates on the structure of the society, and promotes conflict resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation (Galtung 1998 in Ozohu-Suleiman 2013, pg.69). The idea of war and peace journalism came from Galtung who developed two competing fames. War journalism and peace journalism reports are dimensioned towards different framed as indicated in the Table 1.

Peace journalism can be associated with framing theory which according to Entman 1993 and Scheufele 1999 is described as:

- the process of organizing a news story to convey a particular interpretation of a news event to an audience (Neumann & Fahmy 2012: 177).

In addition, peace journalism researchers have suggested that theoretically, peace journalism is supported by framing theory (Shaw, Lynch & Hackett, 2007). This theory is also suitable for this study because researchers who want to compare between different media coverage on a specific case study can apply framing while in conflict situation, journalists can apply it, for either positive or negative reason. Thus, if the framing is carefully applied, it can be used to resolve conflict between two parties Adamu (2011).
Hence, the framing of news presentation constitutes the very actions that create meaning to events. We can conclude that this important potential of media could be used for creating peace-promoting messages. Hence, this study seeks to know the peace journalism framing attitude of the press in the coverage of Ombatse conflict in four Nigeria National dailies.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS
1. What are the war and peace journalism manifest in press coverage of the Ombatse conflict?
2. What are the indicators of peace and war journalism in press coverage of the Ombatse conflict?
3. What are the causal definitions in press coverage of the Ombatse conflict?

METHODOLOGY
This study relies on quantitative content analysis scientific procedure. Content analysis research method is a prescribed system which is systematic, objective and quantitative in the extraction and investigation of data from any form of communication either written or verbal. Thus, Keyton 2001 cited in Ekeanyanwu and Olaniyan 2010 affirms that this method “is the most basic method of analyzing message content which measures the occurrence of some identifiable elements in a complete text or set of message. Content analysis will be used because of the wide commendation for its objectivity or inter-subjectivity (Neuendorf in Bui 2012) and will be employed to answer all the research questions. The content analysis will also be used in this study to extract data (using coding sheets) from the content of newspapers concerning press coverage of Ombatse conflict.

This study by its very nature entails a content analysis of four Nigerian newspapers, examining whether peace journalism was used in the body of articles that made up the population which used a quantitative content analysis. The content universe for this study comprises of all manner of articles: features, news, opinions, columns, letters to the editors, interviews that are gathered from the websites of four Nigerian Newspapers; Leadership, Daily Trust, Vanguard and The Nation. The justification for this is recency coupled with availability of records. Also, online newspapers are used because in comparison with the print articles from these four newspapers, it was observed that all versions almost share the same content.

The Leadership newspaper has 76 stories; The Nation, 102; Vanguard, 56; and Daily Trust has 49 stories. These materialize into 283 editions for the four newspapers. For the analysis, only complete articles have been taken into consideration because it was discovered that there were some incomplete articles. Thus, it was viewed that articles like these lack substance (Herter 2012). All the articles used were complete articles that had the keyword for the search; Ombatse.

For the sampling technique, census study is being used. This implies that all articles relevant to Ombatse conflict have been considered after searching for the relevant article using the key word: Ombatse. After census had been used to get the content universe, the researcher will only make use of articles that are complete, discarding incomplete articles. A self-designed self-designed coding sheets as suitable for this study so as to fast track the process of data collection will be used. This is used because it is the best instrument while content analyzing.

Based on the classification of war and peace journalism developed by Johan Galtung, the unit of analysis will be coded into these categories. Following the first research objective, the content category that will be used war journalism, peace journalism and
non-applicable. Under this, the placement of stories that support war journalism and peace journalism will be appropriately coded, while stories that do not align with either war or peace journalism manifests but only makes mention of the word, Ombatse by chance or as reference points is coded as non-applicable. This method is employed to make the category align with exclusive nature of the coding rule. An article is taken to be towards war or peace based on the category with the highest occurrence in each story.

Equally appropriate for this study, for the second objectives, two classes of nine indicators each for war journalism and peace journalism are being formulated. The researcher will categorize each article based on the prevailing indicator of war or peace journalism while the one that does not conform with the categories are being coded as non-applicable. By that, the dimension or claim of a story’s indicator will make it fit automatically for the first research question coding as either for war or peace journalism.

The third research objective would be achieved by using the four causal definitions of social vices, politics, religion and ethnicity as the sources of the conflict as content category, while stories that do not give attitude to any of the four would be coded as non-applicable.

**DATA PRESENTATION**

Table 1: Occurrences of war and peace journalism manifest in the press coverage of Ombatse conflict (May 2013-May 2014) n (%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>War Journalism</th>
<th>Peace Journalism</th>
<th>Non-Applicable</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>46 (24.7)</td>
<td>27 (32.1)</td>
<td>3 (23.1)</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td>73 (39.2)</td>
<td>24 (28.6)</td>
<td>5 (38.5)</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanguard</td>
<td>30 (16.1)</td>
<td>22 (26.2)</td>
<td>4 (30.8)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>37 (20)</td>
<td>11 (13.1)</td>
<td>1 (7.8)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>186 (65.7%)</td>
<td>84 (29.7%)</td>
<td>13 (4.6%)</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data in the table 1 above shows the distribution of war and peace journalism manifest in the press coverage of the Ombatse conflict. The table aims at generating answers to the first objective as stated earlier. Overall, press coverage of the conflict suggests that there is a preponderance of war journalism stories than that of peace journalism with war journalism stories amounting to 186 of 65.8% and peace journalism having 84 stories which represent 29.7% of the 283 stories across the media while 13 stories which stands for 4.6% of the stories were coded for not applicability. In all, it is evidenced from the table that no percentage of peace journalism outweighed that of war journalism in each of the newspaper with Leadership having 35.5% (27,) to 60.5% (46), The Nation 23.5% (24) to 71.6 % (73),Vanguard 39.3% (22) to 53% (30), and Daily Trust 75.5% (37) to 22.4% (11) respectively. A closer observation from table 2 above also reveals that Daily Trust dedicated highest percentage to war journalism while Vanguard has the highest of stories dedicated to peace journalism as represented in the figure 2 below.

Figure 1: Pie chart representing Press coverage of war and peace journalism manifest in the Ombatse conflict of Nassarawa
The above figure portends a pictorial representation of war and peace journalism in the press coverage of the Ombatse conflict which clearly shows the prevalence of war journalism over peace journalism.

**Figure 2: Percentage representation of War and Peace Manifest in the Press coverage of Ombatse conflict**

The above figure shows the percentage level of war and peace journalism manifest in the press coverage of the Ombatse conflict where it is revealed that Daily Trust (75.5%) and The Nation (71.6%) newspapers have the highest percentage of war journalism (WJ) stories, while Vanguard (39.3%) and Leadership (35.5%) newspapers commit highest percentage of their stories to peace journalism (PJ) when compared to the percentage of others. Other percentages are share across the newspapers by Non-applicable (NA) category.
Table 3: Distribution of war and peace journalism indicators across newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approaches</th>
<th>Leadership</th>
<th>The Nation</th>
<th>Vanguard</th>
<th>Daily Trust</th>
<th>All Newspapers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>WAR JOURNALISM</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visible effects of war</td>
<td>10 (21.7)</td>
<td>17 (23.3)</td>
<td>6 (20)</td>
<td>2 (5.4)</td>
<td>35 (18.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here and now</td>
<td>8 (17.4)</td>
<td>5 (6.8)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>1 (2.7)</td>
<td>14 (7.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite oriented</td>
<td>6 (13.0)</td>
<td>10 (13.7)</td>
<td>5 (16.7)</td>
<td>8 (21.6)</td>
<td>29 (15.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partisan</td>
<td>1 (2.2)</td>
<td>5 (6.8)</td>
<td>3 (10)</td>
<td>2 (5.4)</td>
<td>11 (5.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero-sum</td>
<td>5 (10.9)</td>
<td>6 (8.2)</td>
<td>3 (10)</td>
<td>3 (8.1)</td>
<td>17 (9.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-party oriented</td>
<td>1 (2.2)</td>
<td>2 (2.7)</td>
<td>4 (13.3)</td>
<td>2 (5.4)</td>
<td>9 (4.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differences oriented</td>
<td>4 (8.7)</td>
<td>12 (16.4)</td>
<td>1 (3.3)</td>
<td>8 (21.6)</td>
<td>24 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uses of demonizing languages</td>
<td>10 (21.7)</td>
<td>7 (9.6)</td>
<td>5 (16.7)</td>
<td>4 (10.8)</td>
<td>26 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uses of emotive languages</td>
<td>1 (2.2)</td>
<td>9 (12.3)</td>
<td>3 (10)</td>
<td>7 (18.9)</td>
<td>20 (10.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invisible effects of war</td>
<td>1 (3.7)</td>
<td>1 (4.2)</td>
<td>1 (4.5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3 (3.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causes and consequences</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>4 (16.7)</td>
<td>2 (9.0)</td>
<td>2 (18.2)</td>
<td>8 (9.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People oriented</td>
<td>3 (11.1)</td>
<td>4 (16.7)</td>
<td>3 (13.6)</td>
<td>2 (18.2)</td>
<td>12 (14.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-partisan</td>
<td>5 (18.5)</td>
<td>9 (37.5)</td>
<td>5 (22.7)</td>
<td>3 (27.3)</td>
<td>22 (26.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Win-win oriented</td>
<td>1 (3.7)</td>
<td>2 (8.3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3 (3.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-party oriented</td>
<td>2 (7.4)</td>
<td>2 (8.3)</td>
<td>1 (4.5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>5 (6.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement oriented</td>
<td>7 (25.9)</td>
<td>2 (8.3)</td>
<td>8 (36.4)</td>
<td>2 (18.2)</td>
<td>19 (22.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid use of demonizing languages</td>
<td>2 (7.4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2 (9.0)</td>
<td>2 (18.2)</td>
<td>6 (7.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid uses of emotive languages</td>
<td>6 (22.2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6 (7.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PEACE JOURNALISM</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invisible effects of war</td>
<td>1 (3.7)</td>
<td>1 (4.2)</td>
<td>1 (4.5)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3 (3.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causes and consequences</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>4 (16.7)</td>
<td>2 (9.0)</td>
<td>2 (18.2)</td>
<td>8 (9.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People oriented</td>
<td>3 (11.1)</td>
<td>4 (16.7)</td>
<td>3 (13.6)</td>
<td>2 (18.2)</td>
<td>12 (14.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-partisan</td>
<td>5 (18.5)</td>
<td>9 (37.5)</td>
<td>5 (22.7)</td>
<td>3 (27.3)</td>
<td>22 (26.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Win-win oriented</td>
<td>1 (3.7)</td>
<td>2 (8.3)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3 (3.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2 (7.4)</td>
<td>2 (8.3)</td>
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<td>0 (0)</td>
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<td>2 (18.2)</td>
<td>19 (22.6)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Avoid use of demonizing languages</td>
<td>2 (7.4)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>2 (9.0)</td>
<td>2 (18.2)</td>
<td>6 (7.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid uses of emotive languages</td>
<td>6 (22.2)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>6 (7.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Applicable</td>
<td>3 (100)</td>
<td>5 (100)</td>
<td>4 (100)</td>
<td>1 (100)</td>
<td>13 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 (100)</td>
<td>5 (100)</td>
<td>4 (100)</td>
<td>1 (100)</td>
<td>13 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This category was developed to find an answer to objective 2 of this study which seeks to know the various indicators of war and peace journalism across the newspapers in their coverage of Ombatse conflict.

**Approach to Peace journalism**

Out of the 283 articles analysed in the coverage of the conflict, 84(65.7%) were framed as Peace Journalism. Thus, the analysis for this shall be done on the 84 articles framed.

As revealed in the above table, Overall approach to peace journalism in the press coverage off the Ombatse conflict among the four newspapers was dominated by non-
partisan indicator. Out of the 84 stories framed as peace journalism in all the newspapers, 22 stories (26.2%) took the ‘non-partisan’. Considering the content category as emanated from the body of articles, a story is taken non-partisan when it does not attempt to take an angle on the subject of the conflict.

The second most salient approach of peace journalism used was ‘agreement oriented’. This as indicated in the content category is a situation where area that could lead to solution was discussed. Of the general 84 stories coded for peace journalism, ‘agreement-oriented’ has 19 stories (22.6%) in pursuance of areas that lead to solution. Articles reported on Justice Gbadeyan’s Judicial Panel (a panel set up to find the cause of the conflict) about the killing of dozens of security personnel and articles reporting governments commitment adding that all ethnic groups will be protected buttress this category.

Other salient indicators of peace journalism such as ‘people oriented’ and ‘causes and consequence’ stories also made or shared noticeable presence in the general press coverage with 12 (14.3%) and 8 (9.5%) stories respectively for the overall media approach to peace journalism within the period investigated. Relatively obvious peace journalism approach is the presence of stories that avoid use of demonizing languages and avoid use of emotive languages.

While multi-party oriented stories (stories that give voice to many parties involved in the conflict) bears 5 (6%) of the entire peace category. The faintest indicators of peace journalism are ‘win-win’ oriented and ‘invisible effects of war within the period investigated which equally shared 5 (3.6%) stories each.

Table 4: PRESS ATTENTION ON THE CAUSAL DEFINITIONS OF THE CONFLICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAUSAL DEFINITIONS</th>
<th>LEADERSHIP</th>
<th>THE NATION</th>
<th>VANGUARD</th>
<th>DAILY TRUST</th>
<th>TOTAL %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ETHNICITY</td>
<td>25 (32.9)</td>
<td>25 (24.5)</td>
<td>13 (23.5)</td>
<td>31 (63.3)</td>
<td>94 (33.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITICS</td>
<td>5 (6.6)</td>
<td>8 (7.8)</td>
<td>9 (16.0)</td>
<td>3 (6.1)</td>
<td>25 (8.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIGION</td>
<td>6 (7.9)</td>
<td>10 (9.8)</td>
<td>8 (14.3)</td>
<td>1 (2.0)</td>
<td>25 (8.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL-VICES</td>
<td>1 (1.3)</td>
<td>2 (2.0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>3 (1.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-APPLICABLE</td>
<td>39 (51.3)</td>
<td>57 (55.9)</td>
<td>26 (46.4)</td>
<td>14 (28.6)</td>
<td>136 (48.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n TOTAL %</td>
<td>N = 76 (100)</td>
<td>N = 102 (100)</td>
<td>N = 56 (100)</td>
<td>N = 49 (100)</td>
<td>N = 283 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approaches to war journalism

This category serves as an opposing one to peace journalism. Out of 283 articles examined in all newspapers, 186 articles were framed as war journalism. This investigation will therefore be based on the 186 articles framed as war journalism.

From the above table, the war journalism frame was dominated with visible effects of war which took 34 (18.9%) stories of the approaches to war journalism. Stories in this category were those centring on the description of violence in the clashes which include the dead, casualties and the wounded. The high concentration of this story might be as a result of the traditional attitude of the media that gives an instantaneous report of ‘what happened’ without considering the implication therein- whether they are the dead policemen, the destroyed houses and property, location affected by war
as in the case of Ombatse conflict. The next most visible indicator was elite-oriented stories that focused on elites and government officials as sources of information. This might be as a result of the political colouration the conflict was said to take. Thus, the political gladiators always want to relate their intentions (either hidden or unhidden) with the conflict. This indicator took 29 (15.7%) stories of war journalism indicators within the investigated period with all newspapers giving reasonable prominence to it. The next in rank was the use of demonizing languages that presents the Ombatse group as dreaded, barbaric, cruel, brutal, vicious, political thugs, Militia group taking 26 (14%) stories of the war journalism frame, 24 (13%) stories shows the difference-oriented that report area that keep or lead to the conflict (war) which include ethnic or political differences, areas of who started the conflict (whether the Ombatse group or other ethnic group(s)), or who attacked first between the security operatives and the Ombatse group.

Analysis in table 4 above shows that while larger percentage 36% (136) of the stories could not be applied to the anticipated causal definitions of the conflict, ethnicity was the most salient core definition of the Ombatse conflict in Nassarawa with 94 (33.2%) stories of the overall 283 stories committed to it with all the newspapers giving considerable interpretation to this category. This was tightly followed by the duo of politics and religion having equally number of articles with 25 (8.8%) stories each. Social vices that carries reports that cover the group claiming that it had come to clean the society of societal ills like adultery, witchcraft, indecent dressing recorded the lowest articles across newspapers 3 (1.1%). 136 (48%) stories which represents the largest percent were not applicable to the categories stated.

**Figure 3: Graphical representation of Causal definitions of the Ombatse conflict**

Figure 3 above shows a clear picture of the percentage representation of the causal definitions of the Ombatse conflict in Nasarawa. Ethnicity has 33% percentage which represents the highest of the four major definitions outlined. This is followed by religion and politics with equal percentage, that is, 25% while social vices has 1%.

**DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

The essence of a research is to come out with result that will aid in understanding the presented data. This study was aided by three research questions.

1. To determine war and peace journalism manifest in press coverage of the Ombatse conflict.
(2) To determine the indicators of peace and war journalism in press coverage of the Ombatse conflict.

(3) To determine the causal definitions in press coverage of the Ombatse conflict.

**Research question 1: What are the war and peace journalism manifest in press coverage of the Ombatse conflict?**

From the result gathered, considering Galtung’s definitions of war and peace journalism, there is a higher concentration of war journalism to as compared to that of peace journalism in the press coverage of Ombatse conflict. This overall finding surfaced from the aggregate summation of war and peace journalism manifests across the media outfits examined in that the frames of the former doubled the appearance of the later in the general findings with 186 (65.7%) and 84 (29.7%) frames or articles respectively while only 13 (4.6%) stories are not applicable to both categories. This creates an impression that the press is lost in the comprehension of the conflict with stories accompanied with war journalism languages and indicators; an indication that the pattern of media reports in Nigeria cannot be regarded as peace journalism. This finding is in synchronization with a study by Okon (2013) in his examination of the Niger Delta Conflict and Advocacy for Peace by Nigerian Press. The study analysis revealed that advocacy for peace in the Niger Delta by the newspapers studied was terribly shrift while it was discovered that newspapers reported more of the ugly aspects of the conflict that could lead to war than advocacy for peace in the region. Thus, it recommended that Nigerian Newspapers should embrace the ideology of advocacy and use its kit to point out problems and solutions in the socio-political milieu.

Although it would be difficult to assess exactly why one newspaper has much war or peace journalism frames than the other, it is not unreasonable to posit that the traditional attitudes of main stream media is enough a reason for that. Or it could be reasons observed by Sobhan (2010) in his study, Exploring war and peace journalism trends in the coverage of Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) Mutiny in 2009 by three Bangladeshi English-language Dailies that it could be as a result of that fact that these are online newspapers which allowed them to publish and update stories in real time and the reports obviously focused on the event taking place in the “conflict arena”.

From the table one above, The Nation Newspaper has the highest number of stories dedicated to the conflict. This is obvious with 102 stories representing 36% of the whole stories, followed by Leadership 76 (26.9%) stories. Daily Trust is said to represent Northern Nigeria. Rasaq (2012) when writing on Conflict Sensitive Journalism and Newspaper Coverage of Jos Conflict using Daily Trust and Guardian newspapers had reported that locational factor was responsible for the level of attention given to conflict by newspapers. This study betrays that as the finding in the Daily Trust reported lesser stories (49, 17.3%) than others though, this could be evident in Leadership newspapers

It has been found out that the Vanguard newspaper as demonstrated in Figure 2, notwithstanding the number of stories it has, has the prevailing tendency for peace journalism. This is because, more stories would have been dedicated to peace journalism if it had had a much coverage than the others. Nigeria press can therefore do well in their coverage of conflict to see towards deescalating the conflict instead of escalating it.

**Research question 2: what are the indicators of war and peace journalism in the press coverage of Ombatse conflict?**
The four newspapers examined had shown in table 3 above that the dominant salient indicators for war journalism were Visible effects of war which took (35 stories), Elite oriented (29), Use of demonizing languages (26), Differences oriented (24), and the use of Emotive languages (20). See table 3 above for details. Overall, the preponderance of war journalism indicators across the networks outbalance that of peace indicators.

The possible reason for the invisible effect of war as the dominating war indicator may not be unconnected to the conflict and the involved. The level of the carnage done to the Police and SSS operatives which gave the greatest impetus to the notoriety of the conflict contributes to the visible effects of war which are stories often reported after the conflict comes to an end. This finding is similar to that of Robie (2011) who observed that after a period of violent conflict, such as the civil war in Bougainville, war journalism concentrates on visible effects—those killed or wounded and damage to physical surroundings. Similar to that is a study by Changkamol (2013) who revealed that the newspapers tended to report “what had happened” and the “visible effects” of violence which indicated war journalism, rather than the invisible and cultural effects.

The presence of elite-oriented stories from the coded articles focused on leaders and elites as actors and sources of information for the coverage of the Ombatse conflict which are political gladiators that are sympathetic of one group or the other in the conflict. This could now find a linkage between the “political oriented frame of this conflict as indicated in table 4 and the findings where elites are majorly those that dominate this approach.

The use of demonizing languages shows brutal, barbaric, dreaded, Militia group as the dominating demonizing languages. This could go a long way in describing the nature of the Ombatse group while the emotive languages are those of emotive languages are massacre, bloodbath, homeless, e.t.c. the reason for the weakness of partisan may be as a result of the level of the media from any parties involved in the conflict.

From the discussion above, one can agree that the traditional role of the media is informed in conflict escalation and not only determined when the ownership (government and private) interest is reflected in the conflict. This is because of the lower indicator of partisanship (5.9%) stories which is presupposed to carry more of peace journalism.

For the peace journalism indicators, non-partisan has the highest articles 22 (26.2%). The non-partisan indicates the neutrality maintained by the newspapers, not taking any side of the conflict. This means that the news items neither portrayed the Ombatse or other parties involved in the conflict as favourably nor unfavourably; neither supported nor condemned the Nasarawa government.

Agreement oriented also recorded high stories with 19 (22.6) stories. This is not unconnected with the Justice Gbadeyan Panel of inquiry set up to look into the killing of the security personnel on May 8th, 2013. Articles on this indicator are those on areas that lead to solution. In pursuing an agreement orientation, the articles reported on areas that might lead to a solution for the Ombatse issue. The coverage included voices giving credit to representatives of each ethnic group or different party member represented in the resolution process. Besides, there were quotes statements by government officials and the Inquiry panel committee allaying people’s fair, while ensuring that nobody will be witch hunted.

People oriented indicator in the conflict where the suffering and the ordeals of the widows and other family members of the killed security personnel were being reported. The suffering of the people in refugees’ camp, and the use of people as
source of information are also visible under peace journalism. This is in agreement with what Shamsul (1999) emphasised that the bottom-up collective expression of various groups at the grassroots can help to redefine and refine many aspects that sometimes escape the attention of the people in power. With little focus on ordinary people, and without finding out whether their position as stated by the elites is reflective of the true feelings on the ground, there is little that journalists can do to empower the ordinary people, especially, in conflict situation. Little stories (8, 9.5%) focused on causes and consequences instead of here and now.

Research question 3: What are the causal definitions in press coverage of the Omatose conflict?

In discussing the question posed above from the data gathered, it has being shown that majority of the stories 136 (48%) according to the categories are coded not-applicable. Stories coded as not-applicable are those that maintain absolute neutrality of the 4 categories about the conflict and those that did not address Omatose conflict in its entirety.

Filipino columnist Danny Arao cited in Robie (2011), suggests that “cold neutrality’ actually becomes ‘counterproductive’ to the shaping of public opinion when it is considered that a journalist is ‘expected to analyse and not just present data’”. (p.6).

The case is reverse here as the finding summit not-applicability as the highest category, this, lend credence to an effort to tone down any suspicion as to the causal definition of the conflict as being promoted in the media where the governor, Governor Almakura has on many occasions comes out to assure the citizens of their safety.

However, this is not to say the stories that are not applicable to the causal definitions in table 4 are all the times towards peace, they are not only towards, by any means, the categories outlined (ethnicity, politics, religion and social vices). This is apparent in table 1 and 2 above where journalism has 186 stories as which is opposite peace journalism with 84 (29.7%) stories.

Ethnicity as causal factor takes the largest percentage of the reports 94 (33.2) stories from the finding. This is reflected in many stories which framed ethnicity as a rationale behind the conflict. The following stories headlines will give a glimpse to the ethic dimension the media give the Omatose conflict:

Ethnic clashes kill 34 in Nasarawa on April 27, 2014

How soldiers demystified Omatose ethnic militia in Nasarawa oct 5, 2013


Nassarawa govt is criminalizing Eggon people over Omatose – Ewuga, March 12th, 2014

Eggon community decries Omatose stigma, restates support to Al-Makura, March 10th, 2014

I am not against Eggon people, says Gov Al-Makura, Jan 31th, 2014

Eggon killers of security operatives still mysterious, June 27th, 2013

Religion and politics share the same stories and percentage across the four newspapers, that is, 25 (28.8) stories each. First, Nasarawa is in a state of political tenseness against 2015 Gubernatorial and senatorial election, and with the opposition party ruling the state, the media might be tempted to frame the conflict as being politically inclined. Examples of stories headlines that define the conflict as a political ones are below:


'It’s curious insurgents attack only Apc States’, 11th March, 2014
An early research on Print Media Framing of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: A Content Analytical study of the Guardian, Daily Sun, Vanguard and Thisday newspapers by Okoro, N, and Odoemelan (2013) had reported that being fully conscious of the sagging unity of Nigeria with the ubiquitous of conflict in virtually every sphere of it, coverage which emphasizes ethnic and religious frames are negative and are detrimental to peace initiative in a secular and multi-cultural state like Nigeria.

Framing theory is used in this study to explain the phenomenon under investigation which major thesis is that of the media selecting some aspects of a “perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a manner that promote a problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” Entman in Kempf & Thiel (2014). While, stories that highlight peace initiatives are those that tone down “ethnic and religious differences, prevent further conflict, focus on the structure of society; and promote conflict resolution, reconstruction, and reconciliation” (Lee & Maslog, 2005; Galtung, 1998; Lynch & Galtung, 2010 in Neumann & Fahmy, 2012), one can infer that stories that highlight war tendencies are encourage religion and ethnic differences. Hence, the validation of the theory to this study.

CONCLUSION

The roles of the press in all sectors of human life are extremely important as the mass media are one of the key agents of development.

The primary function of the media in the interest of system sustenance is social control in that they draw people’s attention to the acceptable and the unacceptable through a platform staged to identify, define, and articulate certain social problems ranging from interethnic, multi-ethnic, political, cultural, and even, interpersonal conflict which is most times misused by the press. This study has found out that war journalism is more welcome than that of peace journalism in the press coverage of the Ombatse conflict with evidence that the conflict within a state could emanate as a result of ethnic differences than that of religions and politics.

It has also been put forward from the study that locational factor is not an overarching determining component to the coverage of conflict as in the case of Ombatse conflict. If we turn back to peace journalism we should say that, theoretically it seems like a good model or representative for journalism profession and it can be acceptable, however, the practicality of peace journalism demands reconsideration for the changes that occur in the journalism practices. Therefore, if the presence of war journalism indicators can escalate the conflict, peace journalism indicators can also work in practice. Thus, Nigeria media should reason towards peace in their practice. Finally we should say that, we can use the peace journalism approach in Nigeria media inorder for a solution to the Ombatse conflict.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Based on the findings from the study, Nigeria press while being conscious of their role in the society should tread the more the path of conflict through peace journalism.
2. There should also be additional orientation to what is known as peace journalism
3. It is also recommended that media practitioners should endeavor to frame conflict in a more responsible way that tends toward peace journalism
REFERENCES


31. Siraj (2008). War or peace journalism in elite us newspapers: exploring news framing in Pakistan-India conflict retrieved on June 28th, 2014 from


Abstract

This paper is designed to analyse the extent of youth political thuggery in Nigeria and its implication on good governance. From its return to democratic governance in the 1999 to date, Nigeria has been witnessing many political crises. These crises are accompanied with devastative experiences, as lives are lost, properties are destroyed and violations of human rights are commonplace. While politicians are the orchestrators of the political violence in Nigeria, youths are the category of society that forms the instrument for the violence. The paper found out that, instead of empowering the youths and safeguarding the lives and properties of the Nigerian citizens, some political leaders are using some gullible youths as tools for intimidating, assaulting, insulting, maiming, terrorising, and even killing other people, especially political opponents. In exchange, the politicians are sponsoring the youth thugs with allowance for intoxicants and avail them with weapons, as well as guarantee them with bail from the police and even impunity. The paper concluded that political thuggery has serious implication on the Nigeria’s democratisation process and good governance. To achieve good governance in Nigeria, problems like political thuggery must be addressed. In addition, the paper recommended that Nigerian masses should elect leaders based on credibility, integrity and record of moral virtues rather than money and ethnicity.

