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Foreword

The 4th International Conference on Social Science - Africa (ICSS-Africa) was held at Nile University of Nigeria (NUN) in Abuja, Nigeria from March 21 to 22, 2018. 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, Criminology, Mass Communication and Public Administration disciplines. This exclusive meeting is an excellent & magnanimous platform that witnesses the participation of over 300 Thought Leaders, Management Gurus, Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors & High Commissioners, Members of Parliament, Vice Chancellors, Deans and Directors from reputed National & International Universities, Noted Academicians, High profile media personalities, Corporate leaders and students from different countries who share ideas, exchange thoughts, deliberate on various research insights and brainstorm to provide conclusive, logical & relevant world-class best practices.

ICSS-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 ICSS-Africa conference organizers, I want to thank to partner universities, Nasarawa State University, University of Abuja, National Open University, Epoka University, North American University, collaborators Vento International Trading, Turkic American Alliance. We hope that you enjoy reflecting and discussing the proceedings with your colleagues.

Finally, ICSS-Africa organizing committee decided to organize 5th ICSS-Africa. We are very happy to invite you to our university again next year.

On the behalf of the organizing committee

Prof. Dr. Ibrahim KELES
OPENING CEREMONY
4TH ICSS-AFRICA, 4TH ISCSS-AFRICA & 3RD ETF AFRICA 2018

09:00-10:00
Registration

10:00-10:30
Welcoming The Guest Of Honours

10:30-11:00
National Anthem
Nile University Of Nigeria Presentation (Video) (5 Min)
Welcome Address And Declaration Of Conference Opening (5 Min)
  Prof. Dr. Huseyin Sert - Vice Chancellor Nile University Of Nigeria
Opening Remarks (5 Min)
  Prof. Dr. Abdurrahman Isik - Chairman Of The Occasion
Collaborators
  National Open University Of Nigeria (Noun) (3 Min)
    Prof. Abdalla Uba Adamu - Vice Chancellor
  University Of Abuja (3 Min)
    Prof. Michael Umale Adikwu - Vice Chancellor
  Nasarawa State University (3 Min)
    Prof. Muhammad Akaro Mainoma - Vice Chancellor
Speech Of Guest Of Honours
Goodwill Messages

11:00-11:30
Key Note Speech
  Dr. Amine Mati - Imf's Senior Resident Representative And Mission Chief For Nigeria

11:30-12:30
Roundtable Discussion
  Sam Nda-isaiah - Moderator Chairman Of Leadership Newspaper Group
  Richard Swett - Former Representative Of United States House, And United States Ambassador To Denmark
  John Russell "Russ" Carnahan - Former Representative Of United States House
  Debra Carnahan - An Attorney, Retired Judge, Founding Partner Of Carnahan & Carnahan Law Firm And A Former Asst. U.S. Attorney And State Prosecutor
  Christopher Hunter "Chris" Shays - Former Representative Of United States House

12:30-12:45
Presentation Of Plaques And Certificates

12:45-13:00
Closing Remarks By Special Guests

13:00-13:05
Group Photograph
Lunch
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ASSESSING REGIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES IN WEST AFRICA

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Abstract

The West African region is noted for insecurity and recent events records a paradigm shift from civil war to insecurity challenges of terrorism, piracy, climate change and oil bunkering, with organised criminal activities such as the smuggling of small arms and light weapons still prevalent. This paper contributes to the current debate of limited security and regional integration among West African States as a major challenge of insecurity in West Africa. However this paper’s argument is targeted towards incorporating the dynamic of regional security governance as a means of shifting from the ever-present issue of economic considerations in relation to West African security conversations.

Keywords: Regional Security Governance, Regional Organisations, West Africa

Introduction

In 1990, Anglophone Heads of State of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) established the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) for the purpose of intervening in the Liberian Civil war. This was notably the first organised regional security organisation in the sub African continent. In view of the possible negative spill over effect of the Liberian civil war on its neighbors, the community members expressed their concerns and affirmed their support of the newly formed ECOMOG. From this action, it is pertinent to note that the occurrence of security stability in the West African region is dependent on the cooperation of Heads of State of member countries. The last two decades has recorded a shift from traditional methods of warfare to a more dynamic expression of insecurity threats such as terrorism, human, arms and drug trafficking, militias,
piracy and climate change amongst others. The 2018 AU submit stressed the prevalent challenge of insecurity in the region, significantly was the recommendation and call for regional integration and cooperation amongst member states in combating this issue. In addition, scholarly research has highlighted the importance of governance in security related issues especially in relation to the relationship between states and non-state actors in regional security operations. However, Sperling (2014) and Bryden et al (2008) agree that there have been limited investigations regarding the issue of governance for security measures in the West African region. Instead so much focus has been garnered towards the ever-present security challenges of trafficking and violent activities that this paper concedes are just as important. It is pertinent that an analysis of regional security governance is carried out as well as the challenge of weak institutions in security governance activities. As such this paper serves as an exploratory piece to highlight pertinent issues relevant to governance for security as a regional security challenge in West Africa as well as a launch pad for further investigations in this subject areas. Hence, discussions will be limited to current debates in literature.

**Regional Security Governance in Context**

Literature on the concept of regional security governance varies, specifically with relation to the types of authorities involved and policies implemented amongst other factors. As such, there is an absence of a universal agreed definition of this term within the academic and policy field, due to the complexities involved. Consequently, a limited selection of definitions will be analysed in order to establish an understanding of this concept within the framework of this paper’s argument. Musah (2009) defines regional security governance as an arrangement of states within a region and these states combination of resources to promote mutual assistance in order to ensure the collective wellbeing of its population, institutions and values. Musah insists that regional security governance is stemmed from shared fears and expectations of perceived threats. Musah stresses the implication of the involvement of states and their governments and significantly the implication of a security management process, which involves governance integration measures amongst Heads of State. Likewise, Kirchner (2014) maintains that regional security governance can be independent or connected with the resolution of local disputes through regional engagements. This means that governance for security measures such as co-ordinate actions between actors in the security sector and a functional security institution are required to maintain security in the region. Examples include ECOWAS intervention in Liberia and the Multinational Joint Task Force
in the fight against Boko Haram amongst others. This is an indication of integration between
member states and their institutions in a geographical region. Kirchner’s argument is supported by
Jetschke (2011) who maintains that regional security governance is a process “where states are
expected to delegate more power to regional institutions and to have regional institution in
cooperation with non-state actors to set standards and provide some compliance mechanism for
them”. In the same vein, Adler and Greve (2009) argues that the process of regional security
governance depends on institutions, political authority of agreed upon norms and the inclusion of
state and non-state actors. As such regional security as is dependent on institutions that are strong
and stable, Iwilade and Agbo (2012) maintains that strong institutions targeted towards regional
security is grounded on good security governance approach.

Ceccorulli and Lucarelli (2013:16) maintained that the concept of regional security governance
evolved as a means of analyzing the processes involved in organizing security efforts amongst the
European states. As such regional security governance involves the interactions of actors identified
as State governments. Furthermore, Kirchner (2014) argues that there is a shift in the processes of
regional security governance to include the private sector as opposed to the monopoly of the
development of regional security policies by the governments involved and state actors. This view
is supported by Ceccorulli et al (2017) who argues that the literature on regional security
governance processes does not necessarily combine the roles or examine the interactions between
member state and non-state actors, as such limits the understanding of member states interactions
within the region. Notwithstanding, regional security governance process as described by
Ceccorulli et al (2017) is the management of security threats that are termed to be interdependent
on nation states within a region; hence, such threats cannot be tackled independently by nation
states. Which according to Iwilade and Agbo (2012) involves a collective and effective integration
of security governance processes by state governments in the region, through the use of stable
regional security institutions.

Webber’s (2014) analysis of regional security governance focuses on interactions between member
states through formal and informal regulatory mechanisms targeted at governing security and
security related activities. This definition highlights the role that state institutions play and
significantly focuses on member states interactions with non-state actors. For the purpose of this
paper regional security governance is defined as the collective cooperation of member states and
non-state actors within a region targeted towards the management and solving of conflicts and the management of activities across a range of security and security related issues areas (Kirchner 2014).

**Assessing the challenges of Regional Security in West Africa**

The security challenges in West Africa are wide ranging, spanning from governance related issues to violent and criminal activities, notwithstanding, this section will focus on governance related issues. Literature as indicated above, stressed the importance of governance in security related issues, significantly in regional security integration. The West African sub-region is notable for the prevalence of organised political violence and criminal activities, but has also been applauded for member states cooperation in combating violent activities across the region. However insecurity looms and serves as a hindrance to economic development and sustainability in the region.

Adler and Greve (2009) identify balance of power amongst member states as a key challenge to regional security in West Africa. They argue that regional power play and the distrust of a hegemon state is an impediment to security and regional integration in West Africa. The Institute for Security Studies West African Report (2016) on the Multinational Joint Task force against Boko Haram supports this argument. Issues analysed included uncoordinated actions between soldiers and civilians of member states involved in engagements with Boko Haram, thereby highlighting challenges in security governance processes. Furthermore Nigeria’s tendency to take action against Boko Haram was interpreted by member states as power play, this led to different methods of engagements focused on individual state interests, sometimes to the detriment of other states (ISS Report 2017). This underscores Musah’s (2009) argument that security governance at the regional level requires an understanding that individual wellbeing of states is dependent on an agreement of mutual support of the collective irrespective of suspicions of the hegemon. Notwithstanding Bryden et al (2008) stresses the importance of delegation of power as a means of ensuring integration and cooperation amongst member state and significantly a balance of power. This view is supported by Jetschke (2011) who emphasize the designation of power to regional institutions in cooperation with non-state actors “to set standards and provide compliance mechanism for them”, another attribute of security governance operations.
Eteng (2016) highlights the cultural implications of governance for security amongst member states in West Africa. He maintains that the differences between Anglophone and Francophone security and justice system ensures a lack of understanding and appreciation by member state representatives as well as the international community. He argues that this has served in the past to “undermine the international communities attempts to increase the effectiveness of multilateral interventions, through such entities as the EU, UN and associated regional organizations”. Eteng’s observation draws attention to the challenge of integration amongst member states and its implication on security governance policies within the region. Furthermore, his views raise the question of misinterpretation and conflict of policies within regional security institutions in West Africa.

Iwilade and Agbo (2012) links the regional security challenges in the West African region to the lapses in ECOWAS institutions amongst other factors. It is pertinent to highlight the link between security governance processes and institutions, as such Akubo and Yakubu (2016) argue that bad governance amongst member states relating to security measures across the West African borders makes it difficult to manage insecurity in the region. This observation pinpoints the prevalent challenge of institutions geared towards security in the West African region, emphasizing on member states domestic issues such as dysfunctional security sector, governance failure and rampant corruption as a function of the current problem of insecurity in the region. Furthermore Kirchner (2014) supports this view and highlights the absence of an institutional framework that is thick enough to meet the challenge of governance.

Diallo’s (2016) observations on the issues of integration in Africa, especially in security related cases highlights the creation of different regional organizations as a means to ensure security and by extension economic stability in the continent. In his arguments he stresses the barriers to integration as national egoism, competition amongst Heads of state and colonial links. This raises the issue of the abandoned principle of Pan African philosophy, which Webber (2013) identifies as “the absence of a truly integrated security community”. From Webber and Diallo’s assertion it is pertinent that the challenge of security governance in the West African region is centered on the issue of integration and cooperation amongst member states.