Keywords: Good Governance, Nigeria, Political Thuggery, Youths.

Introduction

Involvement of youths in political violence has been an integral aspect of Nigeria’s post-colonial history. Violence emanating from various factors-political, economic, religious, regional and ethnicity- was a prime factor in the post-colonial Nigerian governments’ inability to fully govern the country. Today, pattern of political violence appears to extend to all the major population centres and migration arteries and intersections linking different parts of Nigeria. The footprint is country-wide, with killings reported in nearly all the geo-political zones of the country. It is quite probable that many more incidents may have occurred which are not captured in the
Commission’s internal monitoring or have not been reported in the media. It is possible, therefore, that the number of casualties could be more than captured in various reports. This pattern and intensity of pre-election violence is atypical of Nigeria’s recent electoral history (National Human Rights Commission of Nigeria, 2015).

The governing class’s quests to get rich at the shortest time that made other people to contest and win election at all cost in Nigeria’s. Dudley (1961:21) observes that:

The shortest cut to affluence and influence is through politics. Politics means money and money means politics… to be a member of the government party means open avenue to government patronage, contract deals and the like. (quoted in Abutu & Abdullahi, 2012: 9).

Consequently, to stay in power, the politicians deploy corrupt practices, fan ethnic, religious and regional sentiments, organize and arm political thugs. Increasing moral decadence in Nigeria is one of the contributory factor in electoral violence. The youths due to system and family failure to properly bring them in a society desired direction and ideals, grow on their own without any serious moral training. The negative effect of this development is violent destruction of lives and properties without remorse. Lack of opportunities for education and advancement for all is also a reason that likely cause electoral malpractice (Abutu & Abdullahi, 2012: 9-10).

Gang members are heavily armed, dangerous, and more violent than nonmembers. They are about ten times more likely to carry handguns than nongang members, and gun-toting gang members commit about ten times more violent crimes than nonmembers; gang homicides seem to be on an upswing. Indeed, poverty is the major reason why youths in Nigeria involved in ethno-religious and political violence, such as formation of youth gangs, political thuggery, religious radicalism, and insurgent activities. In addition, these violent activities are threatening the consolidation of the nascent democracy in the country (Ibrahim, 2017).

In view of the above, this paper seeks to analyse the extent of youth political thuggery in Nigeria and its implication on good governance. The paper is divided into five sections. The paper is divided into six sections: section one introduces the kernel of the paper; section two clarifies the key concepts (youths, political thuggery, and good governance); section three provides theoretical framework; section four deals with the extent of political thuggery in Nigeria; section five discusses the implication of political thuggery on good governance; and section six concluded the paper.

Conceptual Clarifications: Youth, Political Thuggery, and Good Governance

The concept of youth is defined using biological, psychological, socio-cultural and political approaches but the most common method of defining the concept across these areas is the emphasis being placed on age. For instance the political/legal connotation sees youth as an individual who by virtue of age (18 years) is eligible for voting and other constitutional rights and/or responsibilities (Umar, 2010, as cited in Mukhtar, Mukhtar, & Mukhtar, 2015). There are definitions of youth that focused on the economic life of the individual as evident in person’s preparation for, and engagement with, pay work, thereby becoming economically independent; anyone in the labour force fell within the category of youth population. Some definitions make use of age bracket with no specific reference to biological, psychological, political or economic factor (Mukhtar et al. 2015).

The term “thug” is a person or group of persons employed to perpetrate violence on another person or group of persons. Similarly, Encarta Microsoft 2008, Dictionary referred to it as “brutal person or somebody especially a criminal who is brutal or
violent”. Example of thug is a former secret organization of robbers in India, worshipers of the goddess Kali who strangle their victims. Political thuggery, according to Howell (2004), can be seen as the tireless repetition of misleading ‘facts’ designed to depict an opponent as personally despicable and with regard to governance it is dangerous to the physical and political life of the nation. According to Surendra Munshi (as cited in United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2006:4), good governance “signifies a participative manner of governing that functions in a responsible, accountable and transparent manner based on the principles of efficiency, legitimacy and consensus for the purpose of promoting the rights of individual citizens and the public interest, thus indicating the exercise of political will for ensuring the material welfare of society and sustainable development with social justice”.

**Theoretical Framework**

The study adopted relative deprivation to explain youth political thuggery in Nigeria. Relative deprivation is a social movement theory and it can be used to understand the reason why Nigerian youths involve in youth gangs and youth political thuggery. Although relative deprivation theory was developed by Ted Robert Gurr, in his book *Why Men Rebel* (1970, as cited in Purpura, 2011), the concept of relative deprivation dates back to ancient Greece. For instance, since before classical era of Sociology, Aristotle articulated the notion that revolution is motivated by a *relative* sense or feeling of inequality, rather than an *absolute* measure. In the classical and modern usage of the term, relative deprivation thesis is an off-shoot of social structure and anomie theory. Tracing it to the work of Durkheim (1979, as cited in Bell, 2010), the relative deprivation theory holds that the way people evaluate their circumstances depends on whom they compare themselves to. Thus, feelings of deprivation do not conform directly to the level of material poverty that people experience. A family living in a small home in a poor area, where everyone is in more or less similar circumstances, is likely to feel less deprived than a family living in a similar house in a neighbourhood where the majority of the other homes are much larger and the other people more affluent (Giddens, 2009).

In classical idea, Durkheim argues that if economic progress and prosperity remain unchecked, they unleash a boundless and insatiable desire for the attainment of never-ending ambitions. A state of relative deprivation, that is, disequilibrium between means and needs is created. Goals become an end in themselves and provide a strong sense of frustration when some inevitably prove unreachable (Bell, 2010). In emphasising the social strain between rising aspirations and persistent structural social inequalities, Merton (1938) points to the sense of *relative deprivation* amongst manual working-class groups as an important motivator for deviant or criminal behavior. Taking from Merton (1938), Cohen (1955) and Cloward & Ohlin (1960) demonstrate that individual choices and motivations are always made within a wider social context, which shapes those decisions according to the place of social groups and the differential opportunities available to them.

In this context and going by the submission of the relative deprivation theory, it could be argued that youths are resorting to political thuggery due to frustration and their disadvantaged position in the society. In other words, political thugs become so as an expression of their unfortunate placement in the lower social strata and inequality of educational, economic and political opportunities. As observed by Ibrahim (2017), social strata are created by the unequal distribution of wealth, power, and prestige. According to Siegel (2010, as cited in Ibrahim, 2017), it comes as no surprise that violent gangs develop in poor, deteriorated urban neighborhoods. Many kids in these
areas grow up hopeless and alienated, believing that they have little chance of being
part of the social structure. Lower-class areas are scenes of inadequate housing and
health care, disrupted family lives, underemployment, and despair. Siegel (as cited in
Ibrahim, 2017) further states that members of the lower class also suffer in other
ways. They are more prone to depression, less likely to have achievement motivation,
and they tend to constitute a threat to safety and security of the entire society, cause
violence, thus they threatened the existing core-values and the democratic ideal of
right to life, freedom of movement and even cause political instability.

Youth Political Thuggery in Nigeria

Political thuggery is not peculiar to one or two of the Nigeria’s geo-political regions.
It affected Nigeria as a whole. In the North-East geo political region, the use of
political thugs, such as Yan kallare in Gombe State, Ecomog in Borno State, Sara-
suka in Bauchi State, Banu-Isra’il and Yan shinko, among others and their attendant
consequence have been a source of worry in the recent years. The activities of militia
gangs in other parts of the country such as the Bakasi Boys in Eastern Nigeria, the
Niger-Delta Defense Force in the Niger-Delta region, the Yan Gumurzu in Kano, the
Odua Youth Movement among others have cumulatively impacted negatively on
credible electoral process and development of the country.

The run-up to Nigeria’s 2015 Presidential election has been characterized by
bellicose rhetoric, a rise in hate speech, and a worrisome footprint of election-related
violence. Over a 50-day period beginning in December 2014, the National Human
Rights Commission (NHRC) has received reports of and documented over 60 separate
incidents of election-related violence from at least 22 states spread across the six geo-
political zones of Nigeria, in which at least 58 persons have so far been killed and
many more injured. Separately, in the 2015 campaign season, the Commission has so
far received 10 serious complaints for investigation or adjudication from political
parties, NGOs, legal practitioners or private individuals, alleging election-related
violence or hate speech ((National Human Rights Commission of Nigeria, 2015: 17).

According to Mbaya (2013), the civil disturbances, rise of ethnic militias and
politically motivated killings of opponents are pointers to increasing militarism of the
Nigeria state, which has further affected socio-economic and political development of
the state. These thugs have several names in different places such as in Lagos we have
Oduwa People’s Congress (OPC) or popularly the Area Boys, in the Niger Delta we
have Egbesu boys, in Calabar we have Bakassi Boys, Bauchi has Sara-suka (cut and
stab), Yankalare in Gombe, Yan Daba (Jungle boys) in Kano and Ecomog in Borno.
The current development in Maiduguri city has revealed that most of these thugs have
metamorphosed to Boko Haram and their activities have reached an alarming level
which is compromising socio-economic and political development in the State.

Implications of Youth Political Thuggery on Good Governance in Nigeria

As a country inhabiting multiple tribal and ethnic groups, Nigeria has been
experiencing massive ethno-religious, sectional and political violence, leading to
enormous socio-economic and political consequences on the nation’s development
aspiration (Sani, Mukhtar & Isah, 2015). It is important to note that youths are at the
forefront in the execution of such violence. Youths’ political thuggery is a social
problem and it is associated with a number of political repercussions in Nigeria. In
view of this, political thuggery is said to be associated with the issue of governance. It
is so because it is tied with the political activities in the country, as some bad
politicians are using the youths as instruments of violence. They give backup to their
thugs to carry arms without hindrance. Prominent among the activities of the group
include hanging out together to harass innocent commuters, acting as unofficial
security guards for wealthy individuals or politicians, engaging in turf wars with rival gangs that work under other politicians or amongst themselves (Salaam, 2011). Alongside the use of thugs, the politicians are also entitled to Police escorts to be immune to the crime of abduction, harassment and maiming. Yet, these politicians have the tendency for sponsoring the youths to violently attack others. Most of the political thugs are recruited and trained for various political purposes such as intimidation, harassment, violence, assassination, rigging etc. Some of them are placed on regular salaries, with allowances accompanying their remuneration. Similarly, some of them are employed as special advisers, special assistants and personal assistants while those who do not fit in for the aforementioned positions are made contractors to the government at Federal, State or Local Government Areas. Political thuggery is indeed an instrument of violence during elections including the pre, during and post election periods. As observed by Ojo (2014), the violence include perpetrated through thuggery and the use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process, or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with the electoral processes. Evidently, these thugs were used to rig elections in 1999, 2003, 2007 and 2011 general elections in Nigeria, especially in Borno State, where most of the elections were monitored and conducted by political thugs under the cover of INEC’s ad-hoc staff (Mbaya, 2013). In fact, the officers who were officially assigned to do the job were overpowered by these political thugs through pointing out gun to them, causing crisis and violence in the voting venues. These thugs forced electorates to vote against their wishes. Party representatives and voters at the polling booths were threatened to compromise, and INEC officials were forced to change election results in favour of a particular party. Masses who want to participate in politics found it very difficult to penetrate the electoral environment because of money politics. The use of thugs in politics is a threat to good governance in Nigeria. Therefore, rather than being democratised, the Nigerian state has largely been militarised by the struggle for power amongst the various contending groups in the polity (Mbaya, 2013). Though, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provided for equal opportunities for all, but Abutu & Abdullahi (2012: 10) argued that this provision is more of theoretical postulations than practical applications. There is no equal opportunity for all Nigerians because the cost of acquiring education is very high and therefore it could not be afforded by many families. The resultant effect of this ugly development is that those who are from poor background permanently remain illiterate and as they grow they source for hard labour or menial jobs to keep them going.

**Conclusion**

The thrust of the paper is to investigate the extent of political thuggery among youths in Nigeria and its implication on good governance. It is indeed, unfortunate that Nigeria after fifty two years of political Independence could not be able to conduct any credible, free and fair and crisis-free election. These violent political scenarios can be attributed to bad governance which made unemployment among the youths population very high, thereby leading to the formations of youth gangs in various Nigerian cities and geopolitical regions cutting across the north-east, north-west, north-central, south-south, south-west, and south-east. Any country that allows poverty to thrive it will become recruitment target of violent group, like insurgents and terrorists. Thus, it could be argued that, the root causes of the political thuggery among the youth in Nigeria are often related to a long cloudy set of problems, bad governance in particular. A country like Nigeria whose
democracy and democratic rule truncate the democratic ideals and principle of good governance will always continue to experience deadly political violence as experienced in the various successive elections, especially the April 2011 general election and even the previous electoral violence right from 1964.

References:


THE INFLUENCE OF URBANIZATION ON SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA

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Abstract
This paper examines the influence of urbanization on security challenges in Nigeria. The paper used secondary data. Social disorganization theory was adopted to explain how growth of cities leads to moral decay, high rate of poverty and unemployment and the corresponding increase in deviance and crime in the cities. Consequently, the paper argued that insecurity is inevitable within urban areas, especially around the urban slums or ghettos. As a developing country, Nigeria is faced with many security challenges and this has to do with the growth of urban centres. This is evident in the criminal activities by youth gangs and insurgents like Area Boys and Odua People Congress in Lagos, Bakassi Boys in Abia, Niger Delta Avengers and Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta in Delta, Boko Haram and ECOMOG in Maiduguri, Sara-suka in Bauchi, Kalare in Gombe, Daba in Kano city, etc. The study concluded that insecurity is largely a feature of many Nigerian cities, because high rate of violent crimes, including kidnapping, murder, rape, robbery and burglary are very common within the Nigerian cities. To overcome the increasing insecurity in the Nigerian cities, the study recommended for deliberate poverty reduction schemes, employment generation programmes, strong criminal justice framework, and effective community policing, etc.

Keywords: Insecurity, Security, Urbanization, Nigeria.


Introduction
Urbanization is an old phenomenon in human history. Historically, Mesopotamia is regarded as the oldest urban community since 3500 BC (Sweeney, 2007; Peng, Chen, & Cheng, 2011), followed by Maya culture in Mexico and in the river basin of China and India. By 500 BC, there was a network of more than 500 Greek cities and towns, thus, Sweeney (2007) argues that the Greeks were highly urbanized since then. Each city had an acropolis (strongly defended citadel of a city, commonly traced to ancient Greek) and an agora (ancient Greek’s location in a town for collectivities, people’s interactions and transactions, such as marketplace).

The potential deleterious effects of living in large social aggregate have long been a subject of concern among urban sociologist. Neighborhoods, as well as large social
areas that have large, heterogeneous populations have difficulties creating and maintaining social institutions that discourage criminal victimizations. For instance, Chamlin & Cochran (2004), observed that structural conditions that impede communication and the formation of effective interpersonal relationships foster high rate of crime. Despite the existence of urban crime in the 19th century’s Europe, sophistication of the crime was less and even preventable in this era. Yet the crime as at then was flourishing. As noted by Engels (as cited in Lea, 2004), in the early 19th century, crime was rising. This argument was adopted from the Criminal Arrest Statistics for England and Wales from 4,605 in 1805, through 14,437 in 1825 to 31,309 in 1842. The crime was rising due to dislocation and poverty and the apparatus of criminal justice was increasingly ineffective. However, some of the factors that made crime inevitable in that century are also instructive today, though more causes are emerging over time. This is of course what we should expect rapid urbanization with people uprooted from their traditional rural ways of life and forced into the intolerable poverty and overcrowding. Although some criminologist observed that property crimes are higher in urban areas because of its density, it is also argued that all other forms of crime are available because urbanized areas are composed of diverse population with varied interest and experiences”. City dwellers had to contend with bad housing, filth and bad water. Increasingly the food they ate was suspect too Sharks and swindlers happily filled the gaps in distribution with connection and supplements to defraud the purchase “the addition aluminium, a mineral salt, made impure bread look whiter so that it could fetch a higher price both milk and beer would be watering down” (Evans, 2001: 163-4). In fact, most of the risk of violence including terrorism is greater in large population centers, particularly in higher profile areas containing major business centers activity, political centers national monuments and educational institutions.

In Nigeria, there is rent currently widespread fear of terrorism. But it should be noted that terrorist strategic place for launching attack is a crowded area within an urban area like M aiduguri, Kano, Abuja etc. because it has involved the highest potential destruction of lives and properties (Chamlin, 2004). Formation of youth gangs are also largely made in urban areas, the “Yan Daba” in Kano State, “Sara Suka” in Bauchi State, “Area Boys” in Lagos State did not emanated from rural sentiments, but rather instigated by urban stimulation. In view of this background, the paper will examine the relationship between urbanization to insecurity with special focus on Nigeria as a reference state. The paper is structurally divided into six sections. Section one is the introductory remark; Section two provides the conceptual explanation of the key terms (insecurity and urbanization); Section three deals with the theoretical framework; Section four examines the how urbanization leads to insecurity in Nigeria, Section concluded the paper and Section six highlighted some policy recommendations.

**Conceptual Issues**

Like security, the concept of *insecurity* can be defined variously. It can be seen as vulnerability to danger or hazard; it might be conceived as absence of safety; it is also defined as a subjective feeling of threat or possible harm; it would be considered as lack of protection; or state of uncertainty by an individual, group, community or nation (Mukhtar, Muhammad & Sani, 2016). Achumba et al. (as cited in Mukhtar et al. 2016) define insecurity from two perspectives. Firstly, insecurity is the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. Secondly, insecurity is the state of being exposed
to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune.  

Urbanization is the movement of people from rural to urban with corresponding over stretch use of light, water, cars and other transformations associated with social processes and social relationships. This is apparent because the society composes heterogonous population. Kenneth (1974:4) defines urbanization as “a process of population concentration in which the ratio of urban people to the total population in a territory increases.” However, this definition view cities as independent of the process of urban growth, therefore an increase in both population size and urban concentration may occur without an increase in urban territory. Urbanization can be seen as the movement of population to cities. It is also viewed as the growth of the city. More importantly, urban areas are characterized by some basic features. As Sanidad-Leones (n.d., p.1) states:

...demographic studies reveal some common characteristics of urban communities: (1) a heterogeneity of cultures with concomitant differences in beliefs and behaviors; (2) differences among group members, with relationships between persons restricted to specific needs; (3) increased mobility, impersonality and anonymity; and (4) people who vary in age, race, ethnicity, norms and values. These are predisposing factors that breed urban criminality.

Sanidad-Leones adds that, crime rates are comparatively higher in poorer neighborhoods and in areas with higher population density, deteriorated living conditions and many unemployed members of the labor force. It is vital, therefore, to produce field-based and policy-oriented research on the intersections of urbanization, poverty, inequality and violence, and to define and evaluate interventions seeking to address both the risks and symptoms of urban violence. According to Zukin (Cited in Flanagan, 2010), there is the message of danger, in part a product of the popular media image of the city as a dangerous place, but reinforced in everyday urban experience by such symbols as the presence of armed security guards employed to set aside “safe” spaces.

Theoretical Underpinning

The paper will use Social Disorganization theory in order to explain the relationship between urbanization and insecurity in Nigeria. The major proponents of Social Disorganization theory are products of Chicago School of Urban Sociology; the likes Clifford Shaw and Henry Mckay (1942) are the roots of this perspective because it is traced back to their work as researchers at the University of Chicago in the 1930s. Social disorganization theory emphasized on the urban conditions that effect to crime rates. In which a disorganized setting is one in which institutions, such as family, commercial establishments and schools have broken down and can no longer perform their expected or stated functions which to many social vices. Indicators of social disorganization include high unemployment and school dropout rates, deteriorated housing, low income levels. Residents in these areas experience conflict and despair, and as a result, antisocial behavior emerges. In other words, a disorganized setting is one in which institutions, such as the family, religious institutions, commercial establishments and schools are handicapped by the menace of overcrowding, destitution and under-management in performing their expected functions. Indicators of social disorganization include high rates of
unemployment, school dropout rates, deteriorated housing and low income levels, which invariably lead many youths to involve in gangs lifestyle. Residents in these areas experience conflict and despair and, as a result, antisocial behavior emerges, which is capable of eroding human development (Saleh, 2016).

This theory is concerned with the way in which characteristics of cities and neighborhoods influence crime rates, thereby breeding insecurity. However, since the work of Shaw and McKay and other researchers who adopt micro social approach to the study of urban crime have identify a number of addition “disorganizing” factor including family disruption relative poverty (Messner, 1982), and racial segregation in the urban settings.

Researchers in this area believe that characteristics such as this are likely to lead high level of social disorganization, which in turns increases the livelihood crime and criminal violence. In general, the term social disorganization refers to the inability of a community structure to mobilize the common values of its residents to maintain effective social control. Given this neighborhood characterized by high levels of poverty or economic deprivation, residents’ mobility, ethnic heterogeneity, family disruption, poor housing condition, and low levels of education are more likely to be disorganized and have higher level of crime and violence.

The theory is relevant because it can explain how the growth of city due high immigration alters the composition of the urban area and new neighborhoods are formed with heterogeneity and tendency for transmission of criminal culture among youth. But the theory also has limitations. The massive immigration into a city is not always negative. It can be a source of economic boom and/or commercial growth. Some of the new cultures are positive since among the variety of immigrants there are religious experts who preach and enjoin the aborigines to acceptable moral conduct.

**Urbanization and Insecurity in Nigeria**

In both the ancient period and the period of rapid industrialization, there are three distinguishable categories of social change: the increase in the scale of human settlements and its consequences for social organization, specifically social stratification; the impact of the city on culture and experience; and the process of political and economic centralization. In both the ancient and industrial eras, the magnitude of the change associated with new urban centers was truly revolutionary in terms of the conditions under which people would live their lives and experience the world. These eras laid the groundwork for the urbanization of the world, a process that continues today. (Flanagan, 2010:33).

Since the turn of the 19th Century, people began to show ambivalence on the positive and negative consequences of the city growth. These mixed feelings are what modern urban sociologists called, ‘urban dilemma’. The “urban dilemma” refers to the double-edged nature of Twenty-first Century urbanization. On the one hand, it is a force for progressive pro-poor development. On the other, it increases risks for protracted insecurity amongst the urban poor. This “dark side” of urbanization threatens to erase its potential to stimulate growth, productivity and economic dividends. Muggah (2012) argued that, in 2007, the world became a predominantly urban society. Across the world, an estimated three quarters of economic production takes place in cities. Urbanization brings with it possibilities of improved access to jobs, goods and services for poor people in developing countries and beyond as globalization trends connect cities world-wide (Muggah, 2012).

However, urbanization also breeds new challenges in terms of insecurity. Urban settlement is associated with conflict over land ownership, violence, poverty and inequalities. The World Bank’s landmark 2011 World Development Report
highlighted the significance of violence as a development problem. It noted how violence is changing, becoming less structured around notions of civil war and conflict, and more focused around criminal violence, terrorism and civil unrest. The Report also underscored the close relationship between violence and poverty, stating that no low-income fragile or conflict-affected state has yet to achieve a single Millennium Development Goal.

Beside all these, however, the most threatening features of urbanization are juvenile delinquency and crime which are becoming more endemic in developing countries (Adebayo, 2011). This has been the case with virtually all urban centers as Lea (2004) observes that individuals are exposed to unbearable poverty which is short to their expectations as they left rural areas and migrated to cities in search of better life. Verma et al. (1991) observe that there is gradual decline of traditional social values and the breakdown of family cohesiveness and community spirit in the city. As a consequence, individuals assume new roles and freedom to act and react independently; with loosen repressive norms as in Durkheim’s Mechanical Solidarity. In line with the above, Parker (2004) argued that higher mobility induce a reduction in moral regulation that it is no surprise “area of mobility are also the regions in which are found juvenile delinquency, boys gangs, crime, poverty, wife dissertation, divorce and abandoned infants.”

Drawing his idea from Burgess (1925), Parker (2004) added that “though the observation is superficially attractive, but there is no real attempt to consider counter variables by other sociologist on this stand it could simply be that poverty forces individuals to more at frequent interval, to lose contact with family and friends, and to engage in crime and vice” Thus Albert (1994) observes that against the density and large size of the urban area weakens the capacity of law enforcement institution to prevent crime effectively. The law enforcement agency’s welding capacity is increasingly hampered by resource limitations.

**Conclusion**

The paper examined the influence of urbanization on insecurity in Nigeria. In conclusion, the paper argued that insecurity is largely a feature of many Nigerian cities, because high rate of violent crimes, including kidnapping, murder, rape, and robbery and burglary are very common within the Nigerian cities. To overcome the increasing insecurity in Nigerian cities, the study recommended for comprehensive urban planning, poverty reduction schemes, employment generation programmes, strongly criminal justice framework, and effective community policing.

**Recommendations**

1. The government should also indirectly curb the menace of the urban violence through provision of decent job opportunities for the youths, because joblessness can lead to any crime, such as terrorism, kidnapping, armed robbery and trans-border crimes, among others. So, making jobs available can go a long way in controlling youth violent activities in Nigerian cities.
2. There is also the need for spiritual call. Here, religious leaders are expected to preach the observance to religious doctrine. But it will not remain there; they shall also pray for the peace and security of the society and the repentance of the gang members for them to become useful members of the community.
3. Government should chart ways in dealing with rural depopulation: the movement of people from rural areas to the city gives the chance for urban congestion, which invariably lead to deviant behavior. Youths should be encouraged to stay in the rural areas and this could only be achieved if rural development is provided with
infrastructural facilities, farming and other related agricultural activities. This will help to reduce the rural-urban drift among youths.

4. Educational opportunities should be made available and compulsory for all to meet the idea of universal basic education (UBE). Any child who does not go to school, his/her parents must be reported to the appropriate authorities for violating the standard or denying the education of his/her child and subject him to punishment for that. Because some children are being abused and neglected by their parents, this will subsequently lead to socio-psychological maladjustment.

5. Youths themselves need to be law abiding citizens, as they are leaders of tomorrow. They need to conform to societal norms and values. They shall be thinking of how to contribute their quota to the development of their selves and the society at large.

6. Lastly, those nongovernmental organizations that are aimed to fight urban social problems, such as slums, poverty, crimes and over-urbanization in the developing countries, such as Nigeria, should engage in youth empowerment schemes and media enlightenment to reduce crime and violence.

References


ABSTRACT
The recent foiled military coup in Turkey has created a monumental refugee crisis with extraterritorial dimensions. Many Turkish nationals particularly those belonging to the embattled Gulen movement, (whose leader is tagged as the alleged prime suspect by the Turkish government) most of whom live in the Diaspora, have been extradited back to Turkey to face prosecution at the instance of requests by the Turkish government. Although some of these requests have been turned down by the host countries, yet certain degree of persecution continues in the form of cancellation of passports by the Turkish government, thereby rendering their stay in other countries somewhat illegal. This paper examines the legal status of the sizable number of Turkish coup refugees living in Nigeria within the context of the extant Nigerian laws. The paper finds that many of these individuals are by the extant laws of Nigeria rendered ‘illegal immigrants’ on account of either cancellation or expiry of their own passports or those of their dependents or because the Turkish government has deliberately refused to issue passport to their new born babies who are not entitled to Nigerian passport, thus rendering them stateless. The paper argues that given the political motivation of the Turkish government’s action, such persons are entitled to refugee status under both international and domestic laws of Nigeria. The paper further posits that given the seeming statelessness of the Turkish coup refugees in Nigeria, it can be argued that international law creates a positive obligation on Nigeria as a host country to accord nationality status at least to children of stateless persons born in Nigeria.

Key words: Turkish coup refugees, legal status, Nigerian Immigration Laws, Statelessness.

1. Introduction
On the evening of July 15, a splinter group of the Turkish military attempted to stage a coup to topple the government of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Several bridges in Istanbul were blocked with several other locations occupied throughout the country. However, before morning, the coup was effectively foiled and quelled by mobilized citizenry resistance forcing the plotters to surrender; ‘a victory for
democracy— it was described. But was democracy actually the victor or the collateral victim of the failed coup? The events subsequenting the coup have much insight to offer on this. Almost spontaneously thereafter, Erdogan’s accusing finger pointed against Fethullah Gulen— the former’s erstwhile ally but now an arch enemy who currently lives in the US on self-imposed exile. Effectively therefore, the government’s narrative pegged Mr. Fethullah Gulen and members of his Hizmet movement as the prime suspects of the coup attempt vowing to purge his government and the country of what he termed as the ‘Gulen Virus’. Then the hunt for the members of the movement and a crackdown on their business establishments both at home and abroad started.

Of particular relevance to this work amongst the wide range of the manhunt for the so-called coup plotters outside the Turkish border is the issue of passport cancellation which affects a sizable number of Turkish nationals particularly those in Nigeria. This according to different accounts by victims (some of whom the present writers have personally met and interviewed), is achieved by the Turkish government through a number of ways and one of such is to fabricate a loss notice on behalf of targeted individuals in a newspaper so that once it appears therein the government proceeds to cancel the passport. The persons concerned get to find out about this cancellation only when they are about to go abroad at the point of departure from the airport. For those living outside Turkey especially in Nigeria, the issue comes up when such persons are to be cleared for departure from such country. The immigration officers will inform the person concerned that their passports are seen lost in their system and advised to visit their embassies or consulates to solve the problem. However, when the affected persons go to their embassies, they surprisingly discover that their passports are cancelled without any explanation and are thus rendered stranded in Nigeria.

Another way of implied cancellation is to refuse to renew such passport upon expiry. The passport in question may be that of the targeted individual or that of members of his family. In each case the individual will be forced to approach the Turkish embassy for renewal in which case such application will be refused or made conditional upon prior return of such individual to Turkey. A third possible way is to refuse to issue passport to new born babies of the targeted individual in which case such child will be left hanging in the balance with no nationality. These categories of individuals therefore are exposed to a number of immigration problems in their host countries like Nigeria and in most cases they will become prohibited immigrants and therefore liable to deportation. Their situation therefore is that of someone standing between the devil

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347 According to Oral Callisslar, the failed coup is evidence that Turkey “has passed” the test and that “now is time or a deepening of democracy, freedom and human rights.” See Fabb, K. and Guiler K., "why there are so Many Conspiracy Theories about the Turkish Coup” in POMEPS Briefings 30 (2016). Turkey’s Coup Attempt, Project on Middle-East Political Science, Institute for Middle-East Studies, George Washington University, p.9, available at http://www.pomeps.org.

348 President Erdogan described the coup as ‘a gift from God’ which would enable him cleanse the army. There is no direct evidence linking the Gulen movement to the coup. Some independent sources suggested a broad base of coup plotters with its leading figures in the army being described as Kemalismand neo-nationalists as well as officers expecting early retirement who harbour hatred against president Erdogan. See generally: The Failed Military Coup in Turkey and the Mass Purges, Intercultural Dialogue Platform, November, 2016.


350 Ibid
and the deep blue sea; return to turkey and face prosecution or stay in Nigeria and likely face deportation. It is these individuals we loosely referred to as Turkish Coup Refugees, particularly because we believe as, shall be seen later in this paper that the answer to their plight lies in international refugee law.

It is against this backdrop that this paper sets out to examine the legal status of Turkish nationals who are victims of passport cancellation in Nigeria from two basic diametric. The first part of the paper examined the extant provisions of Nigerian Immigration Laws in order know whether from a legal point of view they can continue to reside in Nigeria. The second part of the paper examines the plight of the Turkish coup refugees in Nigeria from the perspective of international law using the concept of statelessness in order to enquire whether Nigeria as their host country is mandated to accord nationality status to them.

2. Nigerian Immigration Laws vis-à-vis the Turkish Coup Refugees

In order to determine the legal status of the Turkish nationals currently affected by the post-coup great purge, a review of the relevant Nigerian legislation on entry, residence and deportation of immigrant is essential. The principal immigration legislation in Nigeria is the Immigration Act of 2015. The Act which came into force on May 25, 2015, established the Nigeria immigration Service with broad and extensive powers to control persons entering and leaving Nigeria, issue travel documents and residence permits, carry out border surveillance and patrol and enforce immigration laws and regulations in Nigeria. The service is headed by a Comptroller-General who answers to the Minister of interior and is charged with responsibility of the day-to-day activities of the service.

Part III of the Act deals with entry and departure from Nigeria. Section 18 of the Act prescribes the entry requirement for the purpose of allowing a foreigner to enter into or remain in Nigeria for any purpose. The section prescribes the conditions for allowing a person to enter into and stay in Nigeria as follows:

a. The person seeking entry must have in his possession a valid passport, valid visa and where such a person intends to stay and take up employment in Nigeria, a residence or work permit or any other permit or any form of approval for that purpose.

b. He must not be a prohibited immigrant within the meaning of the Act

c. He must not be considered to be a risk to public health, public interest or national security

Also under section 19(5) of the Act an immigration officer shall have the power to refuse entry into Nigeria of any person who fails to satisfy the above conditions. A person allowed into Nigeria pursuant to the above conditions will lose his right to remain therein where any of the conditions above is lost. Particularly, Part V of the Act deals with persons seeking entry into Nigeria for the purpose of business or residence for whatever purpose. Such person is expected to apply for and obtain a residence and work permit signed by or on behalf of the Comptroller-General of the service. Usually such permit is given for a period of not more than two years.

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351 The Nigerian Immigration Act No. 18 of 2015.
352 Prior to this Immigration matters were governed by The Immigration Act, Cap.I-1 Laws of the Federation of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004 and the Passport (Miscellaneous Provision Act, Cap P1 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004 now repealed by section 114 of the Immigration Act 2015.
353 Ibid, Section 1 and 2.
354 Ibid Sections 36 and 37
subject to renewal\textsuperscript{355}. The company employing such foreign national must have available expatriate quota which will be filled by the foreign employee. The conditions and procedure for application for any of the above permits are set out in the regulations made pursuant to the Act and are published on the Service’s website\textsuperscript{356}.

It is interesting to note that a foreign national living in Nigeria must always have in his possession a valid passport and in case of a minor\textsuperscript{357}, he must in addition to being in possession of a valid passport and visa be always accompanied by an adult on whose valid passport the particulars of such minor are appearing. Failure to do this will render such a person a prohibited immigrant\textsuperscript{358} and liable to deportation under section 45 and 46 of the Act.

From the foregoing provisions of the law it is clear that validity of an immigrant passport is a basis of such immigrant obtaining all other immigration documents in Nigeria. Of particular note here is the provision requiring foreigners to carry their passport at all material times. Passport here means a valid passport not an expired or cancelled one. The Act defines passport as follows:

“Passport” means with reference to the person producing it a travel document furnished with photograph of such person and issued to him by or on behalf of the country of which he is a subject or a citizen and for a period which according to the laws of that country has not expired and includes any similar document approved by the government establishing the nationality or identity of the person to whom it refers to the satisfaction of an Immigration officer\textsuperscript{359}.

Where therefore for any reason a foreign national’s passport expires, or such passport is for whatever reason cancelled or withdrawn by his country of origin, such passport will not be valid within the meaning of the Act and the person holding it will be a prohibited immigrant and may either on the order of the minister without prosecution or order of the court upon conviction be liable to deportation from Nigeria\textsuperscript{360}.

How do these Provisions Affect Turkish Nationals in Nigeria?
The Turkish nationals resident in Nigeria that may be affected by the above laws fall into one of the following categories:

a. Persons whose passport are cancelled and thereby rendered invalid on account of their affiliation to Hizmet movement;

b. Persons whose passports have expired but upon application for renewal to the Turkish Embassy in Nigeria their applications were turned down or made subject to their prior return to Turkey for such regularization;

c. New babies born into the families of Turkish nationals to whom the Turkish government refuses to issue passports unless their families return to Turkey.

All of the foregoing categories have one disability in common, namely that they do not have valid passports within the meaning of the extant Nigerian laws. The implication is that such persons are ‘prohibited immigrants’ and liable to deportation as per the dictates of the laws examined above. The third category

\textsuperscript{355} ibid

\textsuperscript{356} For these guidelines see https://immigration.gov.ng/

\textsuperscript{357} Minor is defined under the Act to mean a person under the age of 18

\textsuperscript{358} See section 44 of the Act

\textsuperscript{359} Ibid Section 116

\textsuperscript{360} See ibid section 45-46
presents even more pathetic scenario. By refusing to issue passports to children on account of the alleged sin of their parents, such children are rendered stateless. Their parents are therefore, left with one option of either returning to Turkey and face prosecution or stay in Nigeria and also be liable for the offence of securing the entry into Nigeria or harboring a prohibited immigrant. In each case if the government of Nigeria were to enforce the laws as discussed above, both the parents and the child would be liable to deportation. We shall discuss statelessness and the Nigerian government obligation under international in a later part of this work. But for now it is important to note that Nigerian laws do not recognize an automatic right to citizenship by mere fact of being born within the territory of the country. According to a report published on the website of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) there are about 800 Turkish nationals in Nigeria whose citizenship has been cancelled by their country of origin. What then will be the legal fate of these individuals whose number keeps increasing every day?

2.1 Consideration for Refugee Status?

It is clear from the foregoing analyses that these Turkish individuals whose citizenship or those of their dependents are voided by their own government are prohibited immigrant and the only way their immigration status can be regularized is by sending them back to Turkey: which will most likely result in their arrest and detention on political grounds. We posit that the situation of these individual under both international and relevant Nigerian laws present a case of asylum seekers who will be entitled to consideration for refugee status. We shall therefore consider the eligibility of these individuals to refugee status and the obligation of the Nigerian government in this connection. It is interesting to note here that under section 103 of the Immigration Act the Comptroller –General of Immigration is empowered to, upon the recommendation of the national high commissioner for refugees, issue relevant immigration documents to refugees in Nigeria. Consideration of these individuals as asylum seekers is probably the best and most effective way to avoid their deportation as is the obvious case under the relevant provisions of the Immigration Act examined above.

Under the principle of non-refoulment, states are prohibited from returning an asylum seeker/refugee to a territory where there is risk that his or her freedom or even life would be threatened on account of his membership of a particular group, nationality, political opinion, race or religion. It is important to emphasize that Nigeria is a signatory to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol and both have been domesticated. Further, Nigeria has since 1989 enacted the national Commission for Refugees Act of that year which

361 In Nigeria citizenship is constitutionally regulated and is usually by origin (parental descent), naturalization or registration (evidence of continuous stay in Nigeria for 15 years or at least aggregate of 15 years within a continuous period of 20 years is a pre-requisite). See generally sections 25-32 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended).


365 National Commission for Refugees Act, Cap N LFN 2004
among others established the national high commission for refugees to safeguard the interest and treatment of person who are seeking to become refugees in Nigeria or persons seeking political asylum in Nigeria.\textsuperscript{366} Section 1 of the Act enacts the non-refoulment principles in clear positive terms as follows:

(1) As from the commencement of this Act and notwithstanding any other law or enactment, no person who is a refugee within the meaning of this Act shall be refused entry into Nigeria, expelled, extradited or returned in any manner whatsoever, to the frontiers of any territory where-
   (a) His life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group or political opinion; or
   (b) his life, physical integrity or liberty could be threatened on account of external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disrupting public order in any part or the whole of that territory.

(2) The provisions of subsection (1) of this section, shall not apply to a refugee who-
   (a) is a danger to the security of Nigeria; or
   (b) is convicted by a court or tribunal for committing any serious crime as stipulated in the conventions contained in First to Third Schedules to this Act.

(3) No person, claiming to be a refugee within the meaning of this Act who has illegally entered into or is illegally present in Nigeria, shall be expelled, extradited or returned merely by reason of his illegal entry or presence in Nigeria or any part of Nigeria pending the determination of his application for a refugee status.

(4) A person who has lawfully entered into or is lawfully present in Nigeria and who wishes to remain in Nigeria on the grounds that he is a refugee within the meaning of this Act shall not be compelled to leave Nigeria unless he has found another country of asylum.

The term ‘refugee’ has been defined to mean every person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it. The term also applies to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.\textsuperscript{367}

Therefore persons falling within any of the above categories of refugees or asylum seekers are allowed to apply to the federal commissioner for refugees or the United Nations high commissioner for refugees in Nigeria\textsuperscript{368}. Such application is usually

\textsuperscript{366} See the long title of the Act
\textsuperscript{368} National commission for Refugees Act 1989, section 8.
forwarded to an eligibility committee which considers it and recommends whether the applicant shall or shall not be granted refugee status giving reasons for such recommendations. Pending the determination of his or her application, an applicant for refugee status is entitled to stay in Nigeria. Even where such application is denied the person has a right to appeal to the Refugee Appeal Board and will be entitled within the same period to remain in Nigeria. Upon the determination of such appeal and if the refusal of the application is affirmed, the applicant must be given a reasonable time to seek admission as a refugee into another country. A person who has been granted refugee status and members of his family is issued with an identity card, a residence permit and the United Nations Travel Document (called the UN passport).

The forgoing represents the current legal regime on refugee status in Nigeria. It is the position of the present writers that various Turkish nationals affected by nationality cancellation by Turkish government on account of affiliation to Hizmet movement or sympathy for same fit into the definition of refugees / asylum seekers examined above. This is so because the cancellation is informed by their membership of a group and their political opinion. Also if Nigeria were to extradite them to Turkey for being illegal immigrants, a situation deliberately foisted on them by their country to force them to return thereto, such persons will be forced to return to a territory where their freedom and even life will be threatened. Their protection is therefore a positive obligation on Nigeria as their host country under both international law and the relevant domestic laws of Nigeria. Already, a large number of these affected individuals have submitted application to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the Nigerian government has expressed willingness to consider these applications.

3.0. Dilemma of Statelessness vis-à-vis the Turkish Coup Refugees in Nigeria

Having examined the legal fate of the Turkish coup refugees in Nigeria within the purview of Nigerian Immigration laws, it is desirable for the purpose of comprehensiveness to magnify the analysis beyond municipal law so as to determine whether Nigeria has any further obligation under international law different from what had been examined earlier. This, the paper intends to do by examining the concept of statelessness under international law, hence the choice of the title: Dilemma of Statelessness vis-à-vis the Turkish Coup Refugees in Nigeria.

One of the bold observations made in the foregoing paragraphs is that the case of the Turkish coup refugees in Nigeria presented a clear situation that we can equate to loss of nationality. The truism of the above observation can be confirmed when we ask and answer the question: what is nationality and what are its attributes? Nationality is that precious phenomenon that enables an individual to enjoy the automatic right of residence in a country, carry a passport and benefit from diplomatic protection while abroad. These attributes of nationality are all shut out to Turkish coup refugees in

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369 ibid
370 See ibid section 7 and 8
371 ibid section 11.
373 See page 7 above.
Nigeria because a sizable number of them are leaving Nigeria because they are neither entitled to Nigerian citizenship nor are their dependents that are newly born on Nigerian soil. The unfortunate thing is that the Turkish coup refugees cannot go back to Turkey either. The reasons are not far-fetched. Majority of the Turkish coup refugees in Nigeria harbor a deep fear of persecution on the part of their government. In fact, the opportunity of returning is not even there for them to pursue due to the malicious tailored policy of their government in the form of passport cancelation and non-reissuance of same.

It is therefore beyond doubt that the Turkish coup refuges are plunged in a dilemma that leaves their status hanging in the balance—a dilemma which carries with it a bundle of legal questions which are at the core of overall human security. Consequently, we may thus ask such probing questions like what will now be the employability of those Turkish coup refugees; how could they access judicial remedy while abroad? These sorts of questions may as well go for a host of other civil and political rights. In this connection, it must be observed that one incontrovertible fact is that these questions arose out of the fact that the Turkish coup refuges have their passports cancelled and thus technically not under the protection of the Turkish government and have not as yet acquire nationality status in their country of refuge (i.e. Nigeria). From the above, it is obvious that Turkish coup refugees are by all accounts rendered stateless because all negative indicators of loss of nationality are apparent in their socio political and economic spheres of life, thus forcing any serious observer to be willing to find a veritable panacea to their stateless status under international law. Based on the above, this part of the article will dwell on the concept of statelessness by enquiring into the responses of international law to it. This part shall also draw useful inferences there from, particularly as regards whether international law responses to the question of statelessness could in the least better off the situation of Turkish coup refugees in Nigeria.

3.1. The Concept of Statelessness in Perspective

‘Statelessness’ in a strictly legal sense, describes people who are not considered nationals by any state. This definition is almost the same with the one provided under Article 1 of the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless People which provides: “For the purpose of this Convention, the term “stateless person” means a person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law.” The convention under the same Article specifies certain category of persons who are not considered stateless persons and they are as follows:

(i) persons who are at present receiving from organs or agencies of the united nations other than the united nations high commissioner for refugees protection or assistance so long as they are receiving such protection or assistance;

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375 See: Turkey Country Report 25th January, 2017 published by Asylum Research Consultancy, P.1 available at: http://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/1226_1486117831_5890c8d84.pdf, Last accessed: 03/04/2017. It was noted in the report that consequent upon the failed coup of 15th July, 2016, State of emergency rule was proclaimed in Turkey conferring on the President and the cabinet the powers to rule by Decree without recourse to the parliament.

376 Ibid


(ii) persons who are recognized by the competent authorities of the country in which they have taken residence as having the rights and obligations which are attached to the possession of the nationality of that country;

(iii) persons with respect to whom there are serious reasons for considering that:
   (a) They have committed a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity, as defined in the international instruments drawn up to make provisions in respect of such crimes;
   (b) They have committed a serious non-political crime outside the country of their residence prior to their admission to that country;
   (c) They have been guilty of acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Owing to the above, it becomes incumbent on this research to find out whether the Turkish coup refugees in Nigeria could be appropriately placed within the definition of stateless persons as envisaged under the Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless People. It is the opinion of the writers of this paper that none of the above disqualifying criteria of statelessness apply to the Turkish coup refugees at least at the time of writing this paper. This is because although the Turkish coup refugees may likely receive protection from an agency of the United Nations, yet such protection even when accorded will be under the auspices of the UNHCR which the Article under review exempts as exception to the circumstances under which the convention would have ordinarily been inapplicable. Also the Turkish coup refugees have not received any formal status recognizing them as nationals of Nigeria and lastly the Turkish coup refugees are not guilty of any of the circumstances referred to under paragraphs a-c as specified above. It could therefore be safely asserted that by all intent and purposes the Turkish coup refugees in Nigeria are stateless persons, thus entitled to benefit from the protection afforded under various conventions relating to the status of stateless persons.

Statelessness as a social problem has been observed to be on the high side in recent times and its causes are rather multi-factorial. Thus, the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that there may be as many as 12 million stateless people worldwide. It must be noted in this regard that the existence of stateless population challenges some of the central tenets of international law and the human rights discourse that has developed over the past sixty years. Most importantly, the concept of statelessness is at odds with the right to nationality encapsulated under the supervening legal frameworks on statelessness, namely: 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness.

It must be noted that while stateless people enjoy human rights under international law they often face barriers that prevent them from accessing their rights, thus justifying the questions raised above regarding the employability and ability of the Turkish coup refugees to access judicial remedy in Nigeria. To this end, it is observed that some of the common barriers that stateless people face include inability to establish legal residence, travel, work in a formal economy, send children to school, access basic health services, purchase or own property, vote, hold elective offices and enjoy the protection and security of a country.

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379 See page 8 above relating to section 103 of the Immigration Act which provides that the Comptroller – General of Immigration is empowered to, upon the recommendation of the national high commissioner for refugees, issue relevant immigration documents to refugees in Nigeria.


381 Ibid.
3.1. Causes of Statelessness
Situations of statelessness involving larger numbers of people tend to arise in a number of different circumstances. Governments may amend their citizenship laws and denationalize whole sections of society in order to punish or marginalize them or to facilitate their exclusion from the state’s territory. The formation of new states, resulting from decolonization or the disintegration of a federal polity, may leave thousands or even millions of people stateless or with a disputed claim to citizenship. Large-scale statelessness may also arise in the context of mass expulsions and refugee movements, especially when the population concerned has lived in exile for many years without acquiring the citizenship of their asylum country.

3.2. Which Entity is Responsible for Addressing the Statelessness of the Turkish Coup Refugees: Nigeria or Turkey?
It is difficult to establish who exactly has the responsibility to address the hardship that results from statelessness, as it is a long standing principle of international law that sovereign states in principle have an inviolable right to determine who receives their nationality and who does not. On the other hand, the decision not to attribute nationality or to revoke such nationality after its acquisition is also at odds with international Human Rights Law. In this connection, it would not be out of place to say that Nigeria and Turkey have both a degree of responsibility on the seeming statelessness of Turkish nationals in Nigeria.

On the part of Turkey, the responsibility flows from the provision of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which provides under Article 15 as follows:
1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

With the above provision, it is clear that the action of the Turkish government in cancelling the passport of its nationals constitute a violation of human rights. Although, this is the position under the UDHR yet it must be understood that UDHR is a soft law instrument even though it is argued in some quarters that the UDHR has now crystallized into Customary International Law. Thus, as a soft law instrument, UDHR will only be taken to constitute a cluster of rules that are neither strictly binding in nature nor completely lacking legal significance. This is because in the context of international law, soft law refers to guidelines, policy declarations or codes which set standards of conduct. However, they are not directly enforceable.

384 The argument is still raging as to the status of the UDHR and according to a learned author, the UDHR is a non law, as such can never make a law. See: Dinah L. Shelton (2008), Soft Law in Handbook of International Law Routledge Press, p.12
385 Soft Law and Legal Definition available at: https://definitions.uslegal.com/s/soft-law/
The above suggests that Turkey is somewhat off the hook in relation to compliance with the obligations imposed on it under the UDHR. But it would be of interest to note that there are substantial international instruments existing under the UN system that provide robust international response to the question of statelessness beyond the UDHR. Thus, the response of international law on statelessness as stated earlier can be more profoundly gleaned from two UN conventions which were products of decades of negotiations mainly to avoid the incidence of statelessness. These conventions are the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness which was adopted in 1961 and entered into force on 13th December, 1975. Without going into the details of the above international instruments, the first and most appropriate question to ask is whether Turkey is a signatory to the above instruments. This question is very fundamental because it would be an exercise in futility to examine the provision of the aforesaid instrument and later discover that Turkey is not a party and thus not bound by the provisions of the instruments. As at the time of writing this article, nothing appears to the writers that Turkey is a state party to either the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons or the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. Aside from the fact that Turkey is not a signatory to the above conventions, the import of the conventions particularly the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness seem to place more emphasis on the country where the incidence of statelessness is likely to expand, i.e. the territory hosting the stateless victims which in the context of this work is the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Having established that Turkey is not a signatory and that the content of the convention places more emphasis on the territory hosting the stateless people, we would therefore examine head on the provisions of the aforesaid Conventions within the context of Nigeria. In this connection it is important to note for example that underlying the 1961 Convention is the notion that while States maintain the right to elaborate the content of their nationality laws, they must do so in compliance with international norms relating to nationality, including the principle that statelessness should be avoided. This may prompt us to ask the question: whether the extant Nigerian laws regulating citizenship or nationality are consciously molded with the above principle in contemplation? The 1999 Constitution which is the fundamental document that defines and grants citizenship enumerated a number of ways in which persons can acquire citizenship. These modes are citizenship by birth, registration and naturalization. Nigeria is one of such countries that base the acquisition of its citizenship by descent, affinity and long stay. Of all the modes of acquisition of Nigerian citizenship identified above, none seem to capture the requirements of the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of statelessness, particularly the provision of Article 1 which provides thus:

386 Note that a different conclusion may be reached where the argument respecting the crystallization of the UDHR into a rule of customary international law is applied. In any case, Turkey is undoubtedly under obligation to comply to the UDHR, the extent of the obligation is what is rather uncertain.
389 See Section 25, 26 and 27 of the Constitution of the Federal republic of Nigeria, 1999 as amended.
A Contracting State shall grant its nationality to a person born in its territory who would otherwise be stateless. Such nationality shall be granted:
(a) at birth, by operation of law, or
(b) upon an application being lodged with the appropriate authority, by or on behalf of the paragraph 2 of this Article, no such application may be rejected.
A Contracting State which provides for the grant of its nationality in accordance with sub-paragraph (b) of this paragraph may also provide for the grant of its nationality by operation of law at such age and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the national law.

The general import of the above Article suggests that Nigeria as a country must accord nationality status to children given birth to on its territory notwithstanding the fact that such children would have otherwise been stateless on account of the circumstances of their parents. This is aptly the case with the Turkish coup refugees in Nigeria since by the action of the Turkish government in rendering their passports cancelled, their status have technically changed to stateless people and would in ordinary circumstances only give birth to stateless children. However, the import of Article 1 of the 1961 Convention on the reduction of statelessness has imposed an obligation on Nigeria on whose territory the incidence of statelessness could have expanded to take measures to avoid same by at least according nationality status to children born in its territory.

The pressing issue to note from the above bold and informative discovery is not whether Nigeria has been working outside the box to give effect to the above provision, but the most important issue is whether Nigeria has an obligation to comply with the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. This may require us to unearth information from the accession and ratification clause of the convention and see whether Nigeria is indeed a signatory to the convention and if so what significance does that have on the level of its legal oughtness to comply with the provisions of the convention particularly Article 1 thereof.

A look at the list of countries that signed the convention reveals that Nigeria is a state party to the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness since 2011 when it acceded to the treaty. It may however be argued that an accession to a treaty does not in and on itself place any higher obligation to fulfill more than merely signing a treaty, thus absolving Nigeria from the duty to comply. But is this position really so? This can best be answered when we acquaint ourselves with the meaning of the word accession under international law?

Accession is the act whereby a state accepts the offer or the opportunity to become a party to a treaty already negotiated and signed by other states. It has the same legal effect as ratification. This means that Nigeria has some measure of obligation to comply with the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness because an accession is somewhat coterminous with ratification. There is also the well-known principle of International law expressed in the Latin Maxim: Pacta Sunt Savanda which obliges nations to comply with their commitments under international law in good faith. Based on the above, it is the submission of the writers here that although

Nigeria may not be held liable for refusal to accord nationality status to Turkish nationals whose passports have been cancelled by the Turkish government, yet Nigeria owes a duty to accord nationality status to the children of such Turkish nationals where such children are given birth on Nigerian soil. Nigeria cannot be heard to complain that the Convention in question goes contrary to its municipal law.\footnote{See Article 46, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties which is to the effect that states may not invoke the provisions of its municipal law as an excuse to honor an international obligation. available at: https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%201155/volume-1155-i-18232-english.pdf. Last Accessed: 04/03/2017.}

d. Conclusion and Recommendation

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the plight of the Turkish coup refugee in Nigeria cannot be addressed using the Nigerian Immigration laws only particularly the Immigration Act in isolation of the national and international laws relating to refugee status and statelessness. It is our finding that though such persons may be liable to deportation owing to lack of valid passport, their deportation by Nigeria will amount to infraction of Nigeria’s obligation under International law relating to the protection of refugees which has been sufficiently domesticated within the Nigerian legal structure. It is our view that such coup refugees are entitled to at least a consideration for refugee status and where Nigeria decides not to grant them such status, it owes an international legal obligation not to deport them to Turkey but must allow them passage to another country where they can present such asylum application. More pathetic are the cases of children who are refused passports by the Turkish government on account of affiliation of their parents to the group that is alleged to have perpetrated the coup attempt. It is our finding that the act of the Turkish government will tantamount to foisting statelessness on such children at birth which is frowned at by international law.