Conclusion
Insecurity challenges in the West African region is linked to limited security and regional integration amongst member states. Evidence has indicated that different views of security practices by member states, competing centers of power, an absence of an established structure are grounded on the core issue, which this paper identifies as governance failure in the security sector. In addition the issue of a stable and effective institution for security governance operations is a significant criteria for regional security. This paper argues for further research into governance for security as an insecurity challenge in the West African region.

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FORUM ON CHINA- AFRICA COOPERATION: AN OVERVIEW OF INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

The paper examines the nature and development of the forum on China-Africa cooperation, focusing on infrastructural development in African states as yielded by the cooperation. The paper also analyses other areas of relevance where the parties gain great mutual benefits. Using the secondary methodology, findings show that China’s relations with Africa are driven by resource scarcity, the need for new markets and investment opportunities, symbolic diplomacy, developmental assistance, cooperation and forging strategic partnerships. The paper concludes that China has been the major contributor and financer of infrastructure in Africa. Chinese presence has been felt in virtually all regions in the continent; North, East, West and South Africa. The FOCAC has effectively served as a platform for interaction and dialogue for African states with China. It can be said to be living up to expectations as both Africa and China are happy with the level at which they have gone. China continues to see infrastructure as necessary for development in the region and as such goes all out to help these states. The paper recommends that Africans (Technicians) should also be a part of infrastructural projects by China so as to be familiar with how it works, among others.

Keywords: Forum; China; Africa; Cooperation; Infrastructure; Development

Introduction

China’s relations with Africa have been at the centre of a debate for some time now, as they are seen as emerging competitors of the West in the region. China’s involvement with these states as opined by some scholars is based on reciprocity and treating China as an equal partner. It is said
that Chinese foreign policy has always been guided by the Confucianist principle of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. It is in light of this that Chinese relations with African states have been said to be different from that of the West which most of the time have conditionalities attached. China’s relations with Africa are driven by four factors; resource scarcity, the need for new markets and investment opportunities, symbolic diplomacy, developmental assistance and cooperation and forging strategic partnerships (Udeala, 2010:68).

With China being the fastest growing economy in the world, it needs energy and also markets for her productions and sees Africa as a viable place. In the same vein, Africa needs infrastructures and as such both see the need for the relationship.

Against this background, the forum on China- Africa cooperation (FOCAC) was established in 2000 between China and African states. The FOCAC was designed to boost economic and social development for Africa and it consisted of three high profile ministerial meetings between 2000 and 2006. FOCAC served as a mechanism for multilateral dialogue to indicate China’s lasting presence in Africa. China’s new form of regionalization in form of multilateralism like the FOCAC is different from that of the West which has dominated the international system for years. China’s rhetorics has always been a practice of engaging other states in the practice of doing together, that is they do as China does, as against the Western rhetoric and conditionality of ‘do as I say, not as I do’ (Kavalski, 2009:5). China’s activities in Africa through the FOCAC have shown that she is ready to mingle and engage in respectful interactions with the states in the region. China’s support has been mainly providing iconic infrastructural projects and constructing edifices that would benefit the African people for a very long time. Lack of infrastructures are known to be one major problem of the African state as despite their enormous natural resources, the infrastructures are lacking and as such this hampers development.

Through the multilateral FOCAC platform, China then engages in bilateral relationships with each state. African states like Tanzania, Botswana, Ethiopia, Malawi and even Nigeria have all benefitted from this platform. This study therefore seeks to identify and give an overview of Chinese infrastructural development in Africa through the FOCAC platform and how these projects have aided development in the region(Udeala, 2010:68).

**Theoretical Framework**

In the quest for a comprehensive theory to explain China- Africa relations under the FOCAC platform, the inter-governmentalist theory would be employed. Inter-governmentalism as a theory
of regional integration was proposed by Stanley Hoffman and refined by Andrew Moravcsik. This theory sees states and their national governments as the primary actors in the integration process. This is to say that the government control the level and speed of integration. This theory posits that integration is determined by state’s interest, and as such viewed as strengthening the nation state since it is carried out according to its rules. Under this theory, supranational institutions are denied any significant independent entrepreneurship and are subject to amendment by member governments (Bergamann and Niemann, 2013:7).

According to Moravcsik, the preferences of a state arise in the context provided by the domestic politics of the state. In this regard, the main reason why states come together and integrate lies in their interest and also bargaining power. This is to say that any greater involvement by states at the supranational level actually results from a direct decision by governments who make the decisions based on domestic agenda (Bergamann and Niemann, 2013:7). Even though other actors like interest groups can influence their government’s policies domestically, they do not have the power to cause their governments to integrate as the states are independent decision makers because they are legitimate. In essence, inter-governmentalism necessarily has to do with cooperation between and amongst governments of a state or states. Inter-governmentalism could take the form of bilateral, multilateral or even tripartite relations. It is a political or economic relationship that exists between states.

The relevance of this theory to China- African relations under the Forum of China- African cooperation (FOCAC) is based on the fact that the decision to come together and create this platform was solely based on the decisions of states involved. China, as a state is not just involved in sheer benevolence, even though we say there are no strings attached in Chinese infrastructural development in Africa, China sees the need to engage in this relations for different reasons which include but not limited to the need for a large market, the need for energy. Africa on the other hand views the platform as an opportunity to develop through infrastructures, aid and loans for its economy (Bergamann and Niemann, 2013:7).

Also, in the relations between China and Africa, the states involved get to control how involved they want to be and the speed they want the integration process to take. In fact, they also get to control the terms of integration as it suits them. In Nigeria for instance, during the Obasanjo regime, the government saw that the country lacked infrastructures to boost development and as such employed the oil for infrastructure deal with the Chinese, a few years after, the new regime
of Yar’adua changed the game and scrapped the previous agreement. This is to say that domestic realities and governments of each States have the power to dictate its terms of relations as long as it can bargain it out with the other (Bergamann and Niemann, 2013:7).

In all, just like inter-governmentalism posits that these relations could take different forms, either bilateral, multilateral or tripartite, Chinese relations with Africa through the FOCAC which is multilateral in fact, still has a bilateral tune to it, as China through the platform also operates with the countries involved on a bilateral basis, this means that infrastructural projects and many more are carried out bilaterally.

**Literature Review**

This aspect of the study seeks to review a number of related literatures which would enhance our understanding of the topic. Many academic literatures and works have explored infrastructural developments between Nigeria and China under the FOCAC. Enuka (2011) opines that the experience of FOCAC over the last nine years has proven to be an important platform and dialogue mechanism for strengthening China-Africa cooperation and solidarity, and safeguarding common interests. With both sides observing that this relationship can only be a win-win situation, the future of China-Africa relations is definitely moving into an era of rapid development. Enuka’s claim in fact buttresses the position of the then Chinese President, Hu Jintao who at the opening ceremony of the FOCAC Beijing summit claimed that the platform was to enhance mutual trust and cooperation between both countries as against the idea that China was in Africa to take advantage of the African states, as it should be stated that way before the FOCAC platform was established, China was already in the business of infrastructural development in the region. Avery good example of this was the Tazara railway in Tanzania (Enuka, 2011’).

Along this line, Shelton and Paruk (2008) further assert that the FOCAC process provides a unique diplomatic mechanism to promote dialogue between Nigeria and China, while at the same time facilitate the development of a common political and economic agenda which will advance constructive South-South cooperation for mutual benefit. They further opine that FOCAC deliberations have brought African and Chinese leaders closer together and crafted a shared vision for policy coordination, expanded commercial interaction and common prosperity.

Foster, Butterfield, Chen and Pushak (2008) posit that Chinese finance often goes to large scale infrastructural projects, with a particular focus on hydropower generation and railways. More than 35 African countries are engaging with China on infrastructure finance deals, with the biggest
recipients being Nigeria, Angola, Sudan and Ethiopia. Chinese finance is on a scale large enough to make a material contribution towards meeting Africa’s vast infrastructure needs. They therefore conclude that this offers an important development opportunity for the region. Of a truth, Foster and co’s claim still hold water today as large infrastructural projects in African countries continue to be carried out by China. The recent railway completion in Nigeria and Tanzania also attests to this.

In the same vein, Shelton and Paruk (2008) further claim that Chinese assistance to Africa has essentially focused on four key areas, that is China has started to fund infrastructure projects, an area which the World Bank and international donors stopped funding in the 1990s. In view of the fact that sustainable development is impossible without infrastructure, China’s activities are highly welcomed.

**FOCAC; A Brief Background**

The lynchpin of Sino- African relations is the Forum on China- Africa cooperation (FOCAC) initiated at the Ministerial Conference in Beijing in 2000. The forum, driven by a joint Ministerial Conference held every three years since 2000, aims at fostering solidarity and cooperation based on equality, consultation, consensus, friendship, partnership and mutual benefit (Hellstrom, 2009). The outcomes of the conference in Beijing included the Beijing declaration and the Program for China- Africa cooperation in Economic and Social development which laid the basis for the strategic partnership in the new millennium. Scholars have argued that FOCAC should be seen as a continuum of the spirit of the Bandung Conference of 1955 in Indonesia where developing countries came together under the South- South cooperation to foster overall development in their respective states. As stated earlier, the first FOCAC held in 2000 in Beijing and focused on two major areas which included how to promote an establish a just and equitable new international economic order and also strengthen China- Africa on economic and social development. Also, there were follow-up processes after the meeting to ensure that all that was deliberated upon were carried out, with meetings to assess their progress held in Lusaka in 2001 and in Addis Ababa in 2002 (Enuka, 2011: 223).

The second Forum on China- Africa cooperation was held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in December, 2003 and its main aim was to review the implementation of the policies adopted in the first FOCAC, and furthermore deepen cooperation in areas of infrastructure, investment and many others, as lack of infrastructure was seen as the major problem of African states. The second
FOCAC led to the signing of many contracts between China and Africa as over 100 Chinese enterprises were present (Enuka, 2011:223).

The third Ministerial meeting of FOCAC together with the first Sino- African Heads of States Summit held in Beijing in November, 2006. The third FOCAC was launched by two significant development in 2006 which included the release of the White Paper on China’s African policy and the then President of China, Hu Jintao’s speech at the Nigerian congress in April. These set a new tune to China- Africa relations. FOCAC 2006 concluded a year that was dubbed by the Chinese as China’s “Year of Africa” (Naidu, 2006: 41).

The fourth FOCAC which held in 2009 saw about 50 countries gathered in Egypt. The Chinese Prime Minister, Wen Jiabao declared eight new measures to strengthen Sino- African cooperation which include helping Africa to build up its financing capacity, construction of buildings, schools, hospitals amongst others (ChinaAfrica, 2009).

FOCAC has proven to be an important platform for fostering China- Africa relations in virtually all aspects.

**FOCAC: An Overview of Infrastructural Development**

According to Shelton and Paruk (2008:4), China’s commitment to develop Africa’s infrastructure and further economic development is proof of China’s intentions to assist Africa over the longer time rather than simply seek an exploitative relationship based on oil and mineral extraction. In fact, China’s role on the continent has contributed to a significant improvement in infrastructure part from the fact that China is involved in construction in Africa, which is an area that has been neglected by the West since the 1990s. Unlike speculations from some angles that China has only come to exploit Africa of its natural resources and disappear later, the Chinese government in 2013, through a Chinese development firm, Zendai Property Limited announced it was building an $8 billion city outside Johannesburg, called the Modderfontein New City which will become a hub for Chinese firms investing in African infrastructure which further gives credence to the fact that China has come to stay and develop Africa’s infrastructure and so as to promote mutual benefits (Weller, 2016).