As can be gleaned from the above, the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness establishes safeguards against statelessness in several different contexts. A central focus of the Convention is the prevention of statelessness at birth by requiring States to grant citizenship to children born on their territory, or born to their nationals abroad, who would otherwise be stateless. In this connection, the paper recommends that Nigeria should make efforts to accord nationality status to the children of Turkish nationals born in Nigeria who would be stateless on account of the circumstances of their parents. The more reason why Nigeria seems to be the only hope for such children is because Turkey is not a signatory to the convention in question.
URBANIZATION, MIGRATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A CASE ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA

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Abstract

Urbanization is one of the significant phenomenon of the modern world. Rapid urbanization, over urbanization, shanty houses, slums, crime rates, degradation of the environment, even the ozone layer are among the issues discussed within this context. And, cities are the greatest social, cultural, and political institutions within the nation states. Urbanization both may contribute to the development of the nation and underdevelopment of the country. If it is a controlled urbanization which accomplish with the equal level of industrialization, it contributes to the increase of the industrialization, production, service and finance sector and other economic activities. If urbanization is not a result of industrialization and economic development, then it may hamper the development of the country and gives rise to so many political, economic and social problems. This paper examines contemporary issues in urbanization and migration patterns in Nigeria in the face of growing demands for public services. For this purpose, firstly, rapid urbanization and its results throughout the world will be studied, particularly with reference to the developing countries. Later, the Nigerian experience will be explained. An additional element of the paper is to analyze new innovations in public policy approaches towards sustainable development in the age of increasing globalization. The national urban policy of the last few decades have continued to favor a few Nigerian urban centers. It was expected that the creation of new local states over the same period would perhaps decentralize spatial economic activities while spurring development in the inner regions. Still, we have not witnessed any significant levels of regional or national integration that could supercharge the hinterland economically. While we continue to observe unprecedented transformations across the global regions with new innovations in information technology, changing labor relations, improvements in transportation networks, and increased capital mobility, Nigeria’s inner regions continue to experience economic dislocation. Economic development and population growth have been critical in Nigeria urbanization process. Both of these will be examined in detail in this paper along with some policy recommendations on sustainable development.
Introduction

Increasingly, Nigeria is experiencing rapid urbanization at an alarming rate as the more dynamic urban centers continue to attract large populations from the rural environs. Economic growth and urbanization have been major determinants of migration patterns across Nigeria. Besides the big cities of Lagos and Abuja, other mid-size and small cities are also destinations for a significant number of rural migrants. The combined effects of accelerating urban growth and strong demographic pressures will continue to pose enormous challenges for the country. There are also implications for social justice. Similarly, the rapid demographic change can add to already existing problems in urban service delivery, income inequality, and growing levels of insecurity on a national level. While Nigerian cities must confront waves of poverty, poor urban infrastructure, overcrowding, and high crime rates, decision makers must as a matter of urgency, focus their attention on sustainable urban development policy models in order to transform the cities as strong drivers of economic growth. The process of Nigerian urbanization as in many other developing countries can only be understood as part of the historical expansion of the global economy (Renaud, 1981; Smith, 1996).

Globalization is rapidly transforming human interactions in an unprecedented scale. Today and across the globe, urban centers continue to attract migrants from within its continental boundaries, as well as from regions around the world. As Mittleman (2000) observes: “……changes in migration patterns are not merely matters of individual choice, but rather reveal structural factors beyond the control of individuals. The displacement of labor is best understood as a movement that both shapes and is constitutive of a restructuring of the global political economy” (p.58). Although migration has been part of the human experience (Mbanaso and Crewe, 2011), sub-Saharan Africa witnessed an unprecedented flow of populations from the rural environs to the cities beginning around the mid-twentieth century (Mabogunje, 1968; Abu Lughod and Hay, 1977; Renaud, 1981; Linn, 1983; Gilbert and Gugler, 1993).

One can argue that the twentieth century was perhaps the age of urbanization in the developing countries (Abu Lughod and Hay, 1977; Roberts, 1979; Linn, 1983; Gilbert and Gugler, 1993, Smith, 1996). However, today, urbanization can be viewed as the defining phenomenon of the twenty-first century particularly in Africa. Recent data suggest that in the coming decades, migration toward African cities will account for 90 percent of population movements (Sall, 2016). This paper examines contemporary issues in urbanization and migration patterns in Nigeria in the face of growing demands for public services. An additional element of the paper is to explore innovative approaches towards sustainable development in the age of increasing globalization.

A-Rapid Urbanization and Migration in Developing Countries

The reasons, results, and effects of urbanization are not the same in developed countries and developing countries. Of course there are several similar aspects that can be seen in both developed and developing countries, such as urban poverty, inadequacy of public services, increasing crime rate and degradation of the natural resource. However there are certain issues specific mostly to the less developed countries. For example, as a result of rapid urbanization, huge slum areas with too limited public services and higher crime rates are significant mostly in the less
developed countries. Or, public policies for elder care are mostly common in more developed countries.

1-Current Situation and Major Trends in the World’s Urbanization

Urbanization is one of the significant phenomena of the modern world. Rapid urbanization, over urbanization, shanty houses, slums, crime rates, degradation of the environment, even the ozone layer are among the issues discussed within this context. And, cities are the greatest social, cultural, and political institutions within the nation states. Urbanization both may contribute to the development of the nation and underdevelopment of the country. If it is a controlled urbanization which accomplish with the equal level of industrialization, it contributes to the increase of the industrialization, production, service and finance sector and other economic activities. If urbanization is not a result of industrialization and economic development, then it may hamper the development of the country and gives rise to so many political, economic and social problems. While, in 1950, 29.6% of the world’s population were living in urban areas, this figure had increased to 54% in 2015. And it is estimated that, urbanization rate of the world will increase to 66.4 by the year 2050 (UN, World Urbanization Prospects). Table 1 displays this dramatic increase in the urbanization rates. As it can be acquired from the table, as of 2015, urbanization rate of Nigeria is noticeably higher than that of Africa.

Table 1 World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision

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<td>66.4</td>
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According to UN Economic Commission for Africa, Africa is currently in the midst of a demographic transition that will shape its societies, economies and territories in the coming years. United Nations’ data show that Africa is experiencing unprecedented population growth as the total African population is projected to nearly double from around one billion in 2010 to almost two billion by 2040, and may well reach 3 billion by 2070. Africa is also marked by a growing youth bulge that calls for increased attention to the plight young people face and the need to take advantage of the potential demographic dividend they bring (“UN, Contributions,” 2014). Although urbanization is growing throughout the world, the growth of cities is more rapid in the developing countries especially Africa where annual growth rate is 1.6% compared to 0.8% in the developed countries (Gyabaah, 2003, p.6). Moreover, Gyabaah (2003, p. 6) also emphasized that “in many African countries, urbanization
has resulted in rapid population growth and concentration of people and industries in few urban areas such as Accra (Ghana), Lagos (Nigeria), Monrovia (Liberia), Abidjan (Cote d’Ivoire) etc. Urban population growth has been fuelled by massive rural-urban migration from remote towns and villages to large cities and urban centers, in the belief that urban centers provide better job opportunities, social services and wages”. In developing countries, most of the people living in the cities have no possibility of living in a healthy environment. They can only afford to live with the minimal conditions within the slum areas. According to UN-Habitat report, cities with high incidence of slums are an indication of lopsided prosperity. Slum dwellers are often stigmatized on account of their location and are often discriminated against in terms of access to public and social services, as well as employment. Large concentrations of slums impose enormous burdens on urban authorities that often lack the political will and resources to provide even the most basic services, with implications for the prosperity of cities. Rather than being proactive in their approach to urban development, cities with large concentrations of slums are likely to adopt a reactionary and fragmentary approach to urban development, which tends to be expensive in the long run (UN-Habitat, 2013, p. 18).

The number of people had to live in the slums is more than we can expect. Although there are no clear information due to different meanings of the slum, the rate is still very high. Again, UN-Habitat report indicates that the global assessment of slums shows that 828 million urban dwellers worldwide reside in slums. In the developing world, 33 per cent of the urban population lives in slums, with sub-Saharan Africa having 62 per cent of its urban population living in slums (UN-Habitat, 2013, p.112). In Nigeria, this rate is around 60-70 %. World Bank explains that the Government of Nigeria, using the UN Habitat definition of slums, estimates that the overall slum population had declined from 73 percent in 1990 to 60 percent in 2009; other estimates, however, put the number of slum dwellers as high as 80 percent (World Bank, 2016, p. 27).

2-Reasons of Rapid Urbanization and the Particular Effect of Migration

Urbanization has so many reasons. Generally, we can classify the reasons of urbanization as pushing and pulling factors. Pushing factors are the negative economic, social, and political conditions in the rural areas. Those depressing factors such as diminishing share of agriculture, lack of public services (medical, educational, cultural facilities), insecurity, unemployment push people to the urban areas. Pulling factors are the positive economic, social, and political reasons that attract people to the cities. Hope for employment, better living standards, access to unlimited cultural and social amenities, opportunity for self development, positive externalities are the basic opportunities that people expect to have in the urban centres.

Other than this general classification, we may put forward certain other reasons. Colonial heritage, lack of effective political and administrative authorities in the rural areas, migration, industrialization, high birth and low mortality rates, better quality of life in the cities are the most well-known reasons of urbanization. Due to the subject of this study, it is better to explain only some most significant of these factors.

2.1. Colonial heritage
Colonial heritage is one of the historical reasons which shape the current trends and conditions in the significant number of the world cities. Colonial history shaped not only urban structures of the countries, but it has also effected post colonial political, administrative, economic, and cultural patterns of the societies. Slums, great income gap in the cities, strict separation of poorer and richer neighbourhoods, the problem of primate city, degradation of biodiversity, migration are some of the problems emerged as result of colonial period. Colonial countries established new urban centres as a base for their economic activities. For the transportation of raw material from colonized country to their own countries, they constructed highways, railways, and huge ports. In order to provide a safe settlement for their own officers that they should feel like at their home, they either established new cities, or, new settlement units in the existing city centres.

Colonial countries sometimes constructed new cities in the mining zone to house mine workers. For example, Enugu and Jos in Nigeria, Johannesburg and Kimberly in South Africa, Ndola and Kitwe in Zambia and Lubumbashi in DR Congo are this types of the cities. Moreover they established a strong centralized political, economic and administrative system was established in these new colonial cities which triggered off a new wave of urbanization in Africa, with new adverse consequences on development needs. For instance, the flourishing pre-colonial cities were strategically ignored by the colonial countries. In effect, such cities disappeared as for example Kukkawa and Dahomey. This issue, resulted in the rural–urban migration, which pulled labour away from the countryside to the new urban centres created by the Europeans. In these new administrative urban centres Africans lived in small spaces and under poor sanitary conditions prone to illnesses. The colonial governments’ response was not to improve the African conditions, but rather to separate Europeans from Africans and establish influx control laws. In South Africa, this resulted in the official policy of apartheid from 1950 and was insidiously extended to settler cities like Nigeria, Lusaka and Nairobi. In West African countries like Nigeria, the colonial government created a new reserved area with the best infrastructural facilities for the Europeans while compelling Africans to live in the least developed areas outside the periphery of the cities, leading to the rise of slums in the history of African urbanization (Hull 1976: 48).

UN Africa Regional Report supports the above mentioned ideas of Hull. Most African cities suffer from a colonial “hangover” whereby the old colonial urban plans and practices (often replicated even in new “master plans”) continue to prioritize the exclusion of the poor majorities and withhold investments for infrastructure and services for that population (UN Africa Regional Report, 2013, p. 3).

Jefferson’s The Law of Primate City has many strong examples within the colonized countries. Accordingly, in developing countries, there is usually one primate city. There are one or a few megacities and many other middle size cities in developing countries. Cairo, Tehran, Karachi, Istanbul are examples of this. Mark Jefferson calls this as “The Law of Primate City”. That means, A primate city, a single, extremely large city dominates an entire nation, in terms of size, concentration of economic wealth, or political and administrative power. A primate city may be from as much as three to fifteen times larger than the second largest city in countries where primate cities dominate. For example, as of 2016, in Turkey, Istanbul’s population is (14.804.116) is 2,8 times higher than that of the second largest city, Ankara (5.346.518). London and Paris are most famous examples of primate cities. Other major primate cities include, Budapest, Buenos Aires, Cairo, Dublin, Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Lima, Mexico City, Moscow, Seoul, Tehran, and Vienna. Bangkok forty
times larger than Thailand's second city. As can be seen from the examples, there are primate cities both in developing and developed countries, but mostly they can be seen in developing countries. The greatest reason of the primate city is the colonial heritage of the developing countries.

2.2. Industrialization

Industrialization is the engine of the urbanization. In more developed countries, since the industrialization had facilitated the urbanization, new settlers of the city hadn’t had difficulty in employment. Of course, at the early stages of industrialization, in England, the workers, had to work within too miserable conditions and environments. Later, with the development of trade unions, labor rights, and other social welfare facilities, the living conditions of the workers increased as well. Immigrants have more opportunities to find a job in the industrialized urban areas. On the other hand, if migration is not contemporaneous with industrialization, the immigrants cannot find an available job. This is the general case in less developed countries. Due to lack of employment in formal sectors, new inhabitants of the cities can’t afford a good housing, other than slum areas. They can only find a mean job in the informal sector. This fact, later gives rise to all of the urban problems mentioned in this paper.

According to Hove, Ngwerume, and Muchemwa, historically, in developed countries urbanisation usually accompanied industrialisation and as a result was closely associated with rapid and sustained economic growth. In contrast, for most countries in contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa, rapid urbanisation is taking place in an economic setting of negligible industrial growth and transformation. Moreover, this rapid urbanisation has occurred during an era when economic growth was more or less stagnant and even declining (Hove, Ngwerume, and Muchemwa, 2013, p. 2)

From one point of view, urbanization is a tool for transformation of labor force among different sectors. In his model, industrial sector continuously would develop and grow up, and the industry gather the necessary labor force from agricultural sector. Hence, industrial sector would become a dynamic source of employment. Yet, it was thought that this model would be realized automatically, by its own accord, in all parts of the world. After 1950s, in Turkey, it was anticipated that urbanization and industrialization would solve the issue of employment. However, this expectation wasn’t realized, and urbanization couldn’t prevent unemployment. Even, urbanization became one of the reasons of unemployment. In Turkey, since urbanization didn’t develop parallel with industrialization, the cities were the centers of unemployment. Some of these people employed in secondary, marginal occupations (such as doorkeeper, street vendor, and servant) which resemble the distorted urbanization and they are unproductive in fact.

2.3. Political and administrative reasons (lack of effective administration)

Certain political decisions, characteristics of administrative structure, judicial rules and international relations may have a strong effect on urbanization. In England, for instance, in 1946 by New Towns Code, urbanization was tried to be forwarded to the new towns around London. At that time, the most crowded of those towns had about 20 thousand dwellers. Whereas they have more than 100,000 population now. Wars and political conflicts may also influence the urbanizations. During the World War II, in England, to meet the demands of war economy, 4 – 5 million people moved from
rural to urban areas. During USA’s attack to Afghanistan in 2001-2002, refuges moved to neighboring countries. For instance, urbanization in Pakistan speeded up during this war.

A similar case can be observed in African countries.

An increasingly important cause of urban population growth in Sub-Saharan Africa is the recurrence and persistence of violent internal conflicts in many countries. For example, the rapid increase of population in Maputo, Luanda, Kinshasa, Monrovia and Freetown resulted from displacement of rural people by conflict. The insecurity resulting from the collapse of law and order in rural areas compels people living in these areas to migrate to the cities in search of improved safety and security. These kinds of movements are sometimes sudden and as a result the migrants are forced to find shelter in extremely precarious makeshift arrangements (Hove, Ngwerume, and Muchemwa, 2013, p. 4).

Existences of tourism restrictions or their abandonment influence the urbanization, too. For example, during Communist period, in ex USSR, it was forbidden to migrate from one city to another without prior permission of government. And moreover it was forbidden even to visit certain cities, such as Moscow without permission. Terrorism in Eastern Anatolia obliged people to migrate towards the cities and to the west. Lack of security prevents people from transportation from one city to another city even within the nearest regions.

When a city becomes capital city of the country by government decision, that city and surrounding ones urbanize rapidly. Ankara, Canberra (capital of Australia) and Brasilia (capital of Brazil), Astana (Kazakhstan) are famous examples of this case. For example, the population of Ankara increased from 20 thousand in 1920 to 2 million by 1970, and 4 million by 2000. And, urbanization of central Anatolia increased from 11% in 1947 to 59.5% in 1990 as a result of Ankara’s being the capital of Turkey. In Nigeria, the capital city Abuja is one of the most significant examples of this situation. Abuja was mainly built in 1980s and replaced Lagos as the new capital city in 1991. Currently, Abuja is one of the rapidly urbanizing part of the country and it is a showroom of the nation.

2.4. Migration

Migration, both internal and international, has a strong influence on the rapid urbanization. Internal migration has many reasons such as lack of employment opportunities in the small towns and rural areas. Unemployment in the rural areas has different causes; decreasing share of farming land at the each generation, use of modern farming machinery, reverse climate conditions, unproductiveness of the land, oppression of the traditional landlords, dominancy of the huge gigantic agricultural companies generally in developed countries, all are the ground of decreasing employment opportunities in the rural areas.

Although many studies claim that migration is the main reason of urbanization of Africa, there are several researchers believe that the main reason is different than migration. For instance, according to Africa Research Institute, main reason of high
rate of urbanization in Africa is not migration, but natural increase in the birth rate. It explains that:

It is widely believed that urbanisation is occurring faster in sub-Saharan Africa than anywhere else in the world, as migrants move from rural to urban settlements. This is a fallacy. While the populations of numerous urban areas are growing rapidly, the urbanisation levels of many countries are increasing slowly – if at all. Natural increase, rather than net in-migration, is the predominant growth factor in most urban populations (Africa Research Institute, 2012: 1).

Migration results in the unnatural growth of the urban areas. The government agencies are insufficient in meeting the needs of the immigrants and basic public services. The main problems as a result of migration are; “soaring urban poverty, insufficient shelter, inadequate sanitation, inadequate or contaminated water supplies, serious air pollution and other forms of environmental degradation, congested streets, overloaded public transport systems and recurring deficits in municipal budgets (Erbach and Gaudet, 1998, p. 9)”.

In general, lack of most urgent public services in the rural areas force people to migrate to the greater cities. For example, in Turkey, since most of the villages have no senior secondary schools, and a well equipped medical centre, the families, who can afford to migrate, prefer to live in a better city. Insecurity in rural areas is another basis for mass migration. There is a very significant example of this fact. In Turkey, in the eastern part, there is a province called Van. While, the population of Van was about 92,000 at 1980, it is almost 500,000 as of 2017. Because of the insecurity due to terrorism in the region, most of the rural population had to migrate to the urban centres to save their lives. Within 37 years, the population has increased almost 3.5 times. Which kind of social and political structure, and economic facilities can tolerate such kind of mass migration?

International migration is still a dramatic reason of population increase for the centuries. Each economic crises or great political turmoil, civil war force people to migrate to the other safer countries. Because of the recent civil war in Syria, there are more 3,600,000 Syrian nationals in Turkey as of 2017. This figure is almost 1,000,000 in Germany. An eastern province of Turkey, Sanliurfa has almost 500,000 Syrian immigrant, that is 1/4th of its population.

Generally, international immigrants face with more difficulties than internal immigrants. Xenophobia, sexual harassment, humiliation, hunger, accommodation are only some of the troubles they have. If they can find a job, they always have to work for very little wage. Harvey claims that, employment of immigrants are a general government policy for a cheaper source of labour. He states that in a capitalist economy, if there is a scarcity of labour and wages are too high, one of the policies to find fresh labour forces is, by immigration, export of capital which is actually, proletarianization of hitherto independent elements in the population (Harvey, 2012, p. 6).

3-Solutions to Rapid Urbanization

To find and apply the effective methods of solution to rapid urbanization is not very easy. Most of the solution policies include the main characteristics of good governance. Accountability, openness and transparency, accountability, responsiveness of the administration, democratic representation of the people, rule of law are the main principles of good governance. They will all prevent the corruption
and provide the effective administration of both local and national administrative institutions.

Effective urban planning along with political commitment has contributed to the low prevalence of slums in countries such as Argentina, China, Colombia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Morocco, South Africa and Tunisia. In Tunisia, slum upgrading has been a key component of the country’s urban planning programme. This along with massive investments in water and sanitation has contributed to a remarkable decline in the number of slum dwellers from 425,000 in the 1990s to 188,000 in 2005. Since the 1980s, Morocco has used urban planning as a means of implementing large-scale slum upgrading. The programme – Villes sans Bidonvilles, which was initiated in 2001 – has the following components of urban planning: in-situ upgrading; extending basic services; land tenure and post-facto planning approval; development of serviced resettlement plots; and resettlement housing to assist bidonville households that need to be moved (UN-Habitat, 2013, p. 112).

Increasing authority of local governments with adequate increase of financial resources, may help to overcome the many urban problems. But, Erbach and Gaudet explains that, “most local governments in sub-Saharan Africa are little more than extensions of central governments. They are often dependent on block grants from central governments which leaves them with very limited powers and/or resources to respond to pressing local problems, including those related to the urban environment (Erbach and Gaudet, 1998, p. 56)”.

There are so many policies explained by different researchers for the solutions of the rapid urbanization problems in the developing countries. But, unless those policies are not applied within good governance patterns, it is almost impossible to get useful results.

B- Rapid Urbanization, Migration and Sustainable Development in Nigeria

1-Demographic Pressure and Migration Patterns

During the last three decades, the pace of urbanization in Nigeria has accelerated in a way that calls for innovative efforts in urban development policy. The staggering structural underdevelopment in the rural regions has been a dominant factor in population movements and migration patterns across the country. Migrants from across Nigeria continue to be drawn from economically stagnant rural areas to the more dynamic urban regions. While Nigerian cities such as Kano, Lagos, Ibadan, Port-Harcourt had relatively large population sizes in the early 1900s (Mabogunje, 1977; Smith, 1996), it was not until the post-colonial period that Nigeria witnessed an unprecedented surge in urbanization with an increase in rural urban migration. The colonial economic policies created the pre-conditions for a complex urbanization process that favored a hand full of Nigerian cities which provided administrative functions, as well as gateway for exports of raw materials, and other exploits to the British Empire and the Western markets (Smith, 1996).

The railway network construction in the early 1900s from Port-Harcourt through the hinterland to the port city of Lagos facilitated the movement of raw materials from the inner regions to Lagos for export to Britain (Mabogunje, 1977; Smith, 1996), and encouraged for example, urban concentrations in certain regions. It is worth noting, however, that the national economic development policy of the post-colonial phase continued to favor a limited number of cities because of their relative pace of
industrialization, as well as their location on major transportation links. This economic development pattern gave rise to a hierarchical structure of regional development, thereby creating an imbalance between regions. Job seeking and improved living conditions have been some of the major driving forces for rural-urban migration in Nigeria. The distortions in national economic development policy; low agricultural yield and economic stagnation in the rural environs; and perceived better economic opportunities in the urban centers have continued to spur population movements from economically distressed rural regions to the more robust urban centers (Page, 2016). Rural-urban migration has been a major component of urban growth in developing countries (Lipton, 1977; Roberts, 1979; Renaud, 1981).

Elsewhere, the increased Boko Haram terrorist activities in North-eastern Nigeria along with suicide bombings and mass kidnappings of mostly young women have created population displacements in the impacted regions. The security situation in the affected regions has triggered out-migration from these areas. Rural migration to the cities of Kano, Jos, Maiduguri and other Northern cities slowed in recent years or suffered a reversal in migration as Boko Haram terrorist activities intensified.

While cities are still favored as destinations for rural migrants, the relative improvement in the interstate highway construction in the last few decades has affected the pattern of urbanization and migration. As railroad use suffered a significant decline because of government neglect, there was relative increase in the construction of highways as the dominant mode of transportation. As a consequence, migration and population concentration have been forming at a rapid pace around strategic locations along the transportation links, and at the crossroads of the major roadways. The socio-economic characteristics of these locations are rural or semi-rural with a small town outlook; and their economic activities are heavily dependent on transport related services.

**Rural Transport Towns and Migration**

One of the observed features in recent decades, is the growth of, what we will refer to in this paper as rural transport towns which have sprung up along Nigeria major interstate highways. Although this population settlement pattern of rural migrants is not new, it has intensified in recent decades alongside rapid urbanization. Their rapid growth and expansion have been fueled by strong demographic pressure and economic stagnation in the rural regions. Rather than these migrants, who have suffered economic displacement from the rural areas to find residence in the cities, their settlements of choice are in the rural transport towns. These are fast growing enclaves that are located usually between cities or around intersections of major highways. The economy is mostly informal, from food services and restaurants to auto parts and auto repair services, and from petty trading to other retail functions. To be sure, these rural transport towns are filled with migrant populations who have left their places of origin in search of better economic opportunities. The transport towns provide basic services associated with transportation, and other retail functions. Thus, these towns have become magnates for rural migrants from far away regions and across the country who ordinarily would migrate to a major city. One explanation for this destination of choice for the new arrivals may be the high cost of living in the city and restricted access to shelter in urban centers.

The migrants are not indigenous to these rural transport towns, but rather have migrated from various parts of the country and drawn to these population growth areas because of the perceived economic activities that are derived from transport related service economy.
While the rural transport towns vary in size, some are fully developed into functional communities with significant population size, others are still in transition or in their early formative phase. The population growth and level of economic activities depend on location, transportation artery and traffic volume; and the intersecting cities along the particular roadways. An examination of some of the major Nigeria interstate roadways point to the location of rural transport towns along the following highways: from Lagos to Ibadan, there is Shagamu and its outskirts as major transport hub; Lagos to Benin city, there is Ore and its environs as major transport hub; and Enugu to Port-Harcourt highway which connects four states (Enugu, Imo, Abia, and Rivers States) is a major interstate highway with several rural transport towns around the key transport nodes.

The Enugu to Port-Harcourt roadway, for example, is quite a long stretch and was built as an expressway network, but has been in disrepair in recent years. Although this highway has deteriorated, there are still several rural transport towns along the stretch of the highway, including for example, Lokponta which doubles as a cattle market, and a truck stop. It also provides other transport service related functions. It is a magnet for migrants from across the country who engage in both formal and informal economic activities. Another point is Okigwe with its location at the crossroads of the interstate highway and its proximity to Umuahia, and a nearby University provides the town with a unique function as a magnet for migrants. Along the same highway, there is Ugba junction, another rural transport town with proximity to Aba; and Diobu which is on the roadway on approach to Port-Harcourt.

The above referenced examples of transport towns are all located on divided or dual carriage highways connecting major urban centers, and they play critical economic roles for tourists and transporters. Still, there are other less developed transport towns on the two lane rural highways. For example, along Abuja to Ajaokuta, there is a Mechanic Village about half an hour south of Lokoja and on the outskirts of Ajaokuta. This rural transport town provides auto repair services and other retail functions including food services and auto parts. The Mechanic Village town is not quite as busy as some other locations, and the residents are not indigenous to that locality. Once you cross Ajaokuta and connect to Makurdi to Nsukka/Enugu motorway (another rural highway), just before Nsukka University town, Oboloafor and its outskirts boast another rural transport town with robust, though informal economic activities associated with transport services. The Oboloafor town is experiencing population growth and an expansion north of the town with new migrants.

An additional feature of the rural transport towns is that a number of them have developed to become transportation hubs; truck stops for trailers, oil tankers; and other over-sized vehicles which are engaged in long hauls of goods and services across interstate lines to urban centers and the inner regions. There are no developed rest stops along Nigerian interstate highways, for example, where tourists/travelers can take a break from their long trips, and stretch their bodies. The transport towns provide many functions, including rest areas for tourists, and transporters who are engaged in long haulage. This is a key sector of the economy which serves several functions. While these rural transport towns do not appear to be a new phenomenon, their accelerated pace of population growth should be of interest to policy makers, urban and regional planners, researchers and students of international economic development.

2-Urban and Regional Concentration
Nigeria economic development policy has often favored certain geographic areas with the concentration of economic activities in particular regions. It inevitably affects the decisions by migrants to move to rapidly growing cities. Lagos metropolitan region continues to be the most favored destination for rural migrants, followed by Abuja. As in most developing countries, the growth, size and characteristics of Nigerian cities are functions of the way that the individual cities are linked to the global political economy (Gilbert and Gugler, 1993; Smith, 1996; Mittleman, 2000; Pomeroy and Webster, 2008). There have been efforts in de-concentration of population from the large cities as more local states were created and new capital cities emerged. It was expected that the creation of local states within the Federal system of government would perhaps decentralize spatial economic activities while spurring development in the inner regions. This expectation has not been realized. An examination of the inner regions exposes the breadth of the problems. The national economic development policy lags behind the rapid urbanization processes that are sweeping across the country. There seems to be disconnect, between these historical conditions and public policy response.

Economic development and population growth have been critical in the urbanization process (Bertinelli and Strobl, 2007; Joseph, 2016). The capital cities of the local states were expected to usher in transformative industrialization and urbanization processes, thereby creating the necessary conditions for labor absorptive capacity for the new rural migrants. What emerged, instead, were state capital cities with mostly administrative functions, bloated bureaucracy, and state governments that in most instances are unable to pay staff salaries. On a broader note, Gilbert and Gugler (1981) goes on to point out:

"It can be argued that it is the location of government and the paraphernalia of modernization rather than industrial growth per se that is the principal source of urban and regional concentration. In most African countries, where industrial growth is limited, expansion of the government bureaucracy has been a major stimulus to urban concentration. Well-paid government bureaucrats constitute an important market for imported manufactured products, and for the shops which sell them, for the construction industry and for domestic services……..Thus the surplus created in rural areas and in the hinterlands of provincial cities tends to be channeled towards the large cities. As industrialization and other national growth policies favor the large cities, these large cities will continue to grow at the expense of lower-order centers.’ (pp.47-48).

While we continue to observe unprecedented transformations across the global regions with new innovations in information technology, changing labor relations, improvements in transportation networks, and increased capital mobility, Nigerian inner regions continue to experience economic dislocation.

**Nigerian Oil Sector and Economic Development**

Nigeria witnessed an unprecedented economic boom beginning in the 1970s following the end of the Nigerian Civil War. The sole driving factor for this economic expansion was the exploitation of abundant crude oil deposits in the old Eastern region or what is known today as South-South or the Niger Delta region of the country. Following the discovery of crude oil as a lucrative natural resource, the country quickly switched from agricultural sector investment and production to investments that relied disproportionately on oil exploration. Prior to 1970, Nigerian agricultural export as a percentage of the total domestic export was significantly higher than that of oil export for the same period. After 1970, however (post-war period), there was a reversal in this trend with a steep decline in agricultural export as
a percentage of domestic export. Crude oil export, on the other hand, witnessed a rapid increase as a percentage of domestic export (Bakare and Fawehinmi, 2011; Oluwaseun, et al, 2013). Thus, this period marked the beginning of the rise of Nigerian monolithic economy with over-reliance on crude oil export as a major source of national revenues. Since the 1980s crude oil export has assumed over 95% of total domestic export (Ploch, 2012).

Oil has remained a corrupting influence and a distortion towards sustainable economic policy planning and development. The periodic oil boom over the years, in the 1970s, 1990s and 2000s which was as a result of high oil prices in the world market failed to translate to sustainable economic development across the regions. In the 1970s, for example, and as a member of OPEC, Nigeria was awash in petrodollars during the oil price hikes of this period. With the eruption of the Middle-East crisis in the 1970s and the subsequent oil-price hikes, the Nigerian federal government easily shifted from cash crop production to the oil sector as the country’s major foreign exchange earner. The primary export sector has always remained a dynamic element in Nigerian development activities, projects and public sector financing. Even today, the primary export which is crude oil provides over three-quarters of the Nigerian government revenues, and consequently sets the stage for revenue allocation (Ploch, 2012). Oil wealth has precipitated the abuse of power and political patronage to unstained levels in Nigeria. The Nigerian economy continues to lack a robust private sector that can support capital market capable of providing the needed resources for individuals to flourish through credit access and acquisition of investment products and services.

3-Regional Integration as Pre-Condition for Sustainable Development

The inefficient Nigeria transportation network has created constraints in efforts towards regional integration and sustainable development. Across Africa and in many developing countries, it is frequently impossible to travel directly between two relatively close cities. This observation further suggests that the choice of location of economic activities is highly restricted where there is an inadequate network of transportation (Renaud, 1981, p.68). National urbanization policy with a focus on infrastructural development and construction of express highway networks will open up the inner regions for de-concentration of population and economic activities, as well as productive agricultural development in the rural areas.

The need for regional integration with modern transportation road network will drastically reduce the distances between cities, thereby playing a significant role in the growth potential of the local economy (Von Boventer, 1970; Renaud, 1981, p.66). In such instances, travel time between urban centers would be shorter with lower freight cost of goods and services. It may also encourage a downward pressure on the cost of goods and services because of reduced freight cost. Auto accidents and loss of lives would be curtailed with an increase in safety on improved and well maintained expressways. Population de-concentration from the large cities would be derived as would be rural migrants may find little incentives to migrate as adequate transportation network opens up the inner regions for economic growth. Thus, efficient interstate highways, railway networks, and inland waterways will contribute towards sustainable development with less concentration distortions in urban growth. Circulatory flow of traffic would be derived from a sustainable transportation network policy. In addition, spatial location of economic activities along the various transportation modes and networks will encourage would be ruralurban migrants to find settlements around small and mid-size cities, thereby,
decreasing demographic pressures and demand for already strained urban public services in the large urban centers.

Renaud (1981) describes in general terms the role that transportation link between two major urban centers can play in rapid urban growth. He cited some examples from South Korea. Based on his analysis, we can infer its applicability in the context of regional development planning in Nigerian. Thus, regional Integration policy with efficient and adequate transportation networks can provide an economic boom while stimulating development in the inner regions. This can be achieved by encouraging new and existing industries to locate their production activities along the various transportation links as freight costs are reduced because of the relative ease of freight movements between cities. Further, it will yield production economies with an improvement in the labor market information diffusion for the migrant labor force; and it will achieve interurban trade, and as trade volume increases, there will be need for major investment in new transportation network facilities: for railroads, double-tracks, electrified lines, faster locomotives, more frequent runs, for road transport, large-scale container facilities and truck service stations (Renaud, 1981, pp.69-70). Additionally, small towns and rural areas will benefit from new location of economic activities as they are linked with new transport networks, and improved access to markets for farm products, while discouraging rapid migration to large cities.

**Conclusion**

In order to achieve a sustainable future, there must be a fundamental re-thinking of Nigeria urbanization processes, and the problem of transportation infrastructural network should take a new urgency. Similarly, sufficient and relatively cheap energy supply is critical in fostering sustainable economic development in the country. No matter the national policy approach to the problems of urbanization, reliance on electric power generating set as a major source of energy supply is not sustainable. Nigeria must, therefore, start from a consideration of creative efforts in developing the country’s physical facilities that can support sustainable economic development including airports, highways and railroads; and energy-producing facilities. Our aim in this paper, however, is not to claim a definitive conclusion on the subject matter, but rather to draw attention to the distortions in economic growth patterns and encourage a national dialogue on innovative policy models towards sustainable development.

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POVERTY REDUCTION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT
Extreme poverty is a global challenge facing all regions of the world including developed economies of Europe and North America but particularly serious in developing countries of Asia and Africa. Indeed, poverty reduction is an indispensable precondition for sustainable development, which entails meeting human development goals while at the same time sustaining the ability for the future. It is estimated that about 4.3 billion people or 59 percent of the world population are living with less than $5 a day and are unable to meet basic needs adequately. It is in realization of the urgent imperative of poverty reduction that major international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank devote huge attention through their programmes such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) among others to reduce the level of poverty in the world to foster sustainable development. Various poverty reduction strategies have been initiated and implemented to make more of basic human needs available or increase the disposable income of people. This study examined the nexus between poverty reduction and sustainable development in developing countries focusing on Nigeria. The study noted that since the 1980s there has been rising spate of poverty in Nigeria from 27.2 percent of the population to over 70 percent of the population in 2015. The paper argued that one of the major causes of poverty in Nigeria is the inability of successive government to diversify the Nigerian economy from a mono-cultural economy rife with corruption and rent seeking. There have been numerous attempts at poverty reduction in Nigeria notably Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) in 1976 and National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPAP) in 2001 among others. The paper underlined the fact that poverty reduction strategies and policies emplaced have not been able to curtail the negative impact of poverty on sustainable development in Nigeria over these years. Some challenges confronting poverty reduction strategies in Nigeria were identified to include corruption, ethno-religious conflicts, income inequality, political instability and other severe problems. Finally, the study proffered some strategies for enhanced poverty reduction and sustainable development in Nigeria. These measures include massive job creation by private and public sectors, provision of infrastructural facilities such as electricity in the rural areas and development of sustainable micro-credit schemes. This research submits that there can be no sustainable development without effective poverty reduction.
Keywords: Poverty, Poverty Reduction, Sustainable Development, MDGs, SDGs.

1. Introduction
Poverty is one of the major challenges facing the world with massive implications for sustainable development, which entails meeting human development goals of the present while at the same time sustaining the ability for the future. More than 4.3 billion people out of the global population of 7.5 billion are in poverty. 25,000 children under five are dying each day, mostly from causes preventable with low-cost, proven interventions (UNICEF, 2010). Historically, the problem of poverty dates back to the formation of human society along stratified patterns of feudal lords and serfs, which translated into the rich and the poor. Poverty could be viewed from relative, subjective and absolute terms. In its absolute term, poverty represents an income line below which poverty begins and above which poverty ends usually measured in income household count and considered as US $ 1.90 as of 2015, which was US $ 1.25 as of 2008 (World Bank, 2016, p. 24). Although, this figure is being contested as not realistic as such some scholars are suggesting the use of US$5 as the benchmark. Poverty involves relative lack of access to basic necessities, powerless, and exclusion from decision making. Consequently, sustainable development requires reducing poverty in all its dimensions.

It has been realized however, that development policies overtime had focused on economic structural adjustments, largely engineered by international agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with little improvements in the living standards of the people. In the 1990s therefore, development paradigm shifted towards placing people at the centre of development. For over two decades diverse interventions to reduce poverty have been emplaced and implemented by many international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the World Bank and IMF as well as countries. For instance, in 2000, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were adopted by international organizations and national governments to further give impetus to the efforts to reduce poverty in the world. The poverty reduction targets of the MDGs helped to lift more than one billion people out of extreme poverty, while the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development resolves to free the human race from the tyranny of poverty. The first SDG goal aims to “end poverty in all its forms everywhere”. Its seven associated targets aims at among others to eradicate extreme poverty for all people everywhere. Throughout human history no country or society has developed when majority of the population has lost the purchasing power and are buffeted by poverty.

Poverty reduction has come to be recognized as an integral part of sustainable development, hence many developing countries are mounting programmes and strategies to eradicate poverty especially within the framework of Post-2015 Development Agenda and the SDGs. The Chinese government, for instance, since 2000, has made firm commitments to support the MDGs and indeed made remarkable achievements in poverty reduction. China has reduced the number of its population living on less than US$1.25 per day from 690 million in 1990 to 84.17 million in 2011. The Chinese population living in poverty was reduced from 165.67 million in 2010 to 70.17 million in 2014 (Liu et al., 2015). The Chinese poverty reduction strategies include participatory planning involving the poor in decision making and selection of poverty reduction programmes. China also adopted a regional development strategy that created new urban areas, developed cluster projects created jobs and wealth that lifted millions out of poverty. Effective poverty reduction strategies in China have achieved remarkable results in poverty reduction for sustainable development. Similarly, Brazil, Malaysia and India have reasonably freed a large chunk if their population from poverty. However, in Africa, increasing
numbers of the population are sinking deeper into poverty as typified in the Nigerian case. In Nigeria, extreme poverty is still a major developmental challenge that apparently has defied solution over the years. The paradox of poverty in the midst of prosperity is aptly depicted in Nigeria as being the largest economy in Africa, the 6th largest producer of crude oil in the world and massively endowed with human and material resources. From the 1980s till date poverty has been on steady rise in Nigeria. Poverty in Nigeria has been implicated in the upsurge in criminal activities such as kidnapping, militancy and armed robbery. In addition, the Boko Haram insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria is said to be fueled by pervasive poverty in that part of the country. The Norwegian Nobel Committee said that lasting peace cannot be achieved unless large population groups find ways in which to break out of poverty. The dire consequences of poverty in Nigeria are cross cutting hence the urgent need to embark on poverty reduction measures. The Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) has since the 1970s evolved several policies and programmes to eradicate poverty for sustainable development in the country but evidence on the ground clearly shows that poverty is still on the rise despite these measures. The National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) reported that about 112.5 million Nigerians live in relative poverty conditions (Ahiuma, 2016). This represents about 70 percent of the country’s total population estimated at over 180 million. Despite the efforts made by Nigeria to reduce poverty, the number of people living in extreme poverty in Nigeria remains unacceptably high. It therefore, suggests that poverty reduction strategies and programmes in Nigeria may not be good enough to end extreme poverty in the near future, thus making the desire for sustainable development unattainable in the country. The purpose of this paper therefore is to proffer some strategies to enhance poverty reduction and sustainable development in Nigeria. To achieve this aim the paper covers conceptual and theoretical clarification of the variables and gives an overview of poverty reduction in developing countries including Nigeria. Thereafter, the paper highlights some of the key challenges of poverty reduction and sustainable development in Nigeria and proffers some strategies to improve poverty reduction measures in Nigeria. Finally, the paper offers a conclusion and some recommendations.

2. Definition of Poverty

There is no single definition and type of poverty. Rural poverty, urban poverty, children poverty, absolute poverty are some of the different types of the poverty. In general, poverty is a person’s inability of providing his/her basic needs such as food, water, accommodation, safety, education, clothing, and medical needs. According to Payne, poverty is thought of in terms of financial resources only. However, the reality is that financial resources, while extremely important, do not explain the differences in the success with which individuals leave poverty nor the reasons that many stay in poverty. The ability to leave poverty is more dependent upon other resources than it is upon financial resources (Payne, 2005, p. 8). Poverty and absolute poverty have different definitions. Absolute poverty is “a condition characterised by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to services” (UN, 1995, p. 57).
Poverty is not only lack of basic physical needs, but it also includes the inability of access to the cultural and social needs. According to Townsend:

Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or are at least widely encouraged or approved, in the societies to which they belong. Their resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities. (Townsend, 1979, p. 31).

There are some other definitions of poverty which includes economic, nutritional, situational, and chronic poverty. Actually, all of them make up an inclusive definition which is needed to eliminate such a dramatic problem of the societies. Different national and international institutions, each should try to focus on different parts of these problems to be more successful in poverty reduction.

Deprivation and exclusion are to other concepts that are related with poverty but they are not the same. For example, a child who can not afford to go to cinema or museum because of lack of money is considered poor. On the other hand, another child who can not afford these kinds of cultural activities due to the extreme busyness of his parents, is considered to be socially excluded. Moreover, think of a handicapped person who can not go to the cinema because of lack of the cinema’s amenities for the wheel chair used by the handicapped people. It is obvious that, this person is not poor but socially excluded.

One significant point about poverty is the “culture of poverty”. According to Oscar Lewis; poverty presents certain behavioral manners. He says that, for example; “By the time slum children are age six or seven they have usually absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities”. He argued that although the burdens of poverty were systemic and therefore imposed upon these members of society, they led to the formation of an autonomous subculture as children were socialized into behaviors and attitudes that perpetuated their inability to escape the underclass. Lewis gave some seventy characteristics that indicated the presence of the culture of poverty, which he argued was not shared among all of the lower classes. For example; the people in the culture of poverty have a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependency, of not belonging. They are like aliens in their own country, convinced that the existing institutions do not serve their interests and needs. Along with this feeling of powerlessness is a widespread feeling of inferiority, of personal unworthiness (Ozden, 2009). All actors fighting against poverty, should take this fact into consideration.

Hove, Ngwerume, and Muchemwa (2013) also focus on the of both material and psychological parts of the poverty. Moreover, these authors also pay attention to the children who are offended mostly by the poverty. They claim that,

One consequence of escalating urban poverty is the growing number of street children in African cities. While some of these children have homes and families but survive by begging or casual work, many have been deserted or orphaned and have no alternative but to live on the street. Their survival is tremendously precarious, and, without schooling, they have little hope for any meaningful future and are extraordinarily vulnerable to abuse. (Hove, Ngwerume, & Muchemwa, 2013).
3. MDGs and SDGs as Poverty Reduction Policies

UN is among the international agencies which focus on poverty more particularly than other institutions. There so many international and national policies for reduction of poverty that are studied in the following parts. But, UN’s two global policies deserve to be studied independently since they are embraced by the majority of the world’s countries. These are; Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals.

For certain global development problems, UN announced MDGs in 2000, and 189 countries endorsed this declaration. These MDGs adopted eight time-bound goals and their indicators, to be achieved by respective countries by the year 2015. Almost all of the eight of the principles are related with each other and had a purpose of improving the economic conditions of the people of, particularly, the developing countries. The first one of the goals is on poverty reduction. Those goals are:

- Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger,
- Achieve universal primary education,
- Promote gender equality and empower women,
- Reduce child mortality,
- Improve maternal health,
- Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases,
- Ensure environmental sustainability,
- Develop a global partnership for development (UN, “What We Do”, n.d.).

The first goal of MDGs, poverty reduction has two targets.

1. Reduce by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day, and
2. Reduce by half the proportion of people who suffer from hunger.

After defining the goals, the question is how to measure the success of these goals. UN also defined the indicators to measure them. Regarding the poverty and hunger eradication goal, the indicators of success are the followings:

- Proportion of population below $1 per day,
- Poverty gap ratio,
- Share of poorest quintile in national consumption,
- Growth rate of GDP per person employed,
- Employment-to-population ratio,
- Proportion of employed people living below $1 (PPP) per day,
- Proportion of own-account and contributing family workers in total employment,
- Prevalence of underweight children under-five years of age,
- Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption,
- Prevalence of underweight children under-five years of age,
- Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption (UN, “Official List”, n.d.).

The adoption of a global goal for the abolition of poverty has been much contested, but its formulation has served as a focal point. The existence of the $1 a day poverty line, and the associated estimates of the number of people living in poverty, provided a concrete foundation for the first and most closely watched of the MDGs. The MDGs
in turn have been succeeded by the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 (World Bank, 2017, p. 6). SDGs include 17 goals that some of them directly or indirectly related with the poverty reduction. Those goals are:

Goal 1. End poverty in all its forms everywhere,
Goal 2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture,
Goal 3. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages,
Goal 4. Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all,
Goal 6. Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all,
Goal 10. Reduce inequality within and among countries (UN, 2015).

When compared, there are differences between MDGs and SDGs. In terms of poverty reduction the main difference is MDGs first principle indicates the target of decreasing the poverty by half. On the other hand SDGs target is to finish poverty completely. Eradicating poverty completely in developing countries is a critical component of achieving sustainable development.

4. Poverty Reduction in Developing Countries

Many international agencies are working in this issue particularly aftermaths of the Second World War. According to the World Bank’s much cited “dollar-a-day” international poverty line, which was revised in 2008 to $1.25 a day in 2005 prices, there are still 1.4 billion people living in poverty, although this represents a decline from the 1.9 billion in 1981. This figure is higher than the 2004 estimate of 984 million made with the old measure of $1-a-day. Poverty is the principal cause of hunger and undernourishment. According to most recent estimates of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO, 2009), the number of hungry people worldwide is 963 million, or about 14.6 per cent of the estimated world population of 6.6 billion, representing an increase of 142 million over the figure for 1990-1992 (UN, 2010, p. 1).

Poverty influences all the poor people but its greatest effect can be observed on the children. Poverty claims the lives of 25,000 children each day. They “die quietly in some of the poorest villages on earth, far removed from the scrutiny and conscience of the world. Being meek and weak in life makes these dying multitudes even more invisible in death”. About 27-28 per cent of all children in developing countries are estimated to be underweight or stunted. According to 2005 school enrolment data, about 72 million children of primary school age in the developing world were not in school, and more than half of them—57 per cent—were girls. Nearly 1 billion people entered the twenty-first century unable to read or even sign their name (UN 6, 2010, p. 1, 2).

4.1. Strategies and Methods of Poverty Reduction in Developing Countries

Adoption and application of poverty reduction methods are more difficult then they seem to be. National and international, and local agencies, local governments, NGOs should have an effective cooperation. According to Ozden, all policies of poverty reduction can be studied under the categorizations of long term policies and short term policies.

Long term policies include;

a. Occupational training courses,
b-Educational activities,
c-Providing housing with the long term and low-rate credits,
d-Micro-credit,
e-Providing very low level self-employment opportunities such as sale-stands in municipal market, and similar contributions.

Short term policies are;
a-Aid in cash,
b-Aid in kind,
c-Medical aids,
d-Sheltering houses and similar contributions.

As it is clear from the context, long term contributions of local governments have a purpose of training the poor how to fish, instead of offering fish every day. As a result of these contributions; the poor learn to stand on their own legs; get an occupation and gain their livelihood; get scholarship for education, get rid of the burden of house rents which is the heaviest issue by means of long term and low-rate house credits; and set of their own business by means of micro-credits. Consequently, after some time, these people don’t need any others support and manage their own life (Ozden, 2009).

When the long term and short term policies are taken into consideration, in developing countries, political and administrative actors, and NGOs may apply the following policies in poverty reduction;

a- Land rearrangement and housing,
b- Urban agriculture,
c- Opportunity of accessing the local municipal services,
d- Employment policies,
e- Transfer of resources,
f- Micro-credit,
g- Medical and educational supports,
h- Capacity-building activities (such as; literacy programs, agricultural extension or handling of credit),
i- Child welfare,
j- Hunger (in short-term and long-term settings),
k- Food Banking (Ozden, 2009).

4.2. Microcredit as a policy of poverty reduction

Among the poverty reduction methods, microcredit has a unique value. Because it was introduced within one of the poorest countries of the world, in Bangladesh and its great success resulted in the application of this policy in more than one hundred countries. Later, because of the strategic victory of the policy, Muhammad Yunus was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2006.

International agencies and governments have implemented numerous initiatives to address poverty, but the results from these policies are limited. One of the main reasons is that, because of improper resource distribution, only a small portion of the allocated funds reaches the poor themselves. Among all the failed experiences, however, there is an astounding success – the microcredit program designed by Dr. Yunus for Grameen Bank. The main goal of microcredit programs is to compensate for the inadequacies of regular financial institutions by providing small loans in
nontraditional economic sectors. Flexible repayment procedures and reasonable interest rates are features of the program. A small amount of money can contribute significantly to poverty alleviation, as attested to by the many successes, particularly amongst women, in villages and in remote areas (ICDF, 2002).

Turkey is one of the countries that adopted microcredit project as a poverty elimination policy. In 2003, Provincial Local Administrations were authorized to give microcredit. The first province which began to apply this policy is Diyarbakır Province. Four years later, in 2007 Istanbul Provincial Administration began to give microcredit. The amount of microcredit given to an applicant was amount 700 USD. In providing microcredit, the priority was given to the women suffering from extreme poverty, invalids, and unemployed. Later the coverage was extended to the farmers, and particularly to the mountain villagers who don’t have enough land to cultivate. The greatest easiness of microcredit was the nonexistence of normal procedures of the banks that ask for any voucher or guarantor and any other red tape works. What was asked from the women that to set up solidarity group including five women candidates of microcredit for the purpose of encouraging and training them. Training of this team was about for five days before the disposition of the credit. The training includes the lectures on how to use this credit, family planning, social responsibility, environmental consciousness and some other similar topics. The main benefit of this training is that it helps to reduce the culture of the poverty.

Of course there are some researchers and academics who don’t support microcredit as a poverty reduction tool. Principal indicator of the success of the microcredit is only payment of the credit back to the local administration. Actually, the critiques focus on this point and they claim that high rate of reversal of the credit mustn’t be an indicator of the success. Another critique is microcredit may encourage the culture of poverty. And, they claim that some of the women given microcredit are not the user of the credit themselves, but they lend it to their families for cash. Having examined poverty reduction in Turkey, let us focus attention on Nigeria.

5. Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development in Nigeria

It is problematic to pinpoint certainly the starting point of poverty in Nigeria. Some scholars have argued that poverty has been a feature of Nigeria even before independence while some others posit that extreme poverty in Nigeria could be traced to the seed sown by military regimes in 1970s and well watered in 1980s when the Shagari Administration through unbridled corruption pauperized a major chunk of the population. Irrespective of the exact time of the manifestation of this scourge, it is glaring that Nigeria has been inflicted by poverty over the years with detrimental consequences for national development and security. Poverty reduction is not at pace with Nigeria’s status as the 26th biggest economy in the world as she is ranked third as host to 7 percent of the world’s poor. The causes of poverty are diverse and multidimensional. Scholars such as Ucha have submitted that unemployment, corruption, non-diversification of the economy, income inequality, laziness and poor education system (Ucha, 2010, p. 46-56). Other factors implicated include cultural and religious beliefs that tend to support a poverty mentality, among other immediate and remote causes.

According to a United Nations report titled Common Country Analysis (CCA), Nigeria is one of the poorest and unequal country in the world with majority of her population living below poverty line. The situation has not changed over the decades, but is increasing. Poverty and hunger have remained high in rural areas, remote
communities and among female–headed households and these cut across the six geopolitical zones, with prevalence ranging from approximately 46.9 percent in the South West to 74.3 percent in North West and North East (Clement, 2017). Additionally, youth unemployment was 42% in 2016 thus creating poverty, helplessness, despair and easy target for crime and terrorism. Over 10 million children of school age are out of schools with no knowledge and skills. Despite the fact that Nigeria is a signatory to a number of protocols on sustainable and renewable environment, the country had, over the decades, failed to protect the environment, ecosystem and natural resources (Opejobi, 2016). These in turn have worsened the poverty condition in the country with consequences for sustainable development. Increasing rate of poverty translates to poor human development in areas such as health, education, child and maternal mortality, poor infrastructure, unemployment and general degradation in the environment. All these negative attributes undermine sustainable development and the achievement of the SDGs in Nigeria, if deliberate and concerted efforts are not made by all stakeholders to reverse these sliding state of affairs.

Successive governments in Nigeria since 1960 made some efforts to alleviate, or reduce poverty in the country. First, through the activities of its Ministries, Department and Agencies (MDAs) second, by collaborating with international agencies; third, and more importantly, through the establishment of agencies equipped solely to arrest rising poverty and unemployment in Nigeria. The Joda Panel, established at the inception of the civilian administration of Obasanjo to review the various poverty eradication programmes of the previous regimes, identified over twenty such institutions. These include the National Directorate of Employment (NDE), Community Banks, Family Support Programme, (FSP), Peoples Bank of Nigeria (PBN) and Directorate for Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructures (DFFRI). It is acknowledged that some of these institutions and programmes were useful especially when some of them were designed to deal with the problems of poverty directly while others do it indirectly. For instance, the River Basin Development Authorities established by Decree 37 of August 1976 is one of the earliest attempt at combating poverty via improved agricultural production. The Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) enunciated in 1979 by Gen. Obasanjo’s military regime is another indirect effort at poverty eradication. The program had the specific focus of increasing food production on the premise that availability of cheap food will raise the nutritional level of the ordinary Nigerian and invariably lead to high per capita income and improved standard of living. OFN lasted until Shagari’s civilian government (1979–83) took over. The Shagari’s administration shared almost the same poverty reduction with the preceding military regime. It came up with Green Revolution project, which also emphasized food production. The National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) was established in 2001, with the goal of eliminating “core” poverty over the next ten years. The primary objective of NAPEP was to coordinate all Poverty Alleviation Programme of the FGN. It was designed to monitor poverty alleviation activities of the government and maintain comprehensive data bank of activities aimed at eradicating poverty. In addition, it was to carry out impact assessment of all efforts to eradicate poverty and catalytically implement intervention projects as approved by the National Poverty Eradication Council (NAPEC). The obasanjo administration also initiated the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) geared towards poverty alleviation in the country for sustainable development. The regime had a flurry of anti-poverty activism, swearing to eliminate poverty by 2010. The administration
poured huge sums of money into about 13 federal ministries programmes aimed at alleviating poverty. The Yar’Adua administration that succeeded the Obasanjo administration initiated the 7 Points Agenda with priority domains such as security of life and property; wealth creation, development of human capital, land reform and food security among others. Apart from retaining some of the programmes of its predecessors such as NDE, NAPEP and NEEDS among others with any clear vision of how to make a difference. Lack of political will and the president’s health challenges undermined the efforts of the regime in poverty reduction for sustainable development. President Jonathan came up with the Transformation Agenda (TA) drawing inspiration from the Vision 20:2020 and the first National Implementation Plan. The TA was to pursue policies such job creation through vocational training, good governance through more effective and efficient use of public resources, education through the promotion of primary enrolment of all children of school age and infrastructural policies among others. In addition, the Jonathan regime also initiated some youth empowerment programme such as Subsidy Re-Investment Programme (SURE-P) that implemented the graduate Internship SchemeYouWin and among others aimed at creating jobs and alleviating youth unemployment and poverty in Nigeria. The pervasive corruption and lack of transparency and accountability militated against these poverty reduction programmes.

Current efforts to reduce poverty in Nigeria by the Buhari administration include its Social Investment Programme (SIP) titled N-Power Volunteer Corps Scheme geared towards hiring 350,000 unemployed graduates in 2017. It will engage 50,000 non-graduate youth as artisans and in other creative ventures. The administration also has the National Home-grown school feeding programme to provide one meal a day to 5 million primary school pupils. N75 billion has been earmarked for the programme in 2017. It has equally emplaced Enterprise and Empowerment programme aimed at providing interest free-loans of up to 1,2 million market men and women, traders, artisans, youth and farmers (Premium Times, February 27, 2017). The Buhari administration has also introduced the LIFE programme to reinvigorate agriculture in the rural areas, has through the CBN introduced the Anchor Borrowers Programmes and the revival of 12 River Basin Authorities to promote irrigation for agriculture (Premium Times, February 27, 2017). These and other programmes of government are designed to reduce poverty in order to achieve sustainable development in Nigeria. It is pertinent that the Buhari Administration takes a moment to review previous poverty reduction initiative and programmes in order to understand what went wrong and indeed check the obvious abuse of office. If this is not done, there is a slim chance of success beyond a flash in the pan. The administration must harmonise poverty reduction programmes and provide effective coordination and whole of government approach if it must truly free millions of Nigerians from the firm grip of poverty.