According to Rudolf (2016:35), the FOCAC in fact, share significant characteristics with the activities of China in some other South- South cooperation like the Shanghai cooperation (SCO) and the Association of South- East Asian Nations (ASEAN) as even under these platforms, China continues to place emphasis on the development of regional infrastructure and reshaping the
current international relations order. Also, when it comes to infrastructural development of Africa, China has always been at the forefront even before the establishment of FOCAC. The construction of the Tanzania-Zambia Railway in 1976 attests to that fact, this is to say that the FOCAC was only created to strengthen the relations that had always existed.

China recognizes that lack of infrastructure is the major obstacle to Africa’s development and that is why it has been a huge priority under FOCAC. The infrastructure Consortium for Africa puts Chinese investment in African infrastructure at roughly $13.9 billion a year between 2011 and 2013, which makes China the largest source of financing for infrastructure in Africa. It is in this light that China and the African Union signed a memorandum of understanding to jointly develop infrastructure to connect the continent’s capitals through road, rail and air transport routes as part of Agenda 2063 (Rudolf, 2016:3). It should be noted that Chinese infrastructural projects in Africa continues to grow in leaps and bounds. Between 2000 and 2011, the Chinese backed more than 1,700 projects, from building to dams in 50 African countries at a cost of $75 billion. In Nigeria, a new rail-line which connects the Federal Capital City of Abuja to the city of Kaduna further north was unveiled in July, 2016. The 187-kilometer standard gauge track has nine stations. According to SAIS, the China-Exim bank loaned $500 million towards the railway which cost a total of $874 million. In the same vein, China also saw to the construction of a railway which was opened in 2014 in Sudan. The Nile Train is said to be 782 kilometers long, extending from Port Sudan via Atbara to the capital city of Khartoum. Even though the rail-line currently ends near the Nile River in Khartoum, future lines are expected to connect the railway to neighbouring countries (CNN, 2017).

In 2015, a 1,344-kilometers railroad project spanning Angola was completed and put into operation. The Lobito-Luau railway boasts the fastest travelling speed in Angola and serves as a significant economic corridor in the country. The railway links the coastal city of Lobito in the west and Luau city that borders the Democratic Republic of Congo. It not only facilitates easier movement of goods and services, but invariably contributes to development in Angola (ChinaDaily, 2017).

To buttress the activities of China in Africa’s infrastructural development, it spearheaded the construction of a railway in Kenya connecting Mombasa to Nairobi. The railway in Kenya is in fact a sub-project of a bigger project which is supposed to link Mombassa with other major East African cities such as Kampala in Uganda, and Juba in South Sudan. The latest of Chinese
infrastructural projects in terms of railways to be inaugurated is a 756-kilometer railway in Ethiopia which links the country’s capital city to Djibouti. This new rail-line gives landlocked Ethiopia access to the Red Sea port in Djibouti (CNN, 2017).

Chinese assistance in terms of infrastructural development in Africa goes a long way to boost trade and investments amongst the states in the region which in turn leads to economic development, and also speeds up industrialization process.

Asides the Tanzania-Zambia railway, the Kigamboni Bridge was also inaugurated in the commercial city of Dar es Salaam of Tanzania. The 680-meter-long bridge is the first of its kind in Eastern and Central Africa as it connects the Dar es Salaam business district with the Kigamboni Creek. Even though the bridge was funded by the Tanzanian government, it was built by the China Railway Construction Engineering Group and China Railway Major Bridge Group. The Chinese also saw to the construction of a 140km road in Tsangano-Mwanza in Tanzania worth $169.4 million (ChinaDaily, 2017). In the same Tanzania, a Chinese government construction firm currently oversees the construction of the Bagamoyo Port which will become Africa’s largest port, capable of handling 20 million containers per year upon completion.

In East Africa, China is not just about building railways and facilitating trade. Instead, it launched the construction of a 50-megawatt PV power plant in Northeast Kenya’s Garissa County in 2016 jointly with the Kenyan government. The project was financed by the Export-Import Bank of China which provided a concessional loan of $135 million for the largest PV power plant in East Africa. According to the project’s Chinese contractor, the plant, upon completion will generate more than 7,600 kilowatt-hours of power each year and reduce a yearly carbon dioxide emission of 64,190 metric tons (ChinaDaily, 2017). Still on hydro-electric projects, China also signed a deal with the Mozambican government to build the Mphanda Nkuwa Dam and hydroelectric station project. The project would invariably provide 1,500 megawatts of power to the national electricity grid of Mozambique.

In Malawi, China has funded $1.7 billion worth of infrastructural projects in the country. The deal includes a 300 megawatts coal-powered station at Kam’mwamba and the reconstruction of the Chileka International Airport (ChinaDaily, 2017).

In respect to all this, China has and continues to contribute to development in Africa. This is in respect of the fact that infrastructural development also contributes to economic growth.
For further understanding, below is a list of infrastructures carried out by China in some African countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Infrastructure</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Telecommunications</td>
<td>$966 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Power</td>
<td>$110 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>$603 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>Dam Infrastructure</td>
<td>$280 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Djibouti</td>
<td>Telecommunications</td>
<td>$12 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>$224 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>$600 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>Transport Infrastructure</td>
<td>$2 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>$24.13 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>Telecommunications</td>
<td>$16.89 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>$1-3 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>Roads</td>
<td>$18.29 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Textiles</td>
<td>$15.85 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/6</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>$300 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005/6</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Dam/ Plant infra.</td>
<td>$2.3 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>$19 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>Telecommunications</td>
<td>$20.80 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Electricity</td>
<td>$20.17 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Telecommunications</td>
<td>$29.94 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Dam/ power infra.</td>
<td>$2.5 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>Telecommunications</td>
<td>$6.26 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>DRC</td>
<td>Mining Infra.</td>
<td>$8.5 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>$60 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Hydropower/ Irrigation, etc</td>
<td>$208 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Dam</td>
<td>$292 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Power</td>
<td>$137.2 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Project Type</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>Plant infra.</td>
<td>$206.55 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Glass Factory</td>
<td>Part of a $90 million contribution to projects in three countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>Part of a $90 million contribution to projects in three countries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Centre for Chinese studies, Stellenbosch University. H.Edinger, How China delivers development assistance to Africa.

**Findings and Discussion**

Having examined China-Africa relations under FOCAC, it has been discovered that the strategic partnership has been of mutual benefit to both states. China, on one hand gets a great advantage of African market as Africa is the second most populous continent while Africa continues to enjoy infrastructural development from China. This work has been able to show China’s presence in over 50 African states in terms of constructions of dams, hydro-electric projects, railways and even roads. In this light, the question of why Chinese infrastructural development has not generated improvements in the life of the common man in Africa is asked. Ordinarily, infrastructural development is supposed to invariably contribute to the standard of the people and make life easier for them, and as such provide a conducive environment for economic development. With all of Chinese infrastructural projects in Africa, some scholars have even opined that there is a lopsided relationship in China’s favour, that there is a case of unequal exchange. Could this unequal exchange be China’s fault? The problem has always been from African leaders who do not necessarily have a genuine policy towards China. China in fact encourages them to take advantage of the relations because judging from all facts, China through multilateral platforms like the FOCAC and those in Asia continue to emphasize the need for the developing world to be economically empowered so as to change the international relations order.

This sums up the fact that China is genuinely interested in the affairs of Africa. Taking a look at infrastructural projects in some African countries, some projects worth billions of dollars were
singlehandedly undertaken by the Chinese government. Worthy of note is the fact that China does not even attach hidden or open conditionalities which could damage growth in African economies. In essence, China’s activities in Africa are just like a blank cheque which the African states get to fill in themselves.

In some quarters, there has been arguments that Chinese projects are inferior and do not stand the test of time. An example of this was the said shoddy execution of Nigeria’s first telecommunication satellite, the Nig- ComSat- 1 in 2006, which was packed up and powered down because the solar power function failed to work amongst other cases. Asides the fact that China is also developing even though at a rapid pace, there are bound to be issues of this nature which should be rectified as time goes on, but not enough to cause a strain in the relationship as the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages.

Conclusion
This study has diligently examined infrastructural development under the Forum on China- Africa cooperation. It was observed that China has been the major contributor and financer of infrastructure in Africa. Chinese presence has been felt in virtually all regions in the continent; North, East, West and South Africa. The FOCAC has effectively served as a platform for interaction and dialogue for African states with China. It can be said to be living up to expectations as both Africa and China are happy with the level at which they have gone. China continues to see infrastructure as necessary for development in the region and as such goes all out to help these states.

This work proposes that Sino-Africa relations have been more of a win- win situation as opposed to a lopsided relationship that is being speculated in some quarters. It is true that the balance of trade is to China’s advantage, but this does not erase the fact that Africa benefits in no small way from the relations unlike her relations with the West.

This study hereby concludes that China can only be the best partner for the African continent and as such both sides should find better ways to get maximum advantage from the FOCAC.

Recommendations
After a careful study of the Forum on China- Africa cooperation, with emphasis on infrastructural development, the following recommendations are hereby made:

African states and policy makers should set up policies that will give maximum advantage in the relations.
Cultural and language barriers which affect free flow of interactions at the FOCAC should be looked into.
Africans (Technicians) should also be a part of infrastructural projects by China so as to be familiar with how it works.

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SOCIOECONOMIC IMPACT OF BOKO-HARAM INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA.

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Abstract

It is widely agreed that violent conflict precipitates unfavourable socioeconomic implications on the society. Boko Haram Insurgency has inflicted devastating consequences on the Nigerian polity, from the loss of lives and property to psychological pain of living in constant threat of violence. This study examines the impact of the Boko Haram insurgency on education, healthcare and economic activities in Nigeria, particularly the northeast Nigeria. The study adopted the content analysis approach in which previous publications of governmental institutions, multilateral agencies and NGOs about the incidences were examined and the impact of such incidences on the socioeconomic condition of the society identified and analyzed. The findings of the study reveals that the conflict has caused a setback in education and healthcare sectors. The conflict has also resulted in billions of Naira loss in the containment of the Boko Haram attacks, particularly in northern Nigeria.

Keywords: Insurgency, Conflict, Development, Boko-Haram

Introduction

Socioeconomic stability is the primary requirement for sustainable socioeconomic progress in any society. Socioeconomic progress encompasses rising incomes, improving access to and quality of education and healthcare services as well as falling poverty and inequality levels and finally entrenchment of rule of law and such things as respect for human rights. Industries, businesses, individuals and government need a stable environment to engage in economic activities critical to generation of employment and income. Socio-political conflict erodes the confidence of industries and potential investors to pool resources to produce goods and services in an economy. As a
corollary of the eruption of social and political conflict, more so violent conflict, economic activities slow down leading to a loss of employment and income. Hutchful (2002) opines that pivotal to the survival of any society is its law and order which are predicated on national security. Without security of life and property, business and other economic activities can hardly thrive. There will be no conditions required to attract local, regional and foreign investors to pool their resources into productive activities, which is very important for employment generation and increase in societal income.

Boko Haram is an Islamist movement which operated in north-eastern Nigeria and came to prominence in 2009. It was a fringe group under the leadership of Mohammed Yusuf, a fiery scholar resident of Maiduguri, who had not fully committed to violence prior to 2009. Through subtle and open harassment, Boko Haram was goaded into an open confrontation with the Nigerian state and violently suppressed in July 2009 (Adebayo, 2014). Thereafter, it went underground, rebuilt, and resurfaced in October 2010 with a remarkable prison break at Bauchi and has since changed its tactics to targeted assassinations, drive-by shootings, suicide bombings, and massive deployment of improvised explosive devices (IEDs), vehicle-borne IEDs, kidnapping and hostage taking (Adebayo, 2014).

However, Boko Haram insurgency has inflicted perverse effects on the socioeconomic affairs of Nigeria and threatens its national development. One of the major factors stimulating growth and development in a country is investment in critical infrastructure and industrial activities which does not occur in a condition of insecurity. Nigeria would not be able to tap investment capital which circulates around the world as long as the insecurity situations persist. The severe security threat to life and property all over the country sends wrong signals to the international community (Okorie, 2011:37).

The socio economic conditions of the North Eastern Nigeria especially village dwellers must have been badly affected by the activities of boko-haram insurgents. Lives have been lost, properties have been destroyed, banks and business have been looted, police stations and numerous infrastructures have been destroyed. It is against this background this paper explores the socioeconomic effects of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria with specific focus on three major socioeconomic indicators such as education, health and general economic activities in the northeast Nigeria.
Literature Review

To examine the activities of “Jama’atuAhluSunnaDa’awatiwalJihad”, popularly known as the Boko Haram, there is a need to conceptualize the twin terms insurgency and terrorism. The terms are closely related due to the fact that, the latter is a subset of the former. Thus all terrorists are insurgents but not all insurgents are terrorists. This can be understood by studying the following definitions. According to the US Military Academy (2007), insurgency is an organized resistance movement that utilizes subversion, sabotage and armed conflict to achieve its goal. Most of the insurgencies seek to overthrow the existing social order and reallocate the power within the country. Moreover, US Government (2012) defined insurgency as protracted political-military struggle directed toward subverting the legitimacy of a constituted government or occupying power and controlling the resources of a territory by utilizing irregular military forces or illegal political organization. However, the term terrorism is frequently used to describe life threatening actions perpetrated by politically motivated self-appointed groups (Thomas Majdtadt: 2004). Similarly, Reich (1992) defined terrorism as a strategy or evidence designed to promote desired outcomes by instilling fear in the public at large”. Gibbs (1989), sees terrorism as an illegal violence or threatened violence against human or non-human object”.

To widen our understanding on the term terrorism, Martin (2006) has identified certain communalities associated with what he called formal definition of terrorism such as: the use of illegal force, sub national actors, unconventional methods, political motives, attacks against civilian/passive military targets and acts aimed at purposefully affecting an audience. Eventually the aforementioned communities explain the major activities of Boko Haram Organization, thus Boko Haram qualifies as a terrorist group.

On why people engage in terrorist activities, scholars also differ in their explanations of the motivational forces behind terrorism. Motives can be said to forces which impel action to realize desires, wants and goal, (David, 2004). Miller (2006) cited by Mahan (2008:10) classified terrorist motivation into three stage process. Stage one begins with unacceptable conditions: “It’s not right”. Stage two follows with resentment and sense of injustice: “It’s not fair”. In stage three according to Miller, the cause of injustice is personified: “It’s your fault”. Mahan made it clear that “although such patterns are evident, it is also evident that only few of those affected by oppressive social, economic and historic context are actually motivated to become a terrorist, which is not every form of discontent leads to violent behaviour. Vectoroff (2005) cited by Mahan (2008:11) identified four
traits which he considered to be possible characteristics of “typical” terrorist that either lead or follow in sub-state groups. There are as follows:

1. Extreme opinions and emotion regarding a belief system
2. A personal stake- such as strongly perceived oppression, humiliation or persecution: an extraordinary need for identity, glory or vengeance; or a drive for expressions of innate aggression-that distinguish them from the vast majority of those who fulfil trait.
3. Low cognitive flexibility-including a low tolerance for ambiguity, disaster for complexity and disregard for multiple layers of reality that leads to a very high livelihood of a mistaken sense of causality and need for blame.
4. A capacity to suppress all moral constraint against harming innocent whether due to intrinsic or acquired factors, individuals or group forces-probably influenced by #1,2 and 3.

A careful analysis of the voice and written texts messages distributed by the Boko Haram terrorist group as to the regard of the reason for their actions would revealed that the group was formed by people who felt that the socioeconomic conditions of most people in Nigeria was unacceptable to them; and that the way things were being run by the government was unjust and oppressive; and finally blaming the government for their woes. The Nigerian situation characterized by pervasive poverty, unemployment, extreme hunger and malnutrition in the greater section of the population have convinced many youth to subscribe to the terrorist groups ideologies with the hope of achieving liberation from the tyranny and injustice of their leaders. The activities of the Boko Haram were further fuelled by their extreme belief in their own specific understanding of Islam in which they think that, what they are doing is backed by Islamic teachings.

**Theoretical Approach to Understanding the Dilemma of Boko Haram**

Scholars have advanced different explanation on the paradox and dilemma of Boko Haram within the context of several theoretical assumptions. Three theories would therefore be examined here in order to aid a proper analysis on the dilemma of Boko Haram. These are; Social contract theory, Marxian approach and theory of relative deprivation.

Within the framework of the social contract theory, Boko Haram insurgency is interpreted to be the reaction to the failure of the successive Nigerian governments to keep their own end of the agreement which includes provision of essential services such as the security of lives and property, education, healthcare and opportunities to earn a decent living. The democratic regimes in Nigeria,
in her bid to consolidate the leviathan status of modern Nigerian nation-state towards maintaining national security, used brute force and terror against Mohammed Yusuf and his revolutionary Islamic movement, the ‘Boko Haram’ whose primary intent is to overthrow the democratic government and replace it with an Islamic regime. It is perfectly obvious that Boko Haram and its acts of terrorism, according to this perspective is a focused resistance to the ‘Prince’ status of the Nigerian state as depicted in Hobbes theory. Drawing inference from this viewpoint, many scholars argue that terrorism is effective just insofar as it paralyses the leviathan status of the state and disorganizes its intended victims and evokes fear or chaos in the political system. Therefore, terrorism awakens the political class’s striving for a perfect monopoly of violence.

When viewed based on the Marxian political economy perspective, argued that the ugly scenario can significantly be located within the capitalist mode of social reproduction in which many who are dissatisfied struggle with their existential condition individually and/or collectively, under all kinds of identities such as class, ethnic or clan groups, religious groups and ideologies to change, or at least improve their position. The basic contention of the work therefore is that, although some other factors as religion and ethnicity may contribute in underpinning the violence, the nature and character of the Nigerian state is a major factor in the emergence of the deepening politico-religious violence in the northern part of the country described popularly as BokoHaram (Ogban-Iyami(2015:22),in Alafuro(2014:528).

The theory of relative deprivation provides a good framework for analysing the motives behind the Boko Haram insurgency. The spate of violence embarked upon by Boko Haram insurgents in the major cities of the North-Eastern Nigeria in the recent times can be attributed to the deplorable living conditions of the citizenry aggravated by the higher level of unemployment, poverty and intolerable accommodation, relative to their counterparts in other regions of Nigeria. The insurgency acts of collective violence or civil disorders tend to be directed against the government or the state because of the widened scope of their activities and the expectations generated on the part of citizens. In other words, such disorders are instrumental in the sense that they are directed against a single contentious issue arising from the perception, imagined or real deprivation which is responsible for high poverty ratio as the basic, instigating condition for participation in collective violence (Ugwu, 2015:5). Going by the above explanation, conditions of extreme poverty and deprivation, pervasive corruption at all levels of government, unemployment and social injustice
are the social forces that projected the emergence of Boko Haram within the lens of theory of relative deprivation. This study stresses the relevance of the Theory of relative deprivation in explaining the genesis of the Boko Haram crisis, which means many of the agitators were motivated by their seemingly unacceptable situation, which transited to a feeling of resentment and a sense of injustice towards the state and also the extreme drive to take on the state for its failure to provide the desired situation for the populace.

**Methodology**

This study employs the descriptive or exploratory research design. The study adopts the content analysis approach to answer the research questions. Information on the Boko Haram incidences was collected and carefully examined, analyzed and interpreted to identify the socioeconomic consequences of the crisis. This information was obtained from various publications and other information generated by the Nigerian government and its security agencies, the United Nations Agencies, the Institute for Economics and Peace, the START Global Terrorism Database and results of studies conducted by individual researchers.

**Discussion of findings**

This section presents an analysis based on the existing publications and other sources of information, on the socioeconomic impact of the Boko Haram insurgency on the Nigerian economy. As stated in chapter one the objectives of this study is to examine the impact of this crisis on three major spheres of life, including education, economy and healthcare. It is imperative to note that the security crisis in northern Nigeria have exhibited an unprecedented trend in terms of escalation. The dreaded Boko Haram sects overtakes ISIL to become the most deadly terrorist group in the world. Deaths attributed to Boko Haram increased by 317 per cent in 2014 to 6,644. ISIL was responsible for 6,073 terrorist deaths (Global Terrorism Index 2015). The Boko Haram terrorists have only left behind a humanitarian crisis which will take a very long time to overcome (United Nations 2015).

**Implications of the Boko Haram Crisis on Education**
One of the primary objectives of this study is to examine the extent to which the Boko Haram insurgency has impacted on education in Nigeria. By January 2015, 254 schools had been burned, as well as 276 partially destroyed in Boko Haram attacks in Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe states, according to the National Emergency Management Agency. In March 2016, Borno state authorities reported that 512 primary schools, 38 secondary schools and 2 tertiary institutions in the state had been destroyed in the six year-long conflict (Human Rights Watch 2016). This means hundreds of thousands of school children were forced out of schools in the northeast region of Nigeria. There will obviously no alternative provision for the education of the affected children, and thus educational progress in the affected areas has been set back by the insurgency.

Boko Haram, whose name in Hausa, the dominant language in northern Nigeria, means “Western education is forbidden,” has targeted and killed teachers, education workers and students. At least 611 teachers have been deliberately killed and a further 19,000 have been forced to flee since 2009. It is widely reported that Thousands more students and teachers have been injured, some in deadly suicide bombs in the same period, while others in the course of Boko Haram attacks in schools and in public occupied places and spaces across the northern Nigeria (Human Rights Watch 2016).

**Chibok School Girls Abductions**

Boko Haram’s attack on Government Secondary School, in the town of Chibok, Borno state, remains one of the largest school abductions committed by the group and has become emblematic of the group’s strategy to target education. On the night of April 14, 2014, 276 girls were abducted from their dormitories. While 57 of the girls managed to escape, 219 remain captive two years later. Boko Haram justified the abductions as punishment for the girls’ participation in Western education.

Boko Haram massively recruited students and out-of-school youths in Borno and parts of Yobe and Adamawa states, decimating efforts of federal and state authorities to bring education levels in the region on a par with the rest of the country. Those with formal education are reported to have torn up or burned school certificates to signify their rejection of Western education, sometimes encouraged by religious figures. In late 2012 and early 2013, Nigerian security forces expanded military operations against Boko Haram in Maiduguri and other strongholds, often with the assistance of local vigilante groups whose majority of members should be in schools.