Nigeria’s inability to reduce poverty despite her huge earnings from the oil and gas sector amounting to over N93 trillion since 1999 is a major factor in terrorism, insurgency and other forms of security threats facing the nation. The Obasanjo regime earned N27 trillion, Yar’Adua earned N9 trillion from 2007-2010, Jonathan raked in N51 trillion while Buhari has earned N6 trillion from 2015-2016 (Ndujihe, 2016). Despite these large sums of money, poverty continues to eat deeper into the lives of millions of Nigerians.

Several poverty reduction measures emplaced by Nigeria are often confronted by some challenges. According to Obadan (2014) lack of accountability and
transparency, severe budgetary, management and governance problems, inadequate coordination and political and policy instability among other have contributed to the failure of poverty related programmes in Nigeria. The challenge of inaccurate data on poverty profile also impedes concrete planning. These are further explored subsequently.

5.1. Challenges of Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development in Nigeria

The major challenges Nigeria is currently facing that constrain her economic and social development, as well as poverty reduction include bad governance, general insecurity across geo-political zones and a well fractured and fragmented society. Others are infrastructural deficit, unemployment, income inequality and non-diversification of the Nigerian economy. In addition, non-involvement of the poor in decision making and design of poverty reduction programme also confront poverty alleviation efforts in Nigeria. These are discussed subsequently.

Bad governance has been implicated in the rising poverty in Nigeria. Over the years, Nigeria has faced the challenge of poor governance manifesting in corruption, non-delivery of services to the people and weakened institutions. There is the existence of systematic accountability challenges, limited capacities of independent institutions/commissions and limited accountability at the federal, states and local government levels.

Lack of good governance policies is an important reason for corruption and poor economic performance. Coker (2014, p. 1121-1146) sees bad governance as the bane of peace, security and sustainable development of Nigeria. Ineffective leadership, non-transparent and unresponsive administrations since independence have delivered directly an outcome of poverty in the midst of plenty for over 112 million Nigerians. Therefore, it is evident that bad governance impedes efforts at poverty reduction and sustainable development in Nigeria.

General insecurity in Nigeria manifests in forms of armed robbery, kidnapping, trafficking in human, and drug. Other forms are terrorism, insurgency, herdsman/farmers conflict and ethno-religious crisis among others. Insecurity in Nigeria worsens the spate of poverty in the land as affected people are denied the opportunity to fend for themselves. Industries have been closed down due to insecurity in different parts of Nigeria thereby laying off the workers and resultantly launching them into poverty caused by unemployment. In addition, the high price of countering terrorism and insurgency also plunges the country deeper into the mire of poverty as funds meant for development are diverted into security sector. Nigeria spent N4.62 trillion on national security from 2011 to 2015 (Olufemi, 2015). The irony was that despite these colossal funds spent, insecurity still pervades. These huge sums of money would have been channeled into job creation, provision of infrastructure and micro-credit/finance in order to reduce poverty in Nigeria. It therefore stands to reason that insecurity in Nigeria is an impediment to effective poverty reduction and sustainable development. The mono-cultural economy of Nigeria is an obstacle to poverty reduction likewise the non-involvement of the poor in decision making and planning of poverty alleviation programmes in Nigeria.

5.2. Strategies to enhance Poverty Reduction for Sustainable Development in Nigeria

To eliminate poverty in Nigeria, the enthronement of good governance at all levels of government is a necessary and sufficient condition. The federal, state and local
governments need to imbibe the culture of good governance, transparency and accountability, rule of law and inclusiveness. A situation where for instance state governors cart away millions of Naira in the name of security vote doesn’t seem to be appropriate with good governance. Furthermore, a federal system where the local government chairmen are more or less errand servants of their masters will not usher in good governance in Nigeria.

Good macroeconomic stability is an urgent imperative. This could be realized through sustainable reforms in agriculture, industrialization and improved infrastructural facilities.

Massive job creation by public and private sector is important to empower a large chunk of the unemployed in Nigeria who are poor because they do not have jobs. To this end, there is the need for deliberate measures to create jobs and youth empowerment through entrepreneurship schemes. Provision of infrastructure especially electricity is one of the keys ways to address extreme poverty in Nigeria.

To achieve this goal, it is necessary for greater competent private sector participation and further deregulation of the electricity sector to attract more investment. Government needs also to encourage the diversification of energy sources and even encourage communities and housing estate to generate their own power rather than depend on over-stretched national grid.

It is believed that sustainable micro-credit scheme such as the type used by Muhammad Yunus through the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and also in Turkey is better and efficient way of doing micro-credit with positive impact on poverty reduction. Nigeria’s micro-credit schemes have fallen short of expectation and obviously abused by public officials.

There is urgent need to address security threats such as kidnapping, armed robbery, herdsmen-farmers conflict in different parts of the country to enable the people go to their farms, engage in business and other socio-economic activities. In this regard, government needs to deepen citizen participant and involvement in the provision of security. A whole of society approach to security is the way ahead for Nigeria.

Government must deliberately foster national integration to give every ethnic group in the country a sense of belonging. Concerns of ethnic groups need not be termed as attempt to undermine the government. It is rather unfortunate admission that close to 57 years of independence, there are still separatist agitations and calls for a restructuring of the Nigerian federation.

Diversification of the economy into areas such as ICT, tourism, entertainment, etc would assist in lifting a large number of Nigerians out of poverty. Related to this is deliberate government effort to bridge income gaps and inequality. This could be achieved through purposeful and deliberate tax targeting the rich and ostentatious consumptions.

Mainstreaming of the poor in decision making and programme planning and execution of poverty reduction programmes, strong education and human capital development and fast-tracked rural development would assist in poverty reduction for sustainable development in Nigeria.

6. Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

This paper focused attention on the relationship between poverty reduction and sustainable development using the case of Nigeria. It argues that achieving sustainable development through the SDGs will be a mirage without effective poverty reduction in Nigeria. To reduce poverty in Nigeria, government and other stakeholders have
initiated several programmes such as OFN, DFRRI, People’s Bank, NAPEP, NEEDS among others. The rising spate of poverty over the years support the assertion that these policy and programmatic interventions were not well conceived and implemented. There were rather window dressing efforts and meant to score cheap political points. Some challenges undermining poverty reduction programmes in Nigeria were identified to include bad governance, infrastructural deficit, unemployment and non-diversification of the economy among others. In this regard, the paper proposes diversification of the economy to areas such as agriculture, ICT, tourism and entertainment among others. It also recommends massive rural development and development of new urban centres as well as strong education and human capital development. The implementation of robust micro-credit schemes would assist in poverty reduction.

The Buhari Administration needs to takes a moment to review previous poverty reduction initiatives and programmes in order to understand what went wrong and indeed check the obvious abuse of office and corruption, particularly since 1999. If this is not done, there is a slim chance of success beyond a flash in the pan. The administration must harmonise poverty reduction programmes and provide effective coordination and whole of government approach if it must truly free millions of Nigerians from the firm grip of poverty.

The paper submits that unless Nigeria takes poverty reduction more seriously as a major development challenge it will not be able to achieve sustainable development and security in the years ahead. In this regard, it may miss achieving the SDGs as it did with the MDGs, if poverty reduction is not factored in as a national development programme.

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PUBLIC HEALTH AWARENESS AND KNOWLEDGE AMONG ALMAJIRI IN KADUNA, NIGERIA

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Abstract
There is a heightening concern over the public health implications of destitution and begging among children in Northern Nigeria. Against this backdrop, this study investigates disease awareness and health information sources among selected adolescent beggars - Almajiri in Kaduna state. The survey was conducted in the premise of knowledge gap theory which posits that “the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases higher socio-economic status segment so that gap in knowledge between them and lower socio-economic increases rather than decrease”. Findings revealed the poor level of awareness of prevalent diseases such as HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (STD). Information sources available to them are inadequate, and most unlikely to be helpful to their awareness of public health issues and diseases. The study recommends strategic and targeted awareness creation and sensitization programs in local schools among the Almajiris, using multiple traditional communication platforms.

Keywords: Knowledge, Awareness, Public Health, Adolescent beggars, Kaduna

Introduction

Nigeria is faced with issues such as poverty, corruption, starvation, insurgency, and diseases. Out of these, the disease is at the center stage claiming millions of lives. With the reality of Sexually Transmitted Infections and contagious diseases such as Syphilis, Gonorrhea, Chlamydia, Typhoid, Malaria, Cholera and others including HIV/Aids; the task of propagating public health awareness and access to good health care became paramount towards ensuring effective and sustained health availability in Nigeria. (Nigerian National Reproductive Health 2006:9).

Public health refers to all organized measures (whether public or private) to prevent diseases, promote health, and prolong life among the population as a whole (WHO, 2010). Public health is a lifetime concern for both women and men from infancy to old age. The activities are aimed to provide conditions in which people can be healthy and it focuses on entire populations, not on individual patient or disease.

Efforts were been made by International organizations such as UNICEF, UNAIDS and the Nigerian government/non-governmental organizations such as the Federal Ministry of Information, Federal Ministries of Education and Health, National Agencies such as NACA, CDCP, ADI and CEREHAD towards creating awareness of health-related issues in Nigeria.
Unfortunately, there are people who have been kept in the dark concerning this very important issue. Sadly, these people are adolescents; the ‘Almajiri’. They are young rural Nigerian boys still in their formative years, who attend Qur’anic school living with Malams (Qur’anic teachers) in cramped conditions and abject poverty. These set of young people roam around begging for their sustenance as such vulnerable and exposed to dangers and diseases of all kinds.

Their educational system was criticized by several scholars with respect to overpopulation, obsolete curriculum, unqualified teachers, inadequate learning materials, hunger, and unfavorable environment (Aliyu, 2000). Unlike their peers, the Almajiris are not under the care of their parents, do not attend conventional schools where public health issues are part of the curriculum, do not freely have access to hospitalsclinics and don’t have access to different sources of information. If at all health intervention campaigns on public health are targeted at them, then this study intends to understand how it usually reached out to them.

**Statement of the Problem**

Public health awareness and knowledge are linked to human right and sustainable development. When such needs are not met, individuals are deprived of the right to make crucial choices of their own bodies, their families’ welfare and future generations. Cumulatively, the denial of these rights exacerbates puberty and inequality (UNFP, 2006).

The task of ensuring public health awareness and care is paramount towards achieving a healthy Nigeria. Unfortunately, an important group of people who are the potential Nigerians of tomorrow is completely left out in the dark which is posing dangers and loss of lives that could have been prevented. Adolescent is generally vulnerable to diseases and they constitute an alarming number of overall diseases such as malaria, typhoid meningitis, hepatitis, STD’s and HIV/Aids victims.

Hence, the general objective of the study is to assess the Almajiri knowledge of public health. The specific objectives include the following:

1. To determine the level of knowledge concerning public health among the Almajiris.
2. To find out the sources of information on public health and
3. To examine the effectiveness of their source of information on public health

This study is significant to the government and the general public, prompting them to their civic responsibility on informing the younger ones in the society; especially on matters concerning health. Health intervention programmers will also found it helpful when channeling their campaigns targeted at adolescents. Academics/researchers will also find it useful as a reference for future research work towards better understanding Almajiris behaviors.

**REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

**Adolescents and Public health**

Fitness is a state of complete physical mental and social well-being in all matters relating to the reproductive systems, at all stages of life. It is also defined as a state of complete physical and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity in all matters relating to the body system and its function and processes”. (International Conference on Population and Development Program of Action, 1994) Adolescents could be defined in terms of physical development, in other words, the age span that begins with a pre-puberty growth spurt and ends with the attainment of

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full physical maturity or, from a psychological perspective, which starts with puberty. (Status of Adolescent and Young Adults in Nigeria, 2012:268). This category of people which range from 12, 13 to 18 years of age are greatly vulnerable for they are yet to attain a high level of wisdom for what they see, is what they tend to believe (Ibid).

A healthy life is now considered to be a basic human right for all and is protected by two bodies of law: human rights law and humanitarian law. The foundations of such laws were established in the two fundamental right treaties where the United Nations (UN) Charter adopted in 1945 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948. All of them ensure individuals rights to health issues (Grard and Waldinan, 2000).

Young people especially adolescents have limited access to relevant health services and where the services are available to them, the non-friendly nature of these facilities to them limits their utilization. This consequence has made them to prefer discussing such issues of special concern such as sexually transmitted diseases and others with friends or peers even with the availability of other sources such as radio, television, print materials, places of worship, hospitals and teachers as an avenue for them to gather information on public health (Gender and Socio-Cultural Factors, 2004:11).

Bledsoc (1993) added that attempting to address the unavailability of health information to youths in sub-Saharan Africa is due to the fact that inadequate systems are not yet in place to reach all the adolescents in need of it and unfortunately, families are often ill-equipped to fill the gap by educating their children about it, that in fact, some parents play no role in educating their children on health issues particularly STD’s and Reproductive health.

World Health Organizations (2006) posits that seeking information from uninformed sources may place adolescents at health risk and to protect the upcoming generation, the utilization of peer health education has been recommended.

Sunmula et al (2002) in a research on reproductive sexual and contraceptive behavior of adolescents in Niger state, Nigeria said “majority of the respondents obtained related information on reproductive health, sexual diseases prevention and care outside the immediate families; teachers (25.6%); friends (13.3%) and medical personnel (21.7%) only (8.4%) of the respondents obtained such information from their parents.

Pate and Umar (2002) posit that adolescents have various sources of information regarding public health which include radio, television, newspaper, school, magazines, churches, mosques, peers, parents, neighbor and health workers but that unfortunately, there is significant difference between rural and urban adolescents in terms of their individual sources and preferences” for example, respondents in the urban areas tend to rely more on television and magazines their rural counterparts who depend more on radio and interpersonal source of information.

The Almajiri System of Education

Almajiri is a Hausa word which originates from an Arabic word ‘Al-Muhajiroun’ meaning ‘emigrant’. It is like the Madarassas in Central Asia, a system of Muslim education that dates back several centuries (Ibid).

Almajirici coined from the word Almajiri is a cultural practice of education whereby young rural boys, still in their formative years, attend Qur’anic school in urban areas with Malams (Qur’anic teachers), in cramped conditions and abject poverty which is predominant in Hausa speaking areas of Northern Nigeria (Journal of Development and Society, 2001:46).
The schools run parallel to the national educational system, thus making the pupils unable to communicate effectively as Nigerian citizens. They beg on streets and houses for their sustenance which makes them vulnerable to dangers and disease and also place them at the mercy of others (National Council for the Welfare of the Destitute, 2000:31).

Among the attributes of the Almajiri system of education are:-

1. Unqualified teachers who are usually chosen based on their fluency in reciting the Qur'an, Islamically knowledgeable and upright but the assessment is usually within the assessment of the people within his proximity (Aliyu 2000:150).
2. Inadequate learning materials due to prevalent poverty to the lack of morals are an additional point that describes Almajiri system.
3. Hunger is said to be a strong force in deviating the concentration and understanding of these Almajiris (Oladele, 1998).
4. The medium of instruction is Arabic and local language normally Hausa language makes them unable to write and speak the national language English or read and write their language using English alphabets.

Taiwo (1991:176) observed that the system of Almajiri education has been in existence for centuries long before the advent of western education and have produced religious reformers, judges, rulers, and scholars. He was emphatic that the Almajiri is a powerful vehicle for the transmission of culture among the Hausa people. But an article published in the ‘Daily trust’ newspaper on 14th July, 2004 posts that Almajiris are no longer seen for what they once were ‘scholars’ but ‘beggars’ and that today Sokoto which is regarded as home of caliphate (cradle of Islamic history) of Nigeria, has found itself confronted with the problem of street begging. That it is hard to differentiate between an Almajiri who is expected to be a scholar and a destitute on the streets as both wear dresses that could be referred to as indecent.

Ways of solving this degrading reality are:-

1. Sensitization of parents and qur’anic teachers to their responsibilities towards their children/wards.
2. Government, communities and NGO’s should collaborate in providing alternative acceptable means of livelihood.

Theoretical Frame Work

This study adopts the knowledge gap theory which was propounded in 1970 by Philip J. Tichenor (Associate Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication), George A. Donohue (Professor of sociology) and Clarice N. Olien (an instructor in Sociology). The theory posits that “the infusion of mass media information into a social system increases higher socio-economic status segment so that gap in knowledge between them and lower socio-economic increases rather than decrease”. In simple words it means, the information-rich get richer when reading and watching television on new reports whereas those with relatively less background knowledge gain information at a comparatively less rate and so as a result, knowledge gap also widens and the people of the higher economic class gain the benefits move. If information services are not made equal to the entire society, this gap of information increases over the years. The
theory assumes that the followings are the reasons for the gap existences between the two groups

1. Communication skills and understanding of information become easier to a reason with the more educational background.
2. Stored information, that is an educated person is exposed to much more topics than a less educated person hence even awareness is more.
3. Relevant social contact which means a person with more education has more social integration and more understanding of public issues.
4. Selective exposure, that is an educated person knows well how to use medium while the other with no knowledge is unlikely to know it.
5. Media target market which means that for any information, a certain segment is usually targeted, normally higher strata of the society and hence the lower strata remain less aware.

This theory is very relevant to this study and fits the framework. Could the Almajiris be described as ‘information rich’ or ‘information poor’ concerning issues of public health even though they are situated in urban areas? Whatever the case, is the media responsible for this and in what way? With the obvious lack of health campaigns, exposure and technological advancements coupled with literacy and poverty, the Almajiris could be below the gap.

**Research Method**

This is essentially a survey research conducted in Kaduna, Rigachikun area. 4 Almajiri schools (tsangaya) were selected among which 40 (10 each from the 4 selected schools) respondents were randomly selected to form the sample size. This is to enable the researcher to cover different almajiri schools (tsangaya).

The interview was adopted as the research instrument of data gathering to give the researcher the opportunity to ask limitless questions and because the respondents were illiterates, hence their responses were translated into English language and coded.

The data gathered was analyzed and presented using typology method of data analysis. According to Lofland and Lofland (n.d), typology method data analysis is a classification system taken from patterns, themes, or other kinds of groups of data. The list of categories for this research includes knowledge of public diseases and sources of information on public health

**Findings and Discussions**

All the respondents interviewed showed varying degrees of slightly informed orientation concerning public diseases. Varied questionable sources of information were mentioned which signifies the inadequacy of the knowledge.

1. **Knowledge of public diseases**

37(92.5%) are aware of what public health means and were able to mention some diseases. However, the level of the knowledge is limited and scanty they seem to have a broader understanding of the terms but not specific. Respondents were able to mention diseases such as malaria, typhoid, cholera, HIV/AIDS but no other important ones such as Hepatitis, meningitis, STI’s. Knowledge of STI’s was shallow as only HIV was mentioned among 7 respondents as a disease and to them, sex is the only cause. Other diseases mentioned were also believed to be simple diseases according to them. They mentioned traditional medicines such as “Dilbejiya” “Madaciya” (Neem tree leaves and skin) as medication for the diseases.
Although 20 (50%) emphasized on good hygiene as a way of prevention, the other ones (42.5%) are completely silent about it, may be due to their age (10-12 years) or because they don’t see it as important.

When asked about certain names of diseases like the Hepatitis, Gonorrhea, Syphilis, Meningitis, Ulcers and so on which were not mentioned by the respondents, 12 (30%) said they never heard of them while 25 (62.5%) struggled to say something about it in Hausa like ‘Ciwon sanyi (Syphilis)’, ‘Gyambon ciki (Ulcer)’, ‘Sankarau (Meningitis)’.

3 (7.5%) revealed disturbing answers as they portrayed ignorance of the term ‘public health’ revealing that they cannot keep fit because it’s against their tradition and it will prevent them from concentrating on their Quranic memorization. Not bathing, washing plates or washing their clothes is part of their belief that it will make them materialistic. When the terms were simplified to them, they found it inconceivable especially STI’s. The common diseases like Malaria and Typhoid to them are caused by evil spirits and they don’t take it as serious diseases. This could be because of their age (10-11) or because of their cultural background (2 Hausa natives from Jigawa state and 1 Fulani from Wuro dole of Yola state). They seem to be aware of the hospital and its function but didn’t mention it as their source of information on health issues.

On this, the researcher found that age, background, and location of tsangaya determine the level of knowledge. This is because out of the 40 respondents, 27 out of which their age lies between 12-15 years are more aware of the topic than their counterparts who younger. Their age may also be the reason why they comprehend the terms used for the diseases easily. They seem to be freer and even helped in explaining to the other respondents. Background, on the other hand, can be why those respondents from places like Kano, Jigawa, Katsina are a little conversant with common diseases than their counterparts who come from rural settlements.

It is disturbing to know that, these sets of people lack adequate knowledge of the disease. If they don’t know about them, how can they prevent themselves?

2. Sources of Information on Public Health

Out of the 37 respondents that are aware of public health, 12 (32.4%) attributed their source of information to their Malams in the schools and bosses (people they work for in houses or businesses). 5 (13.5%) attributed their sources of information to be other than their Tsangaya, mostly from fellow pupils (8.1%), during house visitation (2.7%), marketplaces, or by chance (2.7%). 20 (54%) attributed their source of knowledge to media with only radio and television as the sources. Only 2 respondents mentioned newspapers (Jarida) that can be a source of information, but they don’t really have access to it. None of the respondent’s accounts to health care providers like hospitals/clinics as a source information or knowledge on health issues, nay do they mention any health intervention campaign or program. This has no doubt explains why this important person is not adequately informed about public health and diseases. They lack effective sources of information and health campaigns/intervention programs targeted at adolescents groups to which they belong are not rooted or channeled properly at them.

Discussion of Findings, Conclusion, and Recommendations

Results revealed disturbing information as these sets of people because of their peculiar nature and living standard are not adequately informed about these issues.
Their sources of information on health issues are inappropriate as it is mostly a mere say without any professional assistance. Although about 20% account for the media as their sources of information, the fact that they don’t possess one person also limits the information they can get. None of the respondents mentioned hospital and health programs. This is disturbing as it probes to the assumption of the theory used. That information is targeted at the information rich and not to the information poor thereby widening the gap between them. The Almajiris regarded as information poor are further left out of such information because the proper channel to reach them was not used; instead their counterparts, who are privileged to be with their parents, attend schools and hospitals and who have the media at home and even at their fingertips are becoming more and more information reach leaving them behind.

This also supports Pate and Umar (2002) study which posited that there is significant difference between rural and urban adolescents in terms of their individual sources and preferences” for example, respondents in the urban areas tend to rely more on television and magazines their rural counterparts who depend more on radio and interpersonal source of information. In this case, even though the Almajirî’s who happened to be situated in the urban areas are limited to certain sources of information as a result of their educational institution, lack of parenting and so on. It also supports a study by Sunmula et al (2002) who found that “majority of the respondents in a study at Niger, obtained related information on reproductive health, sexual diseases prevention and care outside the immediate families; teachers (25.6%); friends (13.3%) and medical personnel (21.7%) only (8.4%) of the respondents obtained such information from their parents. Although the hospital was not mentioned in this study, the fact that these adolescents get their information outside their family members, and rely on teachers, friends, and media validates his findings. Thus, the study recommends that:

1. More extensive research is done on this theme to fully understand the level of ignorance especially on sensitive issues such as STD’s/HIV aids.
2. The Malams of the Almajiri schools is sanitized and taught of the importance of public health and its awareness and knowledge among the Almajiris so that their method of teaching and curriculum will be updated to include these issues.
3. Strategic and targeted awareness creation and sensitization programs in local schools among the Almajiris, using multiple traditional communication platforms.

References


THE EFFECT OF JAMA’ATU AHLUSSUNNAH LIDDA’AWATI WAL-JIHAD INSURGENCY ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF YOBE STATE

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Abstract
Since Nigeria transition to democratic rule on 29th May 1999, it has witnessed a number of security challenges associated with herdsmen and farmers clashes, ethno-religious conflicts, Biafra agitation, militancy, kidnapping, piracy, political assassinations and armed robbery. However, the Jama’atu Ahlusssunnah Lidda’awati wal-Jihad (hereafter referred as Boko Haram) uprising in July 2009 spawned new security challenges in the country. This paper analyses the emergence of Boko Haram and examine to what extent insurgency by the Boko Haram sect has affected socio-economic development of Yobe State and the efforts of government in addressing the insurgency. To achieve this objective, the quantitative survey methodology was adopted. A sample of 360 respondents were selected and administered with self-administered questionnaire in three main Local Government Areas of Yobe State through the multi-stage sampling techniques. The primary data obtained from respondents were analysed using frequency distribution and simple percentage. The paper also utilizes secondary data in the review of relevant literature. The data were sourced from books, journals, official reports, newspapers and online publications. The Structural violence theory was used as the theoretical framework for the paper. The paper argues that poverty, unemployment and bad governance are not the only causes of the emergence and motivations of Boko Haram insurgency but also corrupted values, ignorance, religious fundamentalism and fanaticism. Hence, the paper recommends among others that government should invoke dialogue; amnesty and bilateral and multilateral instruments to address the insurgency and invest heavily in human development to respond to the challenges of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment.

Keywords: Dialogue, Human Development, Religious fundamentalism, Security, Structural Violence

Introduction
Since Nigeria transition to democratic rule on 29th May 1999, it has witnessed a number of security challenges associated with herdsmen and farmers clashes, ethno-religious conflicts, Biafra agitation, militancy, kidnapping, piracy, political assassinations and armed robbery. However, the Jama’atu Ahlusssunnah Lidda’awati wal-Jihad (hereafter referred as Boko Haram) uprising in July 2009 spawned new security challenges in the country. In short, Boko Haram insurgency has grown to such a level that Nigeria is today rated by the 2014 Global Terrorism Index as the fourth most insurgency affected country in the world after Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan with Syria following Nigeria. As a result, Nigeria has had the fourth highest
number of deaths from terrorism over the last three years (GTI, 2014). Boko Haram (which translates literally to: “western education is a sin”) main declared goals are to overthrow the Nigerian government and institute Sharia law (Walker, 2012:2).

The devastating socio-economic effects of Boko Haram’s serial killings, sporadic bombings, suicide attacks, kidnappings, vandalism and clashes between the group and security agents especially in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa are horrendous. Over nine million people have been indirectly affected by the Boko Haram insurgency while more than three million others are directly affected and are in dire need of humanitarian relief assistance according to the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) of Nigeria.

Boko Haram insurgency has not only disrupted social and economic activities in North East Nigeria but also killed over 17,000 people, the enslavement of thousands of girls and women and the displacement of at least 2.2 million internally displaced people (IDP) since it waged it campaign to install its own version of Sharia law in Northern part of Nigeria and the country in general. It is against this backdrop that this research aims to ascertain to what extent these actions by Boko Haram insurgents have affected socio-economic development in Yobe State and the efforts of Nigerian government in addressing the insurgency.

This study raised the following questions

i. How did Boko Haram emerge?
ii. What is the basis of Boko Haram?
iii. To what extent has Boko Haram insurgency affected the socio-economic development of Yobe State?
iv. How best can the Boko Haram insurgency be addressed in Yobe State?

Conceptual Clarification

Insurgency can be defined as “the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify, or challenge political control of a region”. Insurgents seek to subvert or displace the government and completely or partially control the resources and population of a given territory. They do so through the use of force (including guerilla warfare, terrorism, and coercion/intimidation), propaganda and subversion. It is also the act of rising in rebellion against an existing government or taking part in active and forcible opposition or resistance to a constituted authority. Traditionally however, insurgencies seek to overthrow an existing order with one that is commensurate with their political, economic, ideological or religious goals (Gompert and Gordon, 2008).

Development is about creating an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. Here, the end is the pursuit of human wellbeing to achieve a higher quality of life for all people (United Nations; 1987). Specifically, the concept of development depicts general improvement in human conditions. It is an attack on the chief evils confronting the modern world today; malnutrition, illiteracy, unemployment, diseases, slums, inequality and insecurity. Hence, Socio-economic

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393 See Micro-level Conflict Analysis in Five States of North Eastern Nigeria.
development is the process of social and economic development in a society. Socio-economic development is measured with indicators, such as GDP, life expectancy, literacy and levels of employment.

**Yobe State** “the pride of the sahel” is a state located in North Eastern part of Nigeria. A mainly agricultural state, it was created on August 27, 1991. Yobe State was carved out of Borno State. The capital of Yobe State is Damaturu. Yobe State consists of 17 local government areas (LGAs). The population is mainly Muslim. Sharia law is applicable although not upheld and Boko Haram is active. 