**Economic Impact of the Boko Haram Insurgency on the Nigerian Economy**
This study will use the approach developed by the Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP) in 2015 to measure the economic costs of violence, including terrorism to analyse the economic implications of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria. In developing this methodology IEP uses the concept of ‘violence containment’ spending. IEP defines violence containment spending as economic activity that is related to the consequences or prevention of violence where the violence is directed against people or property. The Nigeria’s government and international community’s efforts at containing the Boko Haram insurgency have consumed trillions of Naira in direct and indirect costs since 2009. The direct cost of the Boko Haram insurgency include the military and other security agencies spending towards the war against the insurgents. The indirect costs include the costs of destructions, theft, loss of life and property resulting from the Boko Haram Insurgency. From 2009 to 2015, Boko Haram alone has carried out 2591 attacks on various targets throughout Nigeria, including on the security forces, educational facilities, markets, motorists, hospitals, telecommunication equipment, private citizens and many other targets within its reach (Global Terrorism Database 2016)

Source: Global Terrorism Database 2016
Figure 1: Boko Haram incidences (2009-2015)
It can be inferred that, all of these attacks have economic consequences. As stated earlier, almost all of the Boko Haram attacks have been targeted towards lives and properties leading to losses of economic resources. The figure below shows the number of Boko Haram attacks on various targets throughout the northern Nigeria. As can be seen, the insurgents have targeted business, government institutions, security agencies, educational institutions, media houses, NGOs, private
individuals and organizations and a host of other targets. These attacks all bear one form of economic losses or another.

![Figure 2: Boko Haram attacks by targets (2009-2015)](image)

Source: Global Terrorism Database 2016

According to the Global Peace Index (2015), Nigeria ranked 152 in the list of countries according to their level of peace, only ten points above the most terrorized country on earth, Syria. Nigeria’s score is also much worse than the regional average i.e. sub Saharan African Africa at 2.910 to 2.199. The country has spent an estimated 5.5% of its GDP on violence containment, including combating the Boko Haram terrorism.

The Boko Haram has carried out many attacks on economic infrastructures across northern Nigeria and thus crippling telecommunication services in many districts and places. Overall in 2012, some 530 base stations were damaged in Nigeria. While 380 were destroyed by floods that affected many communities in many states of the federation, 150 were damaged in northern Nigeria by BH. Like the Taliban in Afghanistan, the strategic objective of BH attacks on telecom infrastructure is to choke one of the supply lines of intelligence to Nigeria’s intelligence and security system. However, when terrorists or insurgents successfully attack critical telecommunication infrastructure, it generates costs that could be assessed from different angles depending on the nature and criticality of such a facility to the economy and security.

**Implications of the Boko Haram Insurgency on Healthcare**
The Boko Haram insurgency have negatively affected the health conditions of millions of Nigerians, especially in the northeast Nigeria. Since the onset of the armed and violent conflict between the Boko Haram sect and the Nigerian security agencies in 2009, several million Nigerians have become vulnerable to “health insecurity” that is they have had to cope with the inability to access proper healthcare services, particularly in areas that have come under the control of the Boko Haram terrorists. The medical health workers have had to abandon hundreds of medical healthcare facilities to avoid the possible attack of the Boko Haram insurgents. This development expose millions of Nigerians, particularly women, children and the elderly who have been trapped under the control of Boko Haram to adverse health risks as there were no formal healthcare services in their areas. According to the UN this violence has forced more than 1.5 million people to flee their homes, resulting in heavy social and economic dislocation in the entire north-east. The fleeing victims of the violence have lost access to the basic life supporting services including healthcare, education and feeding.

The conflict also has resulted in severe cases of malnutrition in northern Nigeria. In November 2016, The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that there are about the 1.8 million people in northern Nigeria displaced by the Boko Haram conflict. Some 169,000 people have sought shelter in neighbouring Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Health officials working with the International Rescue Committee report high cases of severe acute malnutrition in the region. The UN warned that tens of thousands of children could die from hunger in parts of north-eastern Nigeria unless urgent assistance is provided.

This report effectively echoed a similar report published by the International Commission for Red Cross (ICRC) in September 2016 which states that more than 2.4 million people have fled their homes due to the conflict in North East Nigeria. The humanitarian situation is further deteriorating as many displaced are located in hard-to-reach areas, with limited or no access to humanitarian assistance. Other internally displaced people are hosted by low-income communities, bringing already stretched services and resources under renewed pressure. The situation of the most vulnerable, such as children, women and the elderly is of particular concern.

Most who have abandoned their homes leave everything behind, and lack many of the very basic necessities. In some places, children are dying of malnutrition and other diseases. The situation also remains complex, as some have been displaced for a very long time, while others have had to
flee on multiple occasions. Generally, it is the recent arrivals to the camps who are also in the
direst need of humanitarian assistance.

The actions of the Nigerian military have escalated the humanitarian crisis in the affected areas,
especially the northeast Nigeria. According to a report issued by Amnesty international in June
2015 titled “Stars on their Shoulders. Blood on their Hands: War crimes committed by the Nigerian
military” which was a product of years of research based on extensive field visits, more than 412
interviews (with victims, their relatives, eyewitnesses, human rights activists, doctors, journalists,
lawyers, an military sources), as well as analyses of hundreds of documents and more than 90
videos. In this report we have revealed that not less than 7,000 people had died in military
detention as a result of starvation, thirst, extreme overcrowding that led to the spread of diseases,
torture and denial of medical assistance, as well as the use of fumigation chemicals in unventilated
cells. From this information, we can deduce that many people were exposed to health risks
including mortality risk by the actions of both the Boko Haram insurgents and the Nigerian
military.

**Future Work**

To determine the magnitude of the socioeconomic implications of the Boko Haram crisis in
Nigeria, rigorous statistical methods are required to be applied to numerical estimates of the trends
in education, healthcare and economic indicators of Northern Nigeria and northeast Nigeria in
particular to evaluate the magnitude of socioeconomic backwardness brought about by the Boko
Haram terrorist crisis. Interested researchers can build upon the findings of this exploratory study
by evaluating the actual size of the social and economic losses resulting from the violent conflict
of the Boko Terrorist group.

**Conclusion**

The following conclusions can be drawn from the findings and of this study.

❖ The Boko Haram insurgency has created a major setback in the Nigeria’s education system,
   particularly in the northeast Nigeria. This was precipitated by the relentless Boko Haram
   attacks on educational facilities, teachers and students in the northeast.

❖ The direct and indirect costs of the Boko haram crisis are enormous translating into trillions of
   Naira worth of military expenditure, destruction of life and economic properties and loss of
   revenue resulting from stoppage of regional and trans-border trade.
The healthcare system in northern Nigeria has been badly affected by the Boko Haram affair. Medical healthcare facilities have been left abandoned by the fleeing medical personnel across the northeast states. Dozens of thousands of life were lost and a much bigger number of people injured and millions others displaced by the crisis.

In general, the conflict has created a severe humanitarian crisis, putting millions of people at health risks and mortal danger and guaranteeing millions of people life with psychological trauma. Many children cannot go to schools due to fear Boko Haram attacks in some parts of Borno State. The Nigerian government has been forced to divert resources meant for education, healthcare and infrastructure to the procurement of arms and ammunition and personnel expenses to contain the Boko Haram terrorism.

**Recommendations**

The following are recommendations for effective programming to prevent and reduce substance use and abuse among school youth.

- Researchers interested in studying the socioeconomic consequences of the Boko Haram should pay more attention to quantifying the costs associated with the Boko Haram insurgency. Statistical facts draw more attention than mere explanation of how people are affected by the insurgency. Therefore, describing the costs of this crisis in numerical terms, in Naira or US dollars will make people appreciate its enormity and the need to forge more efforts to combat it at all costs.

- Government should work toward creation of employment opportunities especially in northeast through provision of infrastructures, revamping agriculture and addressing environmental degradation (desert encroachment and lake chard dry up).

- Religious and community leaders should be engaged in societal reorientation and enlightenment for better practice and understanding of religion, as no religion supports terrorism.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL TOOLS AS POTENT INSTRUMENT FOR POLITICAL UMPIRES
AND POLITICAL PARTIES DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

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Abstract

Political practice in Africa is at infancy stage and political actors are searching for proper identities that will allow them some level of confidence in the world stage. Over the years, Political gladiators in Africa have adopted political practices that serve their selfish purposes and feed their needs. The political umpires have oftentimes played to the gallery, allowing the influential to manipulate the political process to their favour while undermining the ground rules for equitable and balanced political practice. Democracy as the popular choice of political practice is being adopted by many African countries and since it is the government of the people, by the people and for the people, citizens are more inclined to believing that democracy will protect their interests. On the other hand, political parties are easily hijacked by the highest bidders who determine who gets what in the political arena. Usually, Political parties are allowed to scrutinize and present candidates for political offices. Political parties set their standards and rules within the political process as allowed by the umpires. People seeking political offices must align themselves with political parties and abide by party rules before they are selected to represent their parties in elections. To ensure sanity and sanctity of the political process, it has become imperative to employ psychological tools to scrutinize and select the most appropriate candidates to represent the people through the political parties as should be allowed by the political umpires. This will surely enhance political development in Africa.

Keywords: Political Umpire, Political Parties, Political Process, Democracy, Election, Psychological Tools, African Countries
Introduction

Employment of psychological tools in the political process might seem an aberration to the undiscerning mind. It is important to understand the purpose, functionality and essence of psychological assessment tools when applied to situations. Several political commentators have wrongly adduced the use of psychological tools to a means of identifying behavioral pathologies and disequilibrium among political contestants. This obviously is fallacious as psychological tools in whatever form are commonly employed in normal life and corporate environments such as schools, corporate organizations, hospitals, homes, social activities, etc. Psychological tests are often used in selection processes across organizations, schools, etc. and it can also be used in several political situations for assessment and selection purposes.

It is pertinent to state that psychological tools used for evaluation or assessment are designed and constructed by properly trained psychologists who have been exposed to rigorous training on psychometrics. Psychologists are the only professionals who, as part of their doctoral education and the licensure process, receive extensive training and supervision in psychometrics (the theory and technique of measurement), how to select and administer tests appropriately, as well as the ethnic, racial, cultural, and other important factors that impact interpretation of psychological tests (APA, 2000). The assessments that psychologists conduct assist a wide array of individuals and institutions; including medical patients, students, parents, teachers, job applicants, individuals with disabilities, schools, colleges, businesses, and government agencies.

Psychological tools are variously structured to suit different situations and political process, political parties, electoral system, elections, party candidates and governance systems are no exceptions. Democracy is the political system that is evolving very fast in the African continent. Majority of the countries in Africa that are engaged in the political process have settled for democracy. The diverse nature of the African political system encompasses one party systems, two party systems, dominant party systems, multiparty systems, electoral systems, political competition, party coalition and networks, regional and sub-regional networks and associations,
party structures and government structures. Also in the political process, there are party management structures, formation and registration of new parties and party laws and regulations.

In the diversity of these political activities carried out by competent and trained technocrats and professionals in diverse fields, it has become expedient to engage individuals that will uphold the sanctity of the process to ensure the delivery of the dividends of democracy. The political umpires ensure smooth and credible electoral process hence they must scrutinize the components of the political process and electoral systems. The umpires give approval and register political parties. They also give approval to the candidates of political parties thereby ensuring that the right calibers of politicians are given the nod to stand for elections on behalf of the political parties. On the part of the political parties, the attainment of credible internal democracy which is the strength of a good political system can hardly be over stressed. To be successful in elections, political parties must select qualified and credible candidates with proven integrity and popularity.

Therefore, the development of African democracies and political systems will greatly hinge on the quality of political leaderships on one hand and the quality of electoral umpires across the countries of Africa among which the greater majority are still grappling with their nascent democracies. To engender the development of African political systems, the extensive utilization of psychological tools in the various stages of the political process in the different countries of Africa is being strongly advocated. If allowed, psychological tools will assist in several ways to minimize some of the negative political practices and skewed political procedures being perpetrated in some African countries. There are cases of sit-tight presidents in some African countries and issues of nepotism and corruption among African political leaders. This paper will x-ray the diverse nature of African political systems and manifest the relevance of infusing psychological assessment in the various stages of the political process in different African countries.

**An Understanding of Psychological Tools**

Psychology is the study of behavior of humans and animals including their experiences. In understanding and predicting behavior, psychological tests and other assessment tools are extensively utilized. Psychological assessment tools undergo rigorous evaluation to determine how consistently they are able to measure what they are supposed to. They are also statistically normed
(conducted on a large sample from the population), which permits comparison to a relevant group of peers and allows a psychologist to make inferences about an individual’s strengths and limitations. Finally, assessments have a standardized administration and scoring procedure, which can minimize unintended biases in the assessment process (Meyer et al., 2001).

To ascertain the efficacy of psychological tests, the American Psychological Association established the Psychological Assessment Work Group (PAWG) in 1996. By 2001, the PAWG had found that psychological tests predicted outcomes as well as, and sometimes better than, medical tests including Pap smears, magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), and electrocardiograms (Meyer et al., 2001). The authors of the study were surprised by the apparent power of psychological assessment to diagnose, describe capacities, and predict subsequent functioning and treatment needs (Clay, 2006). The American Psychological Association (APA) emphasized the purpose of psychological assessment as follows: That it should …

(a) describe current functioning, including cognitive abilities, severity of disturbance, and capacity for independent living;
(b) confirm, refute, or modify the impressions formed by clinicians through their less structured interactions with patients;
(c) identify therapeutic needs, highlight issues likely to emerge in treatment, recommend forms of intervention, and offer guidance about likely outcomes;
(d) aid in the differential diagnosis of emotional, behavioral, and cognitive disorders;
(e) monitor treatment over time to evaluate the success of interventions or to identify new issues that may require attention as original concerns are resolved;
(f) manage risk, including minimization of potential legal liabilities and identification of untoward treatment reactions; and
(g) provide skilled, empathic assessment feedback as a therapeutic intervention in itself.

APA ethical principles dictate that psychologists provide services that are in the best interests of their patients (American Psychological Association, 1992). Thus, all assessors should be able to furnish a sound rationale for their work and explain the expected benefits of an assessment, as well as the anticipated costs. Although it is valuable to understand the benefits of a test relative to its
general costs, it is important to realize how cost-benefit ratios ultimately can be determined only for individual patients when working in a clinical context (Cronbach & Gleser, 1965; Finn, 1982).

At this point, it has become necessary to state the obvious, which is that more than fifty percent of psychological tests and assessment tools are employed in the clinical and health sector hence the overwhelming use of clinical terms. A great deal of these tests and assessment tools are employed in other facets of life and human endeavor such as schools, corporate organizations, government departments and agencies and especially in political activities. Psychological assessment is crucial to the definition, training, and practice of professional psychology. Fully 91% of all practicing psychologists engage in assessment (Watkins et al., 1995), and 64% of all nonacademic advertisements listed assessment as an important prerequisite (Kinder, 1994). Assessment skills are also strong prerequisites for internships and postdoctoral training. The early professional psychologistseven defined themselves largely in the context of their role as psychological testers. Practicing psychologists currently spend 10% to 25% of their time conducting psychological assessment (Camara et al., 2000; Watkins, 1991; Watkins et al., 1995).

There are basic qualities expected of a psychological assessment tool and these are painstakingly designed to ensure as much as possible the accuracy of results emanating from such psychological tools. Some of these qualities can be outlined as ensuring - a) the Theoretical Orientation of the tool, b) Practical consideration of the tool, c) Standardization of the tool, d) Reliability of the tool, e) Validity of the tool, f) Administration of the tool, g) Interpretation of the tool, h) Computerized interpretation of the tool, etc. Before a psychological tool is used for any purpose, it is mandatory that these basic qualities are crosschecked and ascertained to ensure that results emanating from them can be relied upon. When psychological tools are designed and constructed, these basic qualities must be present before they are assured for utilization.

There are existing psychological tools that have stood the test of time over several decades and are still very effective in their application as assessment tools. Some of the popular psychological assessment tools categories are:

- Clinical Assessment tools
- Assessment Interview tools
• Behavioural Assessment tools
• Wechsler Intelligence Scale
• Wechsler Memory scale
• Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory
• Millen Clinical Multiaxial Inventory
• Rorschach scales
• Thematic Apperception Test, etc.

Psychological tools can be designed, constructed and standardized to meet the basic qualities before they are employed in the political process. The political process comprises different stages and components such as political association stage, political party stage, political membership stage, political party executive stage, electoral umpire formation, electioneering stage, political candidature, election preparation, party’s internal candidate selection/election, candidate qualification/disqualification stage, etc. It is important to know that most of these stages require some level of judgment made on groups, individuals and processes. At critical stages, there is always the need to use different types of psychological tools for better decisions and selection purposes. The use of psychological tools does not co-note any negative attributes on politicians rather it gives the political process an opportunity to manifest critical behavioural qualities possessed by intending political office holders and also exposes sterling qualities expected of critical political offices. There have been several situations when money or financial power have been used to assess political office qualification without recourse to behavioural dispositions. The attendant consequences of undermining personality attributes, emotional stability, attitudinal instability, personality problems and other social pathologies can be very grievous. Proper insertion of the use of salient psychological tools in the political process will greatly enhance the further development of nascent African democracies.

Utilization of Psychological Tools
To correctly administer and interpret psychological tests or any other tool, an examiner must have proper training, which generally includes adequate graduate course work combined with lengthysupervised experience (Turner et al., 2001). In addition to the preceding general guidelines for training, examiners should alsoacquire a number of specific skills (Moreland, Eyde, Robertson,
Primoff, & Most, 1995; Turner et al., 2001). These include the ability to evaluate the technical strengths and limitations of a test, the selection of appropriate tests, knowledge of issues relating to the test’s reliability and validity, and interpretation with diverse populations. Examiners need to be aware of the material in the test manual as well as relevant research both on the variable the test is measuring and the status of the test since its publication (Groth-Marnat 2009).

To help develop accurate conclusions, examiners should have a general knowledge of the diversity of human behavior. Different considerations and interpretive strategies may be necessary for various ethnic groups, sex, sexual orientation, or persons from different countries (see Dana 2005; Nguyen, Huang, Arganza, & Liao, 2007). A final consideration is that, if interns or technicians are administering the tests, an adequately trained psychologist should be available as a consultant or supervisor.

Specific data-based guidelines for test user qualifications have been developed by relevant professional organizations (APA, 1988; Turner et al., 2001) and these guidelines have been incorporated by most organizations selling psychological tests. Qualification forms request information regarding the purpose for using tests (counseling, research, personnel selection), area of professional expertise (marriage and family, social work, school), level of training (degrees, licenses), specific courses taken (descriptive statistics, career assessment), and quality control over test use (test security, appropriate tailoring of interpretations). Persons completing the forms certify that they possess appropriate training and competencies and agree to adhere to ethical guidelines and legal regulations regarding test use (Groth-Marnat 2009).

In addition to being appropriately trained to use tests themselves, psychologists should not promote the use of psychological techniques by persons who are not qualified. This does not mean that all psychological tests should be used exclusively by psychologists because many tests are available to other professionals. However, psychologists should be generally aware of which tests require a high level of training (i.e., individually administered IQ tests) and those that are more generally available. Interpreting test results should never be considered a simple, mechanical procedure. Accurate interpretation means not simply using norms and cutoff scores but also taking into consideration unique characteristics of the person combined with relevant aspects of the
test itself. Whereas tests themselves can be validated, the integration of information from a test battery is far more difficult to validate.

Psychologists should ordinarily give feedback to the client and referral source regarding the results of assessment (Lewak & Hogan, 2003; see Pope, 1992, 2007b). This should be done using clear, everyday language. If the psychologist is not the person giving the feedback, this should be agreed on in advance and the psychologist should ensure that the person providing the feedback presents the information in a clear, competent manner. Unless the results are communicated effectively, the purpose of the assessment is not likely to be achieved. This effective feedback involves understanding the needs and vocabulary of the referral source, client, and other persons, such as parents or teachers, who may be affected by the test results (Groth-Marnat, 2009).

The use of psychological tools in the political process demands the same quality and standards of ethical practice, hence the need for highly qualified and trained psychologists with requisite psychometrics background. The development of psychological tools for engagement in political activities is very possible but the needed resources must be available to ensure that there are no lapses. Also, the encouragement and motivation to initiate the task of developing standardized psychological tests and assessment tools for various stages of the political process must emanate from the political class, electoral umpires and various political associations and parties. There will be different assessment batteries, personality tests and behavior assessment scales to be developed for different political activities.

The political environment is unique and the development of psychological tools must be an all involving activity that encompasses the different levels of political practice starting from the umpire, the political parties and politicians. The idea of introducing psychological tools into the political process must be done with care. Remember, it is a change process and all the stakeholders must be made to understand the need and the procedures. The political umpires have the onus and responsibility of enlightening the political class on the importance of psychological tools in the political process. It is the responsibility of the trained psychologists to educate every other person in the political arena as the umpires may not have all the facts to present to the stakeholders. Also,
the psychologists must design and construct all the needed psychological tools for all the facets and levels of the political process.

Politics and Political Party Development in Africa

The history of African political parties may appear to be a relatively “long” one if we look at the origin of the first party on the continent (the True Whig Party, set up in Liberia in 1860). By 1945, however, in a region that was still largely under colonial rule, less than a dozen parties had been “established by small groups of African elites as the organized expression of their political demands for reforming the colonial system, gaining access to colonial governments and influencing colonial policy” (Mozaffar 2005a: 395). It was only with the independence of African states, and during the period that immediately preceded it, that parties began to proliferate in the Sub-Saharan context. Between 1945 and 1968, as many as 143 new political parties emerged on the continent, the essential vehicles for the mobilization of national electorates that were eventually being given the suffrage and for the formation of the first independent governments (Mozaffar 2005a: 395, Carbone 2007).

Politics and political party formation in Africa is still evolving. Countries of Africa are gradually embracing modern political systems and multiparty structures especially in democratic practices. While there are differences in the cultures of the different peoples and countries of Africa, there is a seeming unanimous understanding about democracy and its attendant advantages among most African countries. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) has been conducting studies cutting across several countries of the world and Africa has been a major part. Over thirty-five countries in Africa has been studied and their democratic developments have been in focus.