**Emergence of Boko Haram**

It is not clear precisely when Boko Haram emerged in the Northern part of the country as there are series of conflicting reports on its emergence. Most local and foreign media trace its origin to 2002, when Mohammed Yusuf emerged as the leader of the sect (Onuoha, 2012:2).

However, information at the disposal of the different security agencies pieced together by Sunday Tribune of 12th February, 2012 indicated that:

Contrary to the widely-held belief that Boko Haram started around 2002, the group has been existing since 1995. The group was said to be operating under the name Shabaab, Muslim Youth Organization. It flourished as a non-violent movement; it operated from the Indimi Mosque, located along Damboa Road, Maiduguri, Borno State and had Mallam Abubakar Lawal as leader and Mallam Usman as secretary. It was learnt that in 1999, Lawal left Nigeria for further studies at the University of Medina, Saudi Arabia, thereby yielding the leadership of the group to Mustapha Modu Jon, commonly called Mohammed Yusuf. When Yusuf took over as the leader of the Boko Haram sect, he abandoned the gradualist method of his former boss. He established his own mosque in an area called Railway Quarters in Maiduguri, while also extending his preaching to the mosques located at Kandahar, Unguwar Doki (near Monday Market) and Millionaire’s Quarters. He recruited more violent members of his faith and converted some youth who abandoned their studies to join the group. Since then, the sect has metamorphosed under various names like the Muhajirun, Nigerian Taliban, Yusufiyyah and Jama’atu Ahlusunnah lidda’awati wal-Jihad (Danjibo, 2009:15 & Onuoha, 2012:2).

According to Kyari Mohammed as cited in Abdul Raufu (2014) the group underwent three distinct and yet overlapping phases in its evolution. The first was the Kanamma Phase (2003-2004); it started when a group of about 200 young men, including many followers of Mohammed Yusuf decided to disengage from the secular state and established a revolutionary Islamic community in the rural setting of Kanamma in Geidam local government of Yobe State on the Nigeria-Niger border. The people around Damaturu neighborhood dubbed the group “The Nigerian Taliban”, though there is no evidence that they had any links to the Taliban or other international jihadists. Between December 2003 and October 2004, the group launched a series of deadly attacks on police stations and government buildings in Kanamma, Babbangida and Damaturu in Yobe State; Gwoza and Bama in Borno State; and the Mandara

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396 See www.yobestate.gov.ng
397 Taliban is a Sunni Islamic Fundamentalist political movement in Afghanistan.
Mountains along the Nigeria-Cameroun Border. Clashes with the Nigerian military ensued, leading to heavy casualties on both sides and the flushing out of the group from their rural redoubts. Mohammed Yusuf, blamed by the Nigerian government for the insurrection, fled to Saudi Arabia.

The second phase, daawa (radical proselytization) phase (2005-2009), started after Mohammed Yusuf returned from his self-imposed exile in Saudi Arabia in 2005 and ended with the suppression of Boko Haram proper in July 2009. This period was devoted to intensive proselytization, recruitment, indoctrination, and radicalization of its members. This phase involved extensive criticism of the extant secular system; debates with opposing ulama (clerics) on the propriety or otherwise of Western education, Westernisation, democracy, and secularism; and unceasing criticism of the corruption and bad governance under Governor Ali Modu Sheriff (2003-2011) of Borno State as well as the conspicuous consumption and opulence of the Western-educated elite in the midst of poverty.

The third phase began with the 2009 suppression of the movement and the killing of its leadership in gory and barbaric form by Nigerian security agencies. Boko Haram declared an offensive anti-government revolution in July 2009 when police barracks and prisons in Bauchi, Kano, and Maiduguri were attacked almost simultaneously. The fighting lasted from 26 - 30 July 2009. During this phase of the rebellion, over 800 people were killed in Maiduguri alone mainly the sect’s members and hundreds of them were also arrested and detained for formal trial. Their leader, Mohammed Yusuf, was finally captured at his residence. After a few hours in police custody, Yusuf was brutally murdered in what appeared to have been an extrajudicial killing, although police officials claimed that he was killed while trying to escape. Abubakar Shekau, a former deputy to Yusuf took control of the group after Yusuf’s death in 2009 (Onuoha, 2012:3).

After the third phase, Boko Haram went underground, re-organised, and resurfaced in 2010 with a vengeance. They not only targeted their perceived opponents, but indiscriminately attacked security officials, politicians associated with the ruling All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP) government in Borno State including two gubernatorial candidates of the party, and resorted to bombing high profile targets in Abuja such as the Nigerian Police (NPF) Headquarters as well as UN building, in June and August 2011 respectively. As the military crackdown intensified, they became desperate and more militant, thereby resorting to more desperate measures, which they had despised in the past, such as burning of school buildings, attacking telecommunications base stations, killing and kidnapping of foreigners, slaughtering as opposed to shooting of opponents, and killing of health officials at routine vaccination clinics, as well as random shooting of pupils and teachers at schools (Kyari, 2014).

However, the emergence of the militant sect cannot be understood without reference to the social, religious, economic, and political milieu of northern Nigeria (Pham, 2012:1). Eric Guttschuss told IRIN News that Yusuf successfully attracted followers from unemployed youth “by speaking out against police and political corruption” (Farouk, 2012:2). Also, Abdulkarim Mohammed added that violent uprisings in
Nigeria are ultimately due to “the fallout of frustration with corruption and the attendant social malaise of poverty and unemployment” (Cook, 2011:3) 398

**Basis of Boko Haram Insurgency**

The basis of *Boko Haram* is that, they have ideology that slightly differs from the secular world. *Boko Haram* ideology is that western secular education is Islamically prohibited and that there should be another system of education based purely on the teaching of the Qur'an and Sunnah as understood by the earliest generations of Muslims without any attempt to provide for alternative curriculum for this system of education (DCCN, 2009:10). According to Bilal Philips as cited in Amina (2014), *Boko Haram* is a clear example of ignorance; they see western education as being the downfall of Muslims. Education and knowledge are from two basic sources, either they are revealed (revelation from God) or they are acquired by human beings. Both come from God, this is the philosophy that should be follow and that the acquired knowledge in some instances maybe more important than the revealed knowledge. But as a basic foundation all Muslims should be aware of the revealed knowledge but the acquired knowledge is necessary knowledge which a Muslim must have in order to function in the modern world. Suicide bombings is completely unacceptable in Islam, the religion of Islam does not preach violence. However, the irony of the group is that they publicly extols its ideology despite the fact that its founder and former leader Muhammad Yusuf was himself an educated man who lived a lavish life and drove a Mercedes Benz (Bartolotta, 2011:3). It is interesting to observe that members of the sect who are condemning Western education are using some of the best scientific equipment for their criminal operations. Are those scientific items not product of Western education?

Also, what is less understood about *Boko Haram* is the ideology that its three main leaders espoused before 2010, including late founder Yusuf, Shekau, and the Cameroonian Muhammad (Mamman) Nur; who according to the Nigerian media and State Security Service (SSS) masterminded the August 2011 bombing of the UN Headquarters in Abuja after receiving training in Somalia. Before 2010, they were all salafist imams preaching mostly in the Ibn Taymiyya Mosque in Maiduguri (Zenn, 2013). Listening to the recordings of their speeches in Hausa and Kanuri languages, two dominant languages in North Eastern part of Nigeria, helps the researcher understand *Boko Haram* ideology at a time when its leaders were speaking candidly and not issuing the type of propaganda that the group has issued since launching the insurgency.

In *Boko Haram* videos and statements, Shekau and his spokesmen have tried to explain away and even justify the deaths of innocent Muslims in *Boko Haram* attacks. That Christians, the Nigerian government and security forces, and the United States, including president Obama, have become their main enemies is clear in *Boko Haram’s* messaging (Zenn, 2013). Below are the key characteristics of Yusuf, Shekau, and Nur’s sermons from 2009, or earlier.

**Yusuf:**

There is no doubt Yusuf organized and transformed the ideological basis of *Boko Haram* before his execution in 2009. His sermons suggest that there is a need for the spiritual and moral renewal of Muslims in Nigeria and that the

398 See appendix 1 for empirical data on the perspectives of respondents from Yobe state on the causes of *Boko Haram.*
current Muslim leadership has failed them. His statements show that he was a salafist and sympathizer of Osama bin Laden and the Taliban. He rejected secularism and western civilization, and he was committed to jihad to cleanse the Nigerian state of corruption and impunity, while also seeking to establish an independent Islamic state within Nigeria (Zenn, 2013). Before his death, Yusuf reiterated the group’s objective of changing the current education system and rejecting democracy. He said education “spoils the belief in one God” (Bumah, 2009). Orthodox Islam according to Yusuf frowns at Western education and working in the civil service because it is sinful. Hence, for their aim to be achieved, all institutions represented by government including security agencies like police, military and other uniformed personnel should be crushed (Tell, 10th August, 2009:34).

Shekau:
Shekau comes across as a very persuasive speaker, excellent in classical Arabic and well versed in Islamic scholarship. He could be regarded as the key thinker and ideological weaver of the group, especially where his sermons show a synthesis of local salafist preaching with calls for international jihadism and breaking down the Western and U.S.-led world order. He venerates hard line salafists from Ibn Taymiyya to Osama Bin Laden, and his sermons suggest that he is a political instrumentalist who manipulates religious memory to advance jihad in the modern day against the Nigerian government (Zenn, 2013).

Nur:
Nur believes Nigerian Muslims must counter secularism in Nigeria in every way possible, including jihad, and he speaks out against what he believes is the domination of the Muslim world by the West. Nur symbolizes the crossroads of Boko Haram from local salafism into international jihadism, which is consistent with the attack he allegedly masterminded on the United Nation Headquarters in Abuja (all other Boko Haram attacks up to that point were on Nigerian targets) (Zenn, 2013).

Below are the perspectives of respondents from Yobe state on the goal of Boko Haram.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To topple the government</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To establish Islamic State</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To secure ground for Alqaeda</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From the table above, 48.1% of the respondents believe that the goal of Boko Haram is to topple the government, 40% believe is to establish Islamic State, while 11.9% believed is to secure ground for Al–Qaeda terrorist group.

Theoretical Framework
Structural Violence Theory was adopted for the study. Structural violence is a term commonly ascribed to Johan Galtung, which he introduced in the article “Violence, Peace, and Peace Research” in 1969. It refers to a form of violence where some social structure or social institution may harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs. Structural violence and direct violence are said to be highly interdependent, including family violence, racial violence, hate crimes, terrorism, genocide, and war. It suggests how economic deprivation, class discrimination and societal injustice prevent citizens from reaching their full potential.

The awareness that a lack of economic, social and/or political development feeds into the structural factors conducive to terrorism is not new; it already played a prominent role in the first ever resolution adopted by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly (GA) on counter-terrorism in 1972 (GA Resolution 3034). In fact, the logic of the structural violence paradigm, as advocated by its chief proponent Johan Galtung, underscores how socio-cultural systems, political structures and state institutions act as indirect instigators of violence. Individual and group grievances, such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, discrimination, and economic marginalization, can be used as mobilizing instruments by sinister groups to find support and recruits for terrorist violence. The relevance of this can also be understood in terms of societal challenges that are increasingly being conceptualized within the framework of human security.

This is the central government argument that led Ted Robert Gurr’s (1970) relative deprivation these addressed in saying that:

The greater the discrepancy, however marginal between what is sought and what seems attainable the greater will be the chances that anger and violence will result (Ted, 1970).

As argued by Jonnie Carson, Boko Haram thrives on “popular frustrations with leaders, poor government service delivery, and the deteriorating living conditions of many northerners. Similarly, in a research conducted by World Bank in respect of Niger-Delta crisis view poverty as one of the key causes of conflict when it stated that the major cause of conflict is the failure of economic development such that many of the world’s poorest countries are locked in a tragic vicious cycle where poverty causes conflict and conflict causes poverty (Punch Newspaper, 2007). This extreme poverty leads to vulnerability and insecurity and while poverty does not always lead to terrorism, terrorism does take advantage of misery, knowing that despair creates favorable conditions for terrorist projects and action.

Data Presentation and Analysis

A total of three hundred and sixty (360) questionnaires were distributed to residents of Damaturu, Potiskum and Bade local government areas of Yobe State. A total of (320) questionnaire were obtained from the data collection process and analyzed for this research. The respondent population comprised 56.25% males and 43.75% females, thus the gender difference amongst the respondents can be considered not very wide.

Chart 1:
The above analysis shows that 9% of the respondents are within the age of 18-24, 20% are within the age of 25-35, 33% are within the age of 36-40 while 37% falls within the age 41 and above.

Chart 2:

Source: Field survey 2014

From the table above, 15.6% respondents are civil servants, 9.4% are Businessmen, 9.4% are Farmer, 15.6% (50) are students, 12.5% are self-employed, 15.6% (50) are unemployed, 9.4% are religious leaders and about 12.5% are Housewives.

The Effect of Boko Haram Insurgency on the Socio-Economic Development of Yobe State

The effect of Boko Haram insurgency is tremendous not only to Yobe State but Nigeria in general. Boko Haram has subjected Yobeans to a number of mass atrocities including destruction of livelihoods, forced migration, kidnapping, injury, and mass murder. Various shocks and stresses due to heightened insecurity have changed the livelihoods and economic activities of communities throughout Yobe State, resulting in significant demographic and population changes and new patterns of settlement – Muslims moving to Muslim dominated areas and Christians migrating to Christian dominated areas more especially in the state capital Damaturu. People were denied the choice of exercising their natural freedom of movement due to fear of attack from members of Boko Haram. It should also be noted that the activities of Boko Haram have made some Nigerian Graduates who are serving the Nation under the scheme of National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) to reject being posted to Yobe State.

On the economy, individuals and families as well as establishments have lost so much. You cannot have a good economy in an atmosphere of fear and this is a natural
correlation. The state government has spent so much managing this crisis (Hamza, 2013). It is difficult to state the extent to which it has impacted on business as would be investors are now wary of visiting the state. In Yobe State, foreigners and Nigerians from the Southern part have abandoned their business, house and jobs, while companies have relocated. Also, there is mass exodus of non-indigenes, whose contributions to the economy of Yobe State is enormous. This reduces government revenue and tax because those fleeing the insurgency included from laborers and farmers to educated professionals, tradesmen, and businessmen (John & IRIN, 2013).

Apart from the loss of lives, there is also the wanton destruction of property worth several billions of naira through bombing (Oluwaseun, 2012). No wonder the Nation Newspaper (2013) reported about the activities of Boko Haram thus:

Borno and neighbouring Yobe State – the epicenter of the activities of the sect have been crippled economically. Thousands of people have died in the sect’s bloody campaign.

Yobe State Government revealed that it had expended over N7 billion on securities of lives and property in the state since the commencement of Boko Haram insurgency that have claimed many lives and property (Hamza, 2013). Over 200 patrol vehicles have been procured and distributed to security operatives; while N200 million were also expended on logistics and monthly allowances and other needs of security operatives in the state. The state Government is rebuilding public structures destroyed by the insurgency, which include 209 classrooms worth over N2.5 billion, while private houses worth N629 million were also destroyed (Michael, 2013).

Below are the perspectives of respondents from Yobe state on the effect of Boko Haram Insurgency in the state.

**Table 2: Boko Haram insurgency has negatively affected the socio-economic development of Yobe State.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>61.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source: Field survey, 2014.**

From the above table, 61.9% of the total respondents strongly agree to the negative effect of Boko Haram on social-economic development of Yobe State, 30% (96) of respondents agree to that too while 2.5% (8) disagree, 1.9% also strongly disagree to that thought and 3.7% of the total respondents are not sure if it has affected the social – economic development as claimed.

**Table 3: Boko Haram insurgency has led to the loss of revenue in Yobe State.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>43.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

359
From the table above, 43.1% of the total respondents strongly agree that Boko Haram insurgency has led to the loss of revenue in Yobe State, 45% also agree to that assertion while 3.1% disagree, 0.6% strongly disagree and 8.1% were not sure of the assertion.

Educationally; low levels of education and literacy in Yobe state have been exacerbated by the Boko Haram insurgency. Attacks on Federal Government College, Buni Yadi, College of Agriculture Gujba and Government Secondary School Damaturu are symbolic attacks because the insurgents advocated that western education is forbidden as its name suggests. Below are some illustrations of devastating attacks on schools and their students and teachers across Yobe State.

- On 6 July 2013, Boko Haram attacked a government-run boarding secondary school in Mamudo, Yobe State and killed 41 students and a teacher. Some were shot while others were burnt (Lazarus Eli, 2013).
- On 16 June 2013, militants shot dead seven students and two teachers during an attack on a boarding school in Damaturu, Yobe State (“Seven Students, 4 Others Killed in Boko Haram Attacks on Damaturu” 2013).
- On 29 September 2013, Boko Haram on four-wheel-drive vehicles and motorbikes stormed student dormitories at the College of Agriculture, Gujba in Yobe State, opening fire on sleeping students and killing 40, according to police and government officials. They all wore army uniforms and were heavily armed. One of them stood by the door, shooting at students who made for the door to escape, Musa Bade, who works at the college, told IRIN.
- On 11 November 2014, a suicide bomber disguised in a school uniform carried out an attack at the Government Comprehensive Senior Science Secondary School in Potiskum, Yobe State. The explosion ripped through the secondary school as students gathered for morning assembly just before classes began. The casualties were mostly students with 49 students killed and 86 injured (Matazu et al. 2014).

In a sense, Boko Haram is achieving its core objective of discouraging parents from sending their children to school because the risks to the lives of the children are simply too high. With so many students and teachers killed, wounded or abducted due to the attacks by insurgents, there is a dramatic decline in the number of teachers and students in the school system. These attacks forced the Yobe State government to shut down schools in the state, talented teachers and students have abandoned their schools for another school in other peaceful states leading to brain drain (Nigerian Tribune, 2013). In addition, government security forces have also used schools for military purposes, further reducing children’s right to education. Abdullahi Bego told IRIN that the sect had destroyed 209 schools in Yobe. In an October 4 report, Amnesty International said that at least 70 teachers in Yobe and more than 100 school children and students have been killed or wounded. Thus, government deployed soldiers to all boarding schools in the state to guard against Boko Haram attacks. However, the troop deployment to schools only heightens fear among teachers and students because it is a constant reminder of the danger they are in, which affects them psychologically and emotionally and negatively affects teaching and learning.
No effective learning takes place in an atmosphere of fear and anxiety. Moreso, Boko Haram gunmen dress in military uniforms, which make it difficult to distinguish them from troops. Therefore, it will be difficult for the students to differentiate between Boko Haram and soldiers in the event of an attack on their school.

**Effect on IDPs**

Yobe State initially acted as a destination for IDPs from Borno State in 2012 when the insurgency was at its peak in Maiduguri. Hundreds of IDPs settled in Damaturu and Potiskum waiting for the security situation to improve. The displacement of Boko Haram from Maiduguri in 2013 led to an increase in the level of attacks in Yobe State with the resultant displacement of thousands of people in Gujba and Gulani LGAs when they are under the control of the insurgents. The attacks on these two LGAs initially led to the establishment of four IDP camps by the state government in the first quarter of 2014.

**Distribution of IDPs in Yobe States**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LGA</th>
<th>Camp</th>
<th>No. of IDPs</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gujba</td>
<td>Goniri</td>
<td>3,357</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>1,846</td>
<td>906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujba</td>
<td>Buni-Yadi/BuniGari</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>2,797</td>
<td>1,237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujba</td>
<td>Katarko</td>
<td>2,810</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>1,587</td>
<td>794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujba</td>
<td>Gujba</td>
<td>4,943</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>2,965</td>
<td>1,325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>15,810</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,353</strong></td>
<td><strong>9,195</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,262</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Micro-level Conflict Analysis in Five States of North Eastern Nigeria.*

**Table 4: Boko Haram insurgency led to massive exodus of people from Yobe State.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>46.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field survey, 2014.*

From the table above, 45.6% of the respondents strongly agree that Boko Haram insurgency led to massive exodus of people from Yobe State, 46.9% also agree while 5.6% were not sure, 1.9% disagrees and none strongly disagree.

**Health**

On 10 February 2013, three North Korean doctors were killed during a night raid in Potiskum, Yobe State by suspected Boko Haram insurgents. Witnesses said two of the doctors had their throats slit, while the third was beheaded. Before their deaths, the doctors were attending to thousands of patients that thronged the general hospital there. The incident highlights how endangered medical personnel are in the North East. Soon after the killing of the North Koreans, many local and international medical experts left Yobe, some without even notifying their employers. Yobe State has a population of 2,757,000, according to a 2011 estimate. Findings reveal that there...
are only 62 full-time doctors in the employ of the state government and 153 medical students currently doing their residency (Idris et al. 2014).

Another direct result of the insurgency has been the disruption of the transport sector. First, the insurgents have been stealing the means of transport such as cars and motorcycles. Second, the incessant raids by the insurgents and the destruction of many bridges have led to the closure of many roads. For example, the 132km Damaturu to Biu road was closed for three years due to the activities of Boko Haram. The road is vital to the economy of Yobe and Borno States considering the large scale economic activities taking place in the area. Finally, the numerous check points on the roads which were set up to ensure safety of passengers and goods in some parts of the state makes travelling tedious and time consuming. The National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) in Yobe State for example expressed its dissatisfaction with the security operations on the roads because it increased travel time as passengers and their luggage are thoroughly checked at various points which causes delays for transporters but even more importantly, has created very high levels of extortion of money from drivers by security personnel. The effect is also felt more by those involved in the transportation of passengers from the South to Yobe state and vice versa. Whether it is the 13-seater passenger bus operator or the 59-passenger luxury bus operator, the woes cut across. Before the onslaught, most operators made at least two trips per week, on their vehicles. But at the moment, they hardly make one trip per week. Indeed, the level of activity in road transport has reduced abysmally. As of now, it requires twice as much effort to get a 13-seater bus full of passengers these days. Clearly, fewer individuals are traveling northward (Suleiman, 2012).

Furthermore, agriculture which is the mainstay of the people of Yobe State has seen dark days in recent times. Hundreds of farmers that engage in small, middle and large scale farming in the state have abandoned their farms in the wake of the killings as well as the moves by security operatives to contain them (Hamza, 2013). It has become impossible for farmers to go and work in their farms far away from the metropolis because of two main reasons; first, attacks by the Boko Haram insurgency and second, fear of being arrested when security operatives are conducting cordon and search after an attack by the insurgency. It will be difficult for the security agents to differentiate between farmers and the Boko Haram insurgents because they are all civilians without clear-cut identity.

Another way in which the Boko Haram insurgency negatively affects economic development in Yobe State is in the sphere of tourism. Tourism is a viable sector with sufficient economic, socio-cultural benefits. However, for a state to reap these benefits, a state must be free of security threats. Yobe state has abundant tourist attractions and festivals exist within the area like (The famous Machina Annual Cultural Festival (MACUF), and the Bade annual fishing festival, The Birnin Gazargamu, Dokshi Spring, Tombs of the past Emirs of Fika, The Dagona Birds Sanctuary, Tulo-Tulowa and the Kaska Desert). However, due to the security challenges perpetuated by the incessant activities of Boko Haram; there is loss of revenue through decline in the patronage of various hospitals and other services.

Effect on Communication
GSM services were switched-off shortly after the declaration of a state of emergency by Goodluck Ebele Jonathan in Boko Haram-prone states of Borno, Yobe and Adamawa. The suspension of GSM communication by all the service providers in Yobe State has affected economic and social services in the state. Investigations revealed that even the security operatives find it difficult to relay on information on the activities of the insurgents. A security source in Potiskum town said, “Here in Potiskum Area Command, we do not have functional Radio Message equipment, we hardly know the happenings around us, the GSM has been switched-off, it is negatively affecting our job, even our boss travels as far as neighbouring Bauchi to talk to force headquarters” (Hamza, 2013). Another independent investigation shows that 70 per cent of the youth are engaged in GSM accessories communication business, now the suspension of GSM network in Yobe has introduced poverty, redundancy and nuisance by youth as some of them have turned to beggars. Musa Ibrahim, a GSM phone seller in Damaturu, the Yobe state capital, said, “People have been subjected to hardship and poverty; we have been disconnected from Nigeria; we feel as if we are not under a democratic rule” (Hamza, 2013).

Testing of Hypotheses

H₀ Boko Haram insurgency has not affected the socio-economic development of Yobe State.
H₁ Boko Haram insurgency has affected the socio-economic development of Yobe State.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Observed Frequency)</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
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<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>640</td>
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<table>
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<th>(Expected Frequency)</th>
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<th>II</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>120</td>
<td>240</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>640</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Chi – Square Table)</th>
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<th>Fₑ</th>
<th>F₀ – Fₑ</th>
<th>(F₀ – Fₑ)²</th>
<th>(F₀ – Fₑ)²/Fₑ</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>168</td>
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<td>900</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>-24</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-7</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Interpretation of Results

The critical value of $X^2$ is obtained as:

$$X^2_{0.05}, \text{df} = (5 - 1)(2 - 1)$$

$X^2_t = X^2_{0.05}, \text{df} = 4$

$X^2_t = 9.49$

### Conclusion

From the research conducted in the three main local government areas of Yobe State, the study argues that poverty, unemployment and bad governance are not the only causes of the emergence and motivations of Boko Haram insurgency but also corrupted values, illiteracy, ignorance, religious fundamentalism and fanaticism (see appendix 1). More so, many respondents were of the view that the deteriorating security situation in Yobe State has negatively affected the socio-economic development of the state and it has reduced the rate of internally generated revenue of the state (see table 2, 3 and 4 above). The study also shows that Boko Haram insurgency contributes to increase in deaths, internally displaced persons and forced migration. Findings further revealed that the level of funding for the management of the insurgency has increased thus affecting the development of key sectors like education and health. Also, on the counter-insurgency measures of the Nigerian government, majority of the respondents agrees that military option alone cannot serve as a solution to the insurgency in Yobe State and recommend that dialogue and amnesty are the best ways to address the insurgency (see appendix 3).

### Recommendations

- **Government should invoke dialogue and amnesty to address the insurgency.**
  
  The Federal Government should be ready to provide an option or a visible environment for engaging members of the sect in dialogue for peace. Security challenges in Nigeria cannot be adequately tackled by the use of force alone.

- **Government should urge religious groups to work together to educate their followers properly and to collaborate to fight against violent extremism.**

- **Government should invest heavily in human development to respond to the challenges of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment.** This can be achieved by modernizing agriculture and provide incentives for industrialization such as in Malaysia, India and China.

- **Design and Delivery of Robust Programme for Destitute Children.** The Nigerian government should fund appropriately the National Council for the Welfare of the Destitute (NCWD) to enable the agency formulate and implement robust rehabilitation programmes for destitute children in Nigeria.
Government at all levels, especially working through civil society organizations to design and implement effective reorientation programmes to reconnect these destitute children with their parents or provide them the necessary training that will help them function effectively in the society.

- **Enhanced Provision of Education and Literacy Programme.** Due to the high level of illiteracy in Nigeria, most young people have become easily susceptible to manipulation and recruitment into criminal and extremist groups. To reduce the number people who are likely to prey to radical preaching and recruitment into violent groups, primary and secondary education should be made free and compulsory for every child in Nigeria. Governments at all levels should further revamp their educational programs to bring sound, qualitative, and functional education to the people, especially the youths.

- **The Report of the Various Committees:** For example the Galtimari and Turaki committees set up by the Federal Government of Nigeria to look into genuine grievances of the *Boko Haram* sect and other militant groups should be implemented without further delay.

- **Reforming the Role of Traditional Leaders in peace building** to improve community policing and reduce communication gap between government and the local people.

- **Government should invoke bilateral and multilateral instruments** to address the insurgency in Sub-Saharan Africa. Government of Nigeria should intensify their efforts in cooperating with other neighboring countries to fight transborder crimes such as human trafficking and terrorism. This can possible through strategic dialogue, better intelligence gathering, sharing and application, intensification of mixed border patrols to curtail the movement of insurgents, reduction of the large amounts of weapons in circulation outside state control in the region.

**References**


20. Kilcullen, David.“Countering Global Insurgency“. 2004


Appendix 1: Causes of Boko Haram

Poverty and unemployment led to the emergence of *Boko Haram*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field survey 2014*

Bad governance led to the emergence of *Boko Haram*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From the tables above, 38.8% and 45.6% respondents strongly agree that poverty and unemployment, and bad governance are the causes of *Boko Haram*, 25% and 40% agree to the assertion while 11.2% and 4.4% disagree, 8.1% and 6.2% of the respondent strongly disagree and 16.9% and 3.8% are not sure if it is poverty and unemployment, and bad governance that led to the emergency of *Boko Haram*.