By 1989, 11 countries in Africa had military regimes, 29 countries had one-party regimes, only 5 countries practiced inclusive multiparty system while South Africa was still in racial oligarchy or apartheid regime. Most countries in the African continent have embraced the multiparty system which accommodates diverse political and cultural views in the political process. In this twenty-first century, African democracies are building on the progress already made but are still grappling with the influence of some stubborn hegemonies and tendencies.
Political Party Formation and Practice in Africa

In democratic societies, political parties are indispensable voluntary and informal associations of society, where people share commonly understood values, customs and attitudes to their role in politics. They are products of and operate within economic structures, and in a context of interests that are affected by and respond to the accumulation and distribution of goodwill and resources, including the wealth of society (Leiserson 1955). As instruments of collective action, political parties are the creation of the political elite in a bid to control the resources and personnel of government in order to implement an ideology or a political programme. According to Weiner, ‘in competitive political systems, parties are organized by politicians to win elections; in authoritarian systems, parties are organized to affect the attitudes and behaviour of the population. In both instances, an organizational structure must be forged, money must be raised, cadres recruited, officers elected or selected, and procedures for internal governing established and agreed upon’ (Weiner 1967: 1–2).

By their very nature, political parties are representative institutions that endow regimes with legitimacy; provide ideologies that represent social, economic and political interests; and produce leaders who through democratic elections form the machinery of government (from parliament to the political executive) or opportunities for political participation, or a combination of all three. Political parties also intermediate and create opportunities for upward social and political mobility—the formation of coalitions of powerful political interests to sustain government. All these functions have a major influence on politics and the way in which parties carry them out in as indicator of whether a particular democratic system is institutionalized or fragile. When they win the majority of seats in parliament, political parties’ programmes also inform the government’s policies and programmes. In Africa, some political parties have been active not only in political mobilization but also in mobilization for self-help activities, conflict management and so on (international IDEA 2007).

Democratic consolidation can hardly be achieved without political parties playing a significant role not only in the debate but also by practicing the principles and policies they advocate. Furthermore, there is also the global coalition of interests between political parties of similar
ideological orientation and regional and sub-regional parliamentary groups, with vested interests in expanding their role. Here, again, political parties have no serious competitors in the struggle for the minds and hearts of people in the political life of citizens across the globe. Mohamed Salih (1999: 355–6) argues that the external emphasis on democratic governance means that there is a need to widen the scope of political party activities and the political space within which they operate through representation and competitive politics.

Empirical evidence demonstrates that often party systems remain quite stable following their original period of formation (Lipset and Rokkan 1967; Riedl 2008; Hunter 2007; Tucker and Powell 2009 show high volatility often due to oscillations between existing parties). Even given the rational attempts by party leaders to expand beyond the existing cleavages, the system remains resilient to the idiosyncratic demands of those who wish to influence it. The party system persists over time, frequently in a suboptimal form, because party system “outcomes at any given point cannot be understood in terms of the preferences of actors existing at that same point in time, but must be explained as the product of previous choices, that were shaped by institutional conventions and capabilities” (Powell 1991 p. 189). The party systems are not the product of conscious design, but of the exercise of power at the point of the system’s formation. Party systems are thus the result of complex interdependencies and path-dependent development processes that frequently have unintended beneficiaries.

In the African democracies considered here, the goals of maximizing the chances for achieving political office, and therefore winning votes, are undisputed amongst party leaders, and the non-ideological nature of the competition for power and access to the state creates no barrier to possible strategic adaptations (Hyden 2006; IMD 2004; Salih 2003; IDEA 2007). Inter-party competition is keen; indeed, a competitive system is the key factor shaping the organizational rationalization of political party system form and function, and yet competition does not result in predictable party organizational forms for similar structural and electoral systems. Rather, the balance of power during the democratic transition shaped the forms of party organization that emerged for the founding elections and became constraints to future change, defining the nature of party competition in each national system.
Democracy and Political Practice in Africa

Riedl (2010) captured the political practice in Africa very aptly in her write-up “The Iron Cage of Democracy”. Despite seemingly equivalent democratic origins, and largely comparable conditions of low economic development, high ethnic heterogeneity, and weak state capacity, nascent party systems across Africa demonstrate incredible variation in the ways in which political parties organize and compete for power: from highly volatile systems with a proliferation of personalist, particularistic, and geographically limited parties to highly stable systems with a few nationally organized, deeply rooted parties that provide alternating majorities (Kuenzi and Lambright 2001; Riedl 2008). These democratic party systems differ cross-nationally along multiple dimensions: the level of party system institutionalization (Mainwaring and Scully 1995), the number of parties (Duverger 1954; Taagepera and Shugart 1989; Cox 1997), the degree of intra-party cohesion (Cox and McCubbins 2001; Hicken 2002), and the degree of party system nationalization (Chhibber and Kollman 1998, 2004).

Given the established variation of third wave democratic party systems in Africa, two related but distinct puzzles emerge: first, political party organizations within each national system exhibit extreme organizational homogeneity. They do not reflect the variety of viable party models apparent across the continent; rather, they converge on a common form within each country even where the particular organizational model adopted appears suboptimal. Second, these initial divergences across national party systems have exhibited “lock-in,” defying expectations of adaptation through increased coordination and learning that would predictably follow periods of extreme uncertainty and change such as democratization.

Political Umpires and Political Practice

Political umpires are bodies or institutions set up by a country for the purpose of regulating, moderating and ensuring sanity in the political process especially the conduct of free, fair and credible elections. Political umpires are supposed to be non-partisan, unbiased and show non-allegiance to any group of persons or politicians but should represent the interest of the entire country. The political umpire usually called the electoral body is usually populated by individuals without political leaning or interest who work for the interest of the country and are dedicated to ensuring level playing field for all political participants.
The political umpires sanitize the political process by setting up regulatory standards and rules to be followed by all participants – political parties, party executives, and party candidates for elective positions. These rules and regulations set by the umpire are the basis for political party registration, and also the disqualification of political party candidates for elective positions. The strength and quality of a country’s political practice, to a great extent depends on the quality of the political umpire that regulates the entire process.

Over the years, political umpires have been held responsible for poor political practice in some African countries. From the on-set, political umpires should be apolitical and must be answerable to all the citizens of any country. They are supposed to live above board without favouritism or leaning to any person, group of persons, associations or political parties. But cases abound where electoral umpires receive huge sums of money from individuals and groups seeking political offices for the purposes of rigging elections, disqualifying good candidates and jumping the rules in favour of their preferred candidates. In some countries, the consequences of electoral umpires’ manipulations have resulted in chaos and wanton destruction of properties and killings. This practice is very common in many African countries hence leading to political and electoral apathy especially when citizens begin to rationalize the needless act of voting.

**Nigerian Democratic Process as Case Study**

The Nigerian democratic experience has been a mixture of varied experiences starting immediately after the country’s independence in 1960 with a parliamentary system of government (1960 – 1967) that culminated in the country’s 30 months’ civil war (1967 – 1970). This was followed by several military coups and hand-overs till 1979 when the presidential system of government was introduced – copying the United States system. This again was truncated by military coups of 1983 and 1985 till 1990 and later 1992 when the military leadership introduced military democracy (military president). This regime was again terminated by series of civil disturbances resulting from high-handedness and suffering of Nigerian people by the military regime and then another military regime took over the country’s leadership after a brief civilian inter-regnum that lasted about three months. This last military incursion into politics was terminated in 1998, then a one-year transition regime before the current democratic dispensation which started in 1999. Nigeria
has witnessed uninterrupted democracy since 1999 and has also assisted countries in Africa to establish and maintain political party democratic regimes. So far, in Nigeria, it has been a growing experience and a developmental process with several activities, political parties, elections, court cases, enthronement of rule-of-law, etc.

The Nigerian experience, though nascent, is a school of learning for young democracies in the world. This assertion is made due to the variety of diverse experiences the country has had in few years of its democracy. Some of these diverse democratic experiences are:

- The development of the country’s electoral system
- The development of political associations that transformed into political parties
- De-registration and registration of political parties
- Intra-party and inter-party activities within the political system
- Registration of party members and its associated implications
- Development of the Legislature and people’s representation
- Enthronement of the rule-of-law into the political process
- Development of Civil Society Organizations and their impacts
- Annulment of election results and attendant consequences
- Merging of Political parties and consequences
- Defection of party members and even party leaders
- Defeat of incumbent political regime
- Democratic governance regime changes within the same party and from one party to another, etc.

Since 1999, Nigerian people have witnessed different ways of political deception by the political ruling class at the three levels of governance – Local Government, State Government and Federal Government. Nigerians have seen political leaders who campaigned vigorously for regime change and made pleasant promises to the citizens but turns around to inflict pain, suffering and poverty on the people. The citizens have also seen massive looting and corrupt-ridden leadership among the political governance class. While political democracy endures in Nigeria, Nigerian people are desirous and willing to uphold the tenets of political democracy especially after their nasty experiences since the independence of the country.
Presently, Nigeria has 68 registered political parties with only two prominent parties (All Progressive Congress- APC and Peoples Democratic Party-PDP) at the federal level. There are seemingly regional parties that function prominently along geopolitical zones that reflect major ethnic groups. The major concern remains that most of the political parties have identical manifestoes in terms of deliveries, promises and even structures.

**Psychological Tools and Political Development in Africa**

Political development in Africa will be enhanced and greatly accelerated by the infusion of the use of psychological tools at strategic stages in the political processes of the various countries. The political umpires and the political parties are needed to buy into this idea to ensure that the procedures are closely adhered to without biases. There are different psychological tools that should be employed at different stages and these tools are designed for the following:

- Anxiety – normal, abnormal and neurotic levels
- Stress – the level, intensity and impact
- Emotional Stability
- Personality Qualities
- Personality Problems and Disorders
- Cognitive Appraisal
- Intelligence Quotient Measures
- Emotional Intelligence Quotient Measures, etc.

It is important to point out the inter-relationship between these psychological measures and the general performance of an average political office holder. There are measures that depict Performance Related Political Competences for the political office holders who are required to exhibit above average intelligence and knowledge of their countries in different spheres. Some of these competences could be outlines as:

- Economic Skills competences
- Social Skills
- Internal Affairs Knowledge
- Governance Skills
The psychological tools to be designed for these diverse political stages cover a wide range of behaviours that include the following:

- Depression Inventory
- Trait Anxiety Inventory
- Symptoms Inventory
- Tests for Screening
- Emotional Status and level of Adjustment
- Problem Complexity / Chronicity
- Coping Style
- Subjective Distress
- Problem Solving
- Resistance proneness, etc.

**Challenges of Political Development in Africa**

African political development has gone through phases after the journey through colonial administration in most African countries. Since the early 90’s, most African countries have embraced multiparty system of democracy and are grappling with their internal challenges. Basedau (2005) summarized the outcome of a conference on survival and growth of political parties in Africa, outlining the challenges and solutions as follows:

- Africa’s political parties remain deficient in many ways, particularly their organizational capacity, programmatic profiles and inner-party democracy. *They do indeed differ from political parties in other regions*, and their main feature seems to be their ethnic support base. However, the ethnic fragmentation in African societies expresses itself in ethnic congress parties that comprise ethnic coalitions rather than political parties representing one particular group (which will be too weak to attain an electoral majority).
- There is a clear case for an improved performance of political parties in Africa, possibly or particularly by means of state regulation. Some of the shortcomings such as mushrooming of parties, weakness of parties and confrontational policies of parties can be addressed by several types of legal tools, namely the national Constitutions, party and electoral laws, and party constitutions. More precisely, these tools include certain electoral systems, registration requirements, provisions for party funding and codes of conduct.

- African political parties have to deal with two types of internal groupings: Formal groupings such as youth and women wings tend to play a rather marginal role; women in particular, remain widely underrepresented in African political parties. Informal “factions” enjoy distinctly higher importance. “Factionalism”, frequently associated with ethnicity, has pejorative connotations in African politics given its potential and actual centrifugal effects on the integrity of political parties.