Appendix 2: Basis of Boko Haram

Religious fundamentalism and fanaticism are the basis of *Boko Haram*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field survey, 2014.*
From the table above, 29.4% of the respondents strongly agree that religious fundamentalism and fanaticism is the basis of *Boko Haram* insurgency, 25% also agree to that assertion but 15.6% disagree, 8.8% (28) strongly disagree while 21.2% of the respondents were not sure of that believe.

**Corrupted values, illiteracy and ignorance are the basis of Boko Haram.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>34.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field survey, 2014.*

The table above shows that, 34.4% of the respondents strongly agree that corrupted values and ignorance that led to *Boko Haram*, 43.7% agree to the assertion too while 5.6% disagree.

**Appendix 3: How best can the insurgency be address?**

**Military option alone cannot serve as a solution to the insurgency in Yobe State.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field survey, 2014.*

43.7% strongly agree and 36.9% also agree that Military option alone cannot serve as a solution to the insurgency in Yobe State, while 8.8% disagree, 5% also strongly disagree and just 5.6% were not sure of the assertion.

**Dialogue and amnesty are the best ways to address the insurgency.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Sure</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field survey, 2014.*

From the above table, 33.7% strongly agree and 32.5% also agree that Dialogue and amnesty are the best ways to address the insurgency, while 19.4% disagree, 8.2% also strongly disagree and just 6.3% were not sure of the assertion.
WAR AGAINST CORRUPTION AND THE POLITICAL WILL TO WAGE IT: A CASE STUDY OF PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI’S TWO YEARS IN OFFICE

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Abstract
The menace of corruption in Nigeria is systemic. No Nigerian with the least level of education can feign ignorance of what corruption connotes and how pervading it is in the socio-political and economic milieu of the Nigerian state. It has practically stationed Nigeria’s economy in the doldrums and seems irrecoverable. When Nigerian politicians promise to get rid of corruption and promote good governance in their political campaigns, it is a mere rhetoric; a handy campaign strategy to amass the thumb prints of prospective electorates at the poll. Nigerians had never read serious meaning to such promise as they did during the electoral process that brought in President Muhammadu Buhari. Nigerians so much reposed confidence in him such that thousands of kilometers trekking across some states of the federation was embarked upon by some individuals to jubilate Buhari’s victory at the poll. It is believed that once ‘corruption’ is tackled, poverty, insecurity, and unemployment will, by default, be eradicated. Barely two years into office, no single ground-breaking corruption case has been prosecuted to a logical conclusion. This paper assessed the political will of President Muhammadu Buhari to fight corruption in Nigeria. It utilized secondary source of data collection and adopted the Clashing Moral Values Theory as its theoretical framework. The paper argues that corruption cannot be wiped out of Nigeria if corruption cases were selectively prosecuted. Hence, the paper recommended among others, an uncompromisingly dogged political will to fight this war in such a way that the theatre commander (the President) will truly belongs to everybody and to nobody.

Keywords: Corruption, Political Will, Poverty, Nigeria’s Economy, Good Governance

Introduction
Nigeria, a country destined to be among the league of most developed economies in the world is still categorized as a peripheral state in the North-South division of the world system. It is one of the leading states in Africa during and after
the colonial epoch, this, for its epoch-making role in championing the cause of independence - for itself and other African states - and for its abundantly endowed human and natural resources. Not too long after independence, the political-economic landscape of Nigeria was manned by men in uniform. The military ushered in new era of indigenous colonialism – colonization from within. The military regime, as it is so called, ruled with impunity. This experience wiped away the notion of accountability and transparency from the psyches of most Nigerians while, in there place, corruption got rooted and firmly entrenched.

This culture of impunity, corruption, lack of accountability and transparency continued up to the last year of the 20th century (1999) which marked a watershed in ushering in the longest democratic regime in Nigeria. For, before 1999, all attempts at democratization were botched. However, barely two decades into democracy, Nigeria is still unfortunately democratizing at a snail’s pace. Put differently, Nigeria has not democratized. In political and social philosophy corruption is a very fundamental concept. It signifies, argues Etchegoyen (as cited in Rendtorff, 2010: 127) destruction, death and degradation of a community. It goes without saying that the Achilles hill of democracy in Nigeria is corruption as will be discussed hereunder.

**Conceptual Clarification**

According to World Bank (2006) corruption is “The abuse of public office for private gain”. Although corruption is often associated with the exchange of favors for bribes, Disch, Vigeland & Sundet (2009: 40) explain, the above definition includes nonmonetary transactions, such as nepotism and influence peddling, and actions that do not refer to exchanges, such as forgery and outright embezzlement. The United Nations Development Programme defines corruption as “the misuse of public power, office or authority for private benefit – through bribery, extortion, influence peddling, nepotism, fraud, speed money or embezzlement” (UNDP 2005).

The above definitions locate corruption in the public realm and so dovetail with Becker’s assertion that “if we abolish the state, we abolish corruption.” There is a need to include a more systemic dimension of corruption and move away from the current focus on purely private gain. Hence, Transparency International extends the “cancer” called corruption to the private sphere where it defines it as “the misuse of entrusted power for private gain” (TI 2007). The suggestion here is for such a modified definition: “The abuse of entrusted authority for illicit gain” (Disch et al., 2009: 40). This cover all transactions between actors in state and non-state spheres where the structural or positional relation between the parties may influence the outcome, but still can take account of non-transactional corruption like forgery. The concept of entrusted authority focuses on the ability to take decisions where both parties accept the legitimacy of the position to do so, whether formal (power) or informal (custom, norm). It covers individual as well as systemic corruption under neo-patrimonial systems and state capture.

UNDP classifies corruption into two types: spontaneous and institutionalized (or systemic). Spontaneous corruption is usually found in societies observing strong ethics and morals in public service. Institutionalized corruption, on the other hand, is found in societies where corrupt behaviors are perennially extensive or pervasive. In these societies, corruption has become a way of life, a goal, and an outlook towards public office (Balboa & Medalla, 2006: 3). Corruption in Nigeria is an institutionalized one. The International Monitory Fund (IMF) describes corruption as
an abuse of office or trust for private benefit: and is a temptation indulged in by not only public officials but also by those in positions of trust and authority in private enterprise or non-profit organizations (IMF, 1998). Tanzi (1995) as cited in Begovic (2005) defines corruption as the intentional non-compliance with the arm’s-length principle aimed at deriving some advantage for oneself or for related individuals from this behavior.

Not all acts of corruption, explains Tanzi (1998), result in payment of bribes. For example a public employee who claims to be sick but goes on vacation is abusing his public position for personal use. Thus, he is engaging in an act of corruption even though no bribe is paid. Or the president of a country who has an airport built in his small hometown is also engaging in an act of corruption which does not involve payment of a bribe.

It can be summarized from the foregoing definitions that corruption is an abuse of office by whatever means, overt or covert, which may include misappropriation of public treasure, acceptance of bribe in one’s capacity as public functionary, non compliance with the extant rules and regulations in appointment/nomination into public offices; selective application and non application of the arm’s length of the law against suspected and convicted criminals. The modern concept of corruption has widen to accommodate all other forms of abuse of office which may not be pecuniary, as traditionally believed, for personal, clannish or other primordial gains.

Theoretical Framework

This work adopted the Clashing Moral Values Theory which analyzes corruption at the macro level. In other words, it focuses on the societal level. The main thrust of this theory is that the fundamental cause of corruption starts with certain values and norms of society that directly influence the values and norms of individuals. These values and norms influence the behavior of individual officials, making them corrupt. From the perspective of this theory, it is observed that the present administration of President Muhammad Buhari’s determination to fight corruption has found itself being fought back by the same corruption due to clash of moral values. The President, in the light of this theory, is not after a selfish personal or pecuniary gain but he is obliged by some certain values to be corrupt in order to repay family and friends who are his unrepentant loyalists. A famous adage says; ‘for my friends everything, for my enemies nothing, and for strangers the law’ (Graaf, 2007: 54).

According to this theory, conflicts in society arise when persons see themselves in two social roles with opposing moral obligations. The macro morality of public officials requires them to treat different persons equally (this seems to be lacking in the acclaimed war against corruption by President Buhari’s regime within the period under review as will be argued later). The micro morality on the other hand requires them to favor friends wherever possible. This is what Williams and Theobald (2000), termed ‘patrimonial administration’; a situation in which the private-public boundary (micro versus macro morality), central to the (Western) concept of public administration (Weber), is blurred. Corruption is often seen ethnocentrically as a phase developing countries have to pass through before reaching maturity. Theobald (1999) averred that neo-patrimonial character is the root cause of corruption in the Third World. He warned that “There is a danger that we are simply describing symptoms rather than identifying underlying causes”.

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Corruption in Nigeria: A Historical Survey

In an attempt to trace the history of corruption, it is important to note that corruption is a global phenomenon that is not peculiar to Nigerians and Nigeria. Be that as it may, the incidence of corruption in Nigeria has made it a topical issue such that a layperson will conclude; it is peculiar to Nigeria and Nigerians. Official corruption in Nigeria could be traced to the pre-colonial era. This paper made no attempt to give historical details of incidences of corruption as other writers have sufficiently done that. It however alluded to the reality of corruption in Nigeria as far back as before the birth of Nigeria.

Corruption could be traced back to the pre-colonial era when Nigerians were bribed with different foreign goods in exchange for slaves. (Mathew, Barnabas, Isola & Joseph, 2013). Put differently, they sell out their brothers into slavery. As Ekundare (1973: 46) rightly observed; “Africans themselves offered their fellow men to be bartered for guns, gunpowder, gin, rum, beads, iron and copper bars”. Anene (1966) argued that colonialists established their empire in Nigeria on the foundation of scam and fraud through its “carrot and stick” approach which was itself manipulative and deceptive.

The wave of corruption, which, as stated above, predated colonial era; and continued through the period of colonialism up to independence and post-independence Nigeria. Corruption in Nigeria, argue Ojukwu and Shopeju (2010: 17) ‘runs rampant’ and has become synonymous with Nigeria. It has dented the image of the country so much that internationally Nigerians are commonly viewed with suspicion. Political corruption is the misuse by government officials of their governmental powers for illegitimate, usually secret, private enrichment. All forms of government, Gyekye (2003) emphasizes, are susceptible to political corruption. This ranges from bribery, extortion, cronyism, nepotism, patronage, graft and embezzlement. According to Achebe;

Nigerians are corrupt because the system they live under today makes corruption easy and profitable. They will cease to be corrupt when corruption is made difficult and unattractive. He laments that.... corruption and indiscipline is probably worst than it has ever been, because of the massive way in which the Nigerian leadership is using the nation wealth to corrupt, really to destroy, the country, so no improvement or change can happen. Corruption in Nigeria has passed the alarming and enter the fatal stage, and Nigeria will die if we continue to pretend that she is only slightly indisposed (Achebe 2012: 249).

Despite Achebe’s lamentation and seeming pessimism when he said ‘no improvement or chance can happen’; Nigerians massively voted for ‘change’ which was the campaign mantra of the political party (APC) that brought in President Muhammadu Buhari’s administration under review.

War against Corruption: Challenges

Corruption has posed serious challenges to the overall socio-political and economic development in Nigeria. In the social sphere which is heterogeneous, we are yet to have unity in diversity. The political terrain is so dreadful that it is characterized by thuggery, electoral violence, rigging, political hooliganism and assassination etc. all of which have hampered any attempt at institutionalization of democracy in the country. Nigeria is still democratizing after barely two decades of uninterrupted democracy. Corruption has negatively impacted on the Nigerian economy so much that the state loses its hallowed position in the comity of nation. It is still ranked
among the third world economies despite its huge population and immensely endowed natural resources. Military incursion into Nigeria’s political landscape in 1966 was often justified on the ground of the desire to stamp corruption out of the corridor of power (government circle); and from the Nigerians way of life. The military failed in its effort to fight corruption.

In a bid to get rid of this cancer (corruption) which has eaten deep into the fabrics of Nigerian society, successive governments have- in one way or the other- come up with different strategies to fight corruption through many anti-graft agencies. But the irony is that these agencies operate in a system where corruption is institutionalized and hence has become a culture. Mathew et al. (2013: 3) aptly observed; “the system has been such that corruption is used to check corruption by corrupting the system all the more”.

Table 1.

Regimes, Agencies and Programs against Corruption in Nigeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President/Head of State</th>
<th>Agency / Year</th>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murtala Muhammad/ Olusegun Obasanjo</td>
<td>Asset Investigation Panel</td>
<td>Operation Purge the Nation</td>
<td>1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shehu Shagari</td>
<td>Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) [no legal mandate]</td>
<td>Ethical Re-orientation Campaign (ERC), also known as Ethical Revolution (ER)</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadu Buhari</td>
<td>Special Military Tribunal Bureau</td>
<td>War Against Indiscipline (WAI)</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sani Abacha</td>
<td>Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB)</td>
<td>War Against Indiscipline and Corruption (WAIC)</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umar Musa Yar’adua</td>
<td>CCB, EFCC and ICPC.</td>
<td>Rebranding Nigerian Project</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1 shows that every government in Nigeria right from Murtala Muhammad’s administration to the present administration under review has program(s) designed to nip the cancer called corruption in the bud. The only exception is ex-President Goodluck Jonathan’s. The reason is not far fetched; it is because his administration did not consider “stealing as corruption”! From the table above, Obasanjo did not also have program to fight corruption but he created two agencies that are still in operation and will probably continue operation for some years to come. Thus, CCB, EFCC and ICPC continued functioning under subsequent administrations after their creation as agencies with the mandate to fight corruption. This is illustrated in the table. Other corruption fighting agencies are Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (NEITI), Budget Monitoring and Price Intelligence Unit (BMPIU) and Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission (NIPC).

Despite all these beautiful and appealing neologisms of programs purportedly meant to fight corruption in Nigeria, corruption resurrects—keeps coming back to life—“like a snake which was only wounded at the tail”. Corruption continues to be a serious challenge in Nigeria because of the absence of strong institutions. The agencies so far established with the sole mandate to fight corruption are yet to be institutionalized. They are more like lapdogs in the manipulative hands of the ruling party in government. A state with weak institutions, argues Tyoyila (2014: 55), will not be able to formulate laws, implement policies that will guard against corruption. He further asserts that a state like Nigeria with institutional fragility will become breeding ground for corruption. Such state, according to him, will produce corrupt leaders and other personalities that will occupy the various institutions of the state and continue to act corruptly.

**Manifestation of Corruption in President Muhammadu Buhari’s Administration**

With all the ecstasy and euphoria that greeted the emergence of President Muhammadu Buhari as the messiah that has come to deal corruption a deadly blow; corruption is said to be fighting back. Why? Because rule of law has become rule of men in Nigeria. The rule of law in Nigeria is best thought in school and agreed to in principle with no practical significance. Knuckles (2006; as cited in Tyoyila, 2014) explains that “the rule of law that exists in a country has an effect on the level of corruption in that country, but corruption in a country can have an effect on the quality of its rule of law”. In a mild disagreement with Knuckles (2006), there is nothing intrinsically wrong with the rule of law in Nigeria; it is the corrupt milieu in which it is meant to operate and the corrupt authorities that are entrusted with its application.

Nuhu Ribadu (2012; as cited in Momah, 2013) made a remark which is very germane in explaining why corruption fights back; he said: “If you are going to fight corruption, make sure you are not corrupt yourself. The reason the fight failed before is that corrupt people are fighting corruption”. If this assertion is anything to go by, and there should be no disputing it; it means the stewards of Buhari’s administration,
with few exemption, are corrupt. This is not surprising. The administration is the recycling of the previous bad eggs in President Jonathan’s administration. Hence, the vicious cycle of corruption continues.

Diagram 1 TRAJECTORY OF CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

Source: Mathew et al. (2013).

While many still hold the belief that President Buhari is incorruptible based on his antecedents, it beclouds their thought that some actions of the President breed corruption. Diagram 1 illustrates kpakpin corruption model which comprises ‘pressure’, ‘opportunity’ and ‘action’. The relationship between the three components is symmetrical. This in turn facilitates corruption and emboldens the corrupt.

These components could be internal, external or both. Internal pressure is in-built, intuitional, deliberate and premeditated in nature. Public office holders consider it an opportunity to enrich themselves before the expiration of their tenures or retirement. This galvanizes them into actions that are unethical like stealing and manipulation of public funds. External pressure on the other hand emanates from the environment outside the reach of an individual. In this case, the public office holders may not be predisposed to looting public funds but will have to succumb to pressures from friends, relatives, political acolytes, religious group members and community group members who are expecting much from them and want to be relevant by all means. In most instances, aver Mathew et al (2013: 10-11), this manifestation is as a result of trying to meet the expectations, yearnings and aspirations of the above mentioned groups rather than self aggrandizement.

Corruption has manifested in this administration in many ways. It is agreed that corruption is not all about stealing, looting and mismanaging public resources; it includes nepotism, favoritism, influence peddling, and disregard for the rule of law or its selective application. It is in this light that this paper argues that the present administration is not doing well in its fight against corruption. It continues to harp on
the misdeeds of past PDP’s 16 year administrations which culminated in the widely celebrated defeat of President Goodluck Jonathan in 2015. Some of the manifestations of corruption are highlighted in the paragraphs below.

Buhari’s government appears to be selectively dealing with corrupt people with whom he has political scores to settle and those that are considered bigwigs of the main opposition party (PDP). This is not to say that corrupt politicians of past administration should not be prosecuted but it should be within the framework of the rule of law. Take for example, the former National Security Adviser to former President Goodluck Jonathan, Sambo Dasuki, his Chief Security Officer, Obuah, and Diezani Madueke, whose house was raided and sealed after her purported arrest in London, business man, Jide Omokore, former Benue State governor, Gabriel Suswam, former Jigawa State governor, Sule Lamido and Godswill Akpabio are known high ranking members of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) or people that served in the last administration. They have been at one time or the other had things to do with the EFCC under Buhari (Matthews, 2015).

The present regime is not fighting corruption; it is fighting its symptoms and manifestations. This is conspicuously seen in its double standard in handling the tripartite cases of the immediate past governor of Rivers State (Rotimi Amaechi), Secretary to the Government of the Federation (Babachir David Lawal), and Acting Chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Ibrahim Mustapha Magu). These trio appear to be unrepentant loyalist of President Muhammadu Buhari and hence the arm’s length of the law should not catch up with them. This is one of the fundamental causes of corruption. The President, in the light of the Clashing Moral Values Theory is obliged by some certain values to be corrupt in order to repay family and friends who are his unrepentant loyalists. The adage that says; ‘for my friends everything, for my enemies nothing, and for strangers the law’ suitably applies to him.

President Muhammadu Buhari crudely dismissed allegations of corruption levelled against the SGF Babachir David Lawal through a letter he addressed to the Senate dated 17 January 2017. He rejected the call by the Senate to sack and prosecute the SGF who was allegedly said to be corrupt in his handling of funds meant for the Presidential Initiative for the North East (PINE). The President disappointedly defended the SGF on three grounds. One, he argued that the SGF cannot be sacked or prosecuted because the Senate Ad Hoc Committee set up to investigate the Mounting Humanitarian Crises in the North East is an interim report as against a final report. Two, He said only three members of Committee signed the report which makes it a minority report. Three, the President also claimed that the SGF, as well as Rholavision Engineering (the company linked to him), was never given an opportunity to appear before the Senate to defend himself. “In replying on the foregoing”, the President concluded; “I am not able to approve the recommendation to remove and prosecute Engr. Lawal on the basis of the Senate ad-hoc committee report dated 15th December, 2016” (Ojiabor, 2017).

This outrageous letter from President Buhari threw more than few Nigerians into frenzied attacks on the credentials and credibility of the President to fight corruption. The letter caused consternation as it is an expression of not giving a damn to the collective psyches of Nigerians who invested trust and confidence in him as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces which cardinal objective is to drive the rotten corruption into the stinking trash can of history. The letter is seen as an endorsement of double standard in the anti-corruption battle. The President laid emphasis on technicalities rather than substance of the letter. Paradoxically, other
government functionaries of the immediate past regime were put behind bars based on similar “interim report as against a final report”. In other words, President Buhari proceeded with the arrest and subsequent prosecution of former officials of immediate past administration of ex-President Goodluck Jonathan based on an interim report of the committee that probed funds meant for weapons purchases. For instance Col. Sambo Dasuki (Rtd), a former National Security Adviser; Femi Fani Kayode, a member of PDP; Olisa Metuh, the former National Publicity Secretary of the PDP were all arrested and remanded on account of mere allegations. The former is still in prison despite court orders to release him on bail.

The President’s argument that the report is that of minority is equally untenable. A good leader does not consider such a handy report un-useful; especially one that exposes corruption of colossal proportion which is committed against one of the most wretched people on earth (victims of Boko Haram). In addition, there is nothing like ‘minority report’ in the Senate’s committee’s vocabulary. In reaction to the President’s letter, Senator Aliyu Sabi Abdullahi said the letter of the Senate did not address the issue of the DSS report. He also said they stand on their report on the SGF. By Senate rules, he explained, 1/3 is the number that is needed to sign the report. 3/9 is ok but the report was signed by 7 persons out of the 9 members of the committee. Senator Mohammad Hassan (PDP, Yobe) said there was no minority position on the report. Hassan, whom the President said did not sign the report told Daily Trust that the report represents the position of the entire members of the committee. Senator Mallam Ali Wakili (APC, Bauchi) said contrary to the President’s letter he signed the report of the committee (Mudashir, 2017).

The Chairman of the adhoc committee on mounting humanitarian crisis in North East which indicted the SGF, said:

Buhari’s response was, a funeral service for the anti-corruption fight. It is shocking to me that such a letter can come from the presidency with such misinformation and outright distortions. They lied by saying that the committee didn’t invite the SGF. The committee invited the SGF and the letter was acknowledged by the Permanent Secretary in the Office of the SGF (Mudashir, 2017).

However, the President finally bowed to pressure and suspended the SGF which should have been sacked considering the APC led government approach to handling corrupt allegations when they involve members of the opposition; and the acclaimed sterling records of President Buhari in his “commando style” in waging war against corruption. A unique parallel line of a repeat of history could be drawn between Babachir’s saga and Mr Abdulrasheed Maina’s, the Chairman of the Pension Reform Task Team under President Goodluck Jonathan who was untouchable despite all allegations of mismanaging pension funds levelled against him. While the latter, was finally sacked, the former was merely suspended. (See Adeniyi, 2017).

The manifestation of corruption in President Buhari’s government cannot be explained better than the case of Rotimi Amaechi, the immediate past governor of Rivers State. All the allegations of fraudulent practices preferred against him while in office as a governor fell on the deaf ears of the EFCC. This continues to cast aspersions on the anti-corruption war acclaimed to be championed by this administration. Many have begun to see EFCC as an anti-corruption agency that is not fighting corruption but corrupt people who are not in the good book of the presidency. EFCC failed to hurl its anti-corruption suffocating hook against Rotimi Amaechi who ultimately got a ministerial appointment in the present regime. The double standard of the presidency could be best explained and understood through the Clashing Moral
Values Theory; shielding ones loyalists with the protective gadgets of the government even if they are wanton while humiliating ones foes with the same government machineries as retribution for past misdeeds.

The case of Ibrahim Magu, the acting chairman of EFCC is a very disappointing one. Though many blame the Senate for sabotaging the anti-corruption enterprise, but a close examination of the President’s sluggishness calls for suspicion. If President Buhari strongly believed in the competency of Magu as theatre commander in the war front, why did he allow him to bleed veins before presenting him to the Senate for confirmation? Ideally, confirmation of the Senate should have been sought first for anti-corruption tsar of Magu’s caliber. More confusing is the role played by the DSS an agency of the presidency- in nailing the anti-corruption tsar to the cross. A lot of Nigerians are unsettled to get appropriate answers to many questions that arise from this regrettable scenario. Who is actually against Magu? The Senate or the Presidency? Why did the DSS confidently bite the fingers that feed it? Why does Magu operate in acting capacity for so lengthy period of time before his confirmation generates Senate’s and DSS’ fuse? Is Magu the only competent and trustworthy man to chair EFCC from among over 170 million Nigerians? Answers to these questions will bring about many conspiracy theories which are not the focus of this paper. What is indisputable is the crystal manifestation of corruption in this administration.

Why is Corruption Fighting Back?

Corruption fights back in the absence of strong institution. Nigeria, since the 70s has established different bodies/agencies and designed diverse programs to combat corruption but to no avail. The government continues to wage the war with a boomeranging effect. No regime (military and civilian) since the 70s was successful in its fight against corruption. A comprehensive and multidisciplinary approach is required to prevent and combat corruption effectively. This can be possible when Nigeria fully democratized. At present, the country is democratizing. This accounts for why office holders wield enormous power at the expense of the rule of law. In climes where the rule of law holds sway, who occupies the top most position of agency like EFCC does not matter, what matters is how institutionalized is the agency.

As Ribadu (2006) observed that, “successive military regimes subdued the rule of law, facilitated the wanton looting of the public treasury, decapitated public institutions and free speech and instituted a secret and opaque culture in the running of government business.” What Ribadu did not add to his observation is that successive civilian regimes in the Nigerian state continued to act the script of their military mentors. What actually changed is the outfits and inundation of the Nigerian political landscape with democratic neologism like periodic election, transparency, accountability, people’s sovereignty, freedom of speech and the press, the rule of law among others.

Corruption fights back because the government is fighting corrupt people instead of fighting corruption. Through its whistle blower program, this government has discovered huge amount of looted public funds in the region of billions of soft and hard currencies. However, the irony is that the agency (EFCC) which is instrumental in the recovery of this funds lacks transparency and accountability. For instance, when the Senate on the 15th of March, 2016 summoned the EFCC Chairman Mr. Magu to give a financial statement of what has been recovered so far. Mr. Magu said that he does not know how much the commission under him has recovered from national
looters so far (Oghonna, 2017). If Buhari’s government is serious about this long expected fight against corruption, it should plug all the loopholes which are frequently exploit to facilitate easy access to corruption and corrupt practices. The government should sanitize the Nigeria’s socio-political and economic environment from the vestiges of corruption through strengthening of all governmental institutions with earnest adherence to the rule of law.

Ekpo, Chime & Enor (2016: 68) rightly argued that:

Recovering stolen funds from corrupt public officials is not, argued a fight against corruption but rather a fight against the manifestations of corruption. This can only culminate in public officials adopting more stringent measures aimed at covering their tracts while they keep on raping the country dry. In fact, Buhari’s strategy can only encourage more manifestations of corruption as politicians will continue to loot public treasury hoping to go scot free if they are not caught or return such funds if they are caught.

It is not surprising that most looted public moneys recovered in Nigeria by the EFCC tsar are re-looted in a similar vicious cycle due to weak institutions that lack transparency and accountability. The immediate past EFCC chairman Mr. Ibrahim Lamorde was dismissed by Buhari in November 9, 2015, for allegedly diverting ₦1 trillion of recovered funds. When summoned by the Nigerian Senate, Lamorde refused to appear before the senate and subsequently disappeared from the country without trace (Nuruddeen, Wakili & Mudashir, 2015).

**Conclusion**

Nigerians are convinced that corruption is their common enemy which has blurred the vision of attaining a better Nigeria. However, the defeat of PDP in the 2015 election with the emergence of All Progressive Congress (APC) at the helm of which is President Muhammadu Buhari re-awaken hopes in most Nigerians reminiscent of his days as the military Head of State. No sooner had Buhari declared his war against corruption than it dawned on the masses that corruption has also waged a counter war. It is fighting back. This has put Nigerian masses in a precarious situation. The electoral gains are reversed. The economy witnesses serious inflation. Nigerians writhe in dehumanizing hardship which seems un-abating. President Buhari has proved not to be in control of the reign. He has reneged on his appealing promise to belong to everybody and to nobody through his compromise of selective fight against our common enemy (corruption). With all the hoopla of the high-ranking pending cases of corruption under prosecution, corruption cannot be wiped out of Nigeria’s soil if corruption cases were selectively prosecuted.

**Recommendations**

1. The President should exhibit an uncompromisingly dogged political will-power to fight corruption in such a way that he (the President) truly belongs to everybody and to nobody.
2. The EFCC (the corruption fighting agency) should be made accountable and transparent.
3. All the agencies established to combat corruption should be institutionalized and strengthened such that their operation will be independent of the government in power.
4. Government should make creating an atmosphere that discourages corruption its most cherished objective not just dealing with the corrupt.
References