- Generally, opposition parties in Africa suffer from a lack of capacity, particularly between elections. As a result, they are liable to co-optation and/or marginalization by ruling parties. The key issue seems to be increased (public) party funding for opposition parties, but also credible principles and appealing programmes.

- In Africa, the relations between parliamentary groups and political parties are characterized by a playing field which is not level. It is political parties that dominate parliamentary groups and not vice versa. Parliamentary groups lack cohesion and capacity, individual MPs find themselves in an uneasy balance between the party on whose ticket they are elected and their constituencies.

- Coalition governments have been a rare phenomenon in sub-Saharan Africa since the re-emergence of multi-party politics in the early 1990ies, confined to a few cases such as Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius and South Africa. Some of the electoral institutions, for instance plurality electoral systems, are not conducive to coalition-building since they tend to favour the concentration of the party system.

**Recommendations**

Given the extensive explanations and views of experts and professionals on the efficacy of psychological tools generally, its application and impact on the political process in Africa and the attendant potential benefits, the following recommendations are made:
✓ Political umpires in African countries should encourage the infusion of psychological tools in the political process especially in ensuring that the right quality of political office holders emerge to drive the political process.

✓ To uphold internal democracy and ensure the emergence of the right party candidates in political party affairs, psychological tools should be employed to accentuate the quality of screening and selection of appropriate candidates that can represent the party in elections.

✓ Political umpires and parties in African countries should embrace the use of psychological tools in order to encourage the right experts who are psychometrics to be involved in the construction and design of peculiar psychological tools for the political process.

✓ The use of psychological tools must be done professionally involving psychology professionals, trained non-professionals, Proper administration of the tools, proper interpretation of tools outcomes, necessary feedbacks and a promise to use the test outcomes, etc.

✓ The use of psychological tools must adhere to the ethical standard practices of psychological tools usage. This should be insisted by all who are willing to employ psychological tools.

✓ To enhance political development in African countries, political umpires and parties should encourage and support the development of psychological tools for their utilization.

✓ Political development and party formation in Africa must be liberalized to accommodate all interested individuals and not allowed to be hijacked by a few money bags who manipulate the political process.

✓ Coalition governments must be encouraged in African countries in order to stem the tide of monopoly by a few money bags.

**Conclusion**

So far, this article has examined the nature of psychological tools and its prevalence in all areas of human endeavor hence its application in the political process should not be an aberration. There are basic things that must be done before the political processes in African countries can benefit from the utilization of psychological tools in the various stages of their political processes. Therefore, it has become very important to involve psychological tools in the political process of African countries to ensure qualitative political development in most countries.
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COOPTING AFRICA IN THE NEW GLOBAL INTEGRATION INITIATIVE: THE RELEVANCE OF THE CHINESE ONE BELT ONE ROAD INITIATIVE

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Abstract

The paper examines one of the best contemporary efforts in developing inclusive global integration that combines both developed and developing countries of the various regions and continents of the world. The paper analyses some of the historical and compartments of the one belt one road initiative developed by China, in making sure that all regions partner for new global economic outlook which will be beneficial to all in the long run. The paper adopts library instrument in making a descriptive research, where findings show that, the belt and road initiative will be of great benefit to the African continent. The paper concludes that the initiative of One Belt One Road cuts across three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa, targeting 4.4 billion people in 67 countries representing 63% of the world population. The one belt one road initiative is indeed a beneficial one for the African countries who are lucky to be chosen for the initiative as it will give rise to infrastructural development of face-lift in these African countries and will also assist in the industrialization and creation of employment opportunity in these African countries, like the case of the Suez Canal in Egypt. The paper also recommends that China must go beyond just three countries in Africa to enable her drive to fully industrialize Africa and Asia through the initiative being felt and achieved.

Keywords: Coopting; Africa; Global; Integration; One Belt One Road; Initiative

Introduction

In a span of three decades, China has transformed from an agricultural, self-contained and inward looking state into a global economic powerhouse second only to the United States (Cheung & Lee,
In line with her growing stature in the international system, China has sought to exert influence on the global stage, from Latin America, Middle East, South East Asia, to Africa (Freidberg, 2005). One way of achieving this and as part of China’s global grand strategy is the 21st Century Silk Road Economic Belt Initiative, informally known as One Belt, One Road.” In the same vain, Sino-Africa relations have grown exponentially since the 1955 Bandung conference. According to the 2011 economic outlook report, China has surpassed the US as Africa’s single largest trading partner in volumes from USD1 billion in 1980 to USD200 billion in 2014 (Anami, 2016), leading to critics and supporters to hail and question this new partnership between Africa and China at the same time. This paper seeks to have a re-look at this partnership through the lenses of the One Belt, One Road” Initiative. It seeks to find answers to the extent of Africa’s involvement in China’s global strategy, its status in Africa, projected benefits and how they will be distributed between China and Africa, and future prospects. By answering these questions, the paper shades more light on the position Africa holds in China’s plans, China is important to Africa, but is Africa also important to China? Or is it a case of same path, different actors in perpetuating the bit-part player and down-trodden supplier of raw materials that Africa was relegated by the Western world, only that now, China is involved. China’s deepening engagement with Africa has led to it being labelled as a new colonial and imperial power (Naidu, 2007).

Theoretical Framework

The Internationalist Theory: The internationalist theory is an off-shoot of the school of liberalism, just like functionalist and neo-functionalist theorists. The internationalists give no condition to regional integration and believe that integration will bring more interdependence and cooperation among nations (Sheriff, 2013). The internationalists see substance of globalization, free trade and open market economic system as binding principles that can deepen cooperation and interdependence. This will also avoid conflict, tension and confrontation among member-states. If liberal-institutionalism should support internationalism, it becomes noted that regional integration is to be conducted under the watch of some binding rules and regulations that all members must have to respect (Sheriff, 2013). The ‘One Belt, One Road’ initiative as indeed an internationalized initiative that cuts-across three continents and aimed at affecting about 63% of the global population; such an initiative should have binding principles that will guide the initiator
China on what she must and must not do during the course of the implementation of the initiative. As it did have a memorandum of understanding with Egypt, same should be done with Kenya and Djibouti to enable her have a clear-cut and defined rules of what it aimed to achieve and also gain in these countries in Africa.

**Literature Review**

The original Silk Road was established over 2,100 years ago during the Han Dynasty (206 BC-24 AD) to promote trade and cultural development between China, Asia, Africa and Europe and covered over 7,000km (Li et al, 2015). The New Silk Road Economic Belt ”christened fondly as One Belt One Road” initiative or Yídàiyìlù was introduced by China’s President Xi Jinping as the center-piece of his foreign and economic policy in 2013. First to be introduced in September 2013 at Nazarbayev University in Kazakhstan was the Silk Road Economic Belt followed closely in October by the second part, the Maritime Silk Road announced in Indonesia (Ravi, 2016). It is by far the most significant and far-reaching project China has ever embarked on (Varlare&Putten, 2015). However, first to moot the idea was a Chinese scholar, Wang who in 2012 wrote an opinion article to the Global Times conceptualizing this (Li, et al 2015; Callahan, 2016). 

The blue print dubbed “Chinese Marshall Plan” by some critics and defended by supporters, will define his administration and legacy. The One Belt One Road project or OBOR is essentially comprised of two interdependent and interrelated concepts; the “Silk Road Economic Belt” and the “Maritime Silk Road”. Essentially, the belt is comprised of a network of roads, rails, power grids and gas pipelines that run over land from Central China in Xian, the capital of Shanxi Province through Central Asia, to Moscow, Rotterdam and Venice (EURASIA). This conglomerate of infrastructural projects will therefore pass through a number of countries. The Maritime Silk Road (MSR) on the other hand is its oceanic counterpart. This involves the construction of a network of sea ports in the South China Sea, Indian Ocean and the South Pacific Ocean. It will essentially connect South East Asia, Oceania, East Africa and North Africa through the Mediterranean. The core pillars of the initiative are “promotion of policy coordination, facilitating connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration, people-to-people bonds” (Varlare&Putten, 2015). The African section of the belt and road is of concern for this paper. It covers three countries; Kenya, Djibouti and Egypt.
One Belt, One Road in Numbers

The Initiative cuts across 3 continents of Asia, Europe and Africa. It targets 4.4 billion people in 67 countries directly representing 63% of the total global population. At a GDP of 2.1 trillion US dollars, this represents 29% of the total world GDP (Leverett et al, 2015 as quoted in Fasslabend, 2015). Two financial sources, the Asia Infrastructural Investment Bank (AIIB, USD100 billion) and the Silk Road Fund (SRF) with a funding portfolio of USD40 billion will bankroll the bulk of the projects within the belt and road (Cheung & Lee, 2015). The project impact as a conclusion of these numbers is therefore substantial.

Status of the ‘One Belt One Road’ in Africa

According to Xinhua News Agency, 3 countries in Africa are directly involved in the belt and road initiative; Kenya, Djibouti and Egypt. However, the extent of their involvement is unclear, with many documents indicating Egypt as the sole African state to be involved in this initiative. Various factors have been attributed for the inclusion of these sole 3 African states into the center piece of China’s 21st Century diplomacy;

Realism, security and global geopolitics

World politics has been characterized by power politics. The horn of Africa region and the Suez Canal has been traditionally a Western-controlled zone with the US and her allies being the primary guarantor for maritime security. Whichever powerful state controls the security of that region, also controls the maritime trade routes between Asia, Europe and Africa. Egypt and Djibouti, two of the three African states part of the OBOR are strategically located at the heart of global geo-politics playground. Djibouti is quite unique as it now hosts military bases for the US, France and now China. While the fight against pirates has often been cited as the propellant behind this, one can’t quite push the power struggles as being the true variable for these great powers having such a heavy military presence in the region. The entry into Djibouti and the region by China could tilt and realign security partnerships that have underpinned global order since 1945 (The Sun, 22nd August, 2016).

For Egypt, its strategic geographical location at the Suez Canal gives it an indispensable status, explaining why it’s the only African nation to officially sign bilateral agreements with China on One Belt, One Road. The initiative simply cannot afford to exclude Egypt. On the other hand, the inclusion of Djibouti has been a result of logical assumptions than from official pronouncements. This can purely be explained under the quest for global dominance and the geopolitics of the horn
of Africa as stated earlier. With 30% of world shipping going through the entrance of the Red Sea from the Indian Ocean and on to the Suez Canal, Djibouti and Egypt are very critical (Financial Times, April 1, 2016). Though Kenya is on the semi-official route map of the OBOR, no official declaration has been made by both governments. Its inclusion makes an interesting case as no direct security, political, economic or trade link can be noticed from the onset. Kenya is neither resource rich, nor is it a high trading partner to Beijing. Its location along the East African Coast of the Indian Ocean, in relation to some key China partners however, can give pointers into why it was co-opted into OBOR. Geographically, Kenya borders South Sudan which is a key exporter of oil to China. With the violence between North and South Sudan being far from over, the need for an alternative route to export oil to China becomes necessary (Callahan, 2016). Kenya offers this alternative hence perhaps explaining her inclusion in OBOR.

**Core Projects and Projected Impact by Country**

**Projected Impact in Kenya:** With a GDP of 63.40 billion US dollars and a population of 46 million as at 2015 (World Bank, 2016), Kenya is the point of entry for the maritime silk road into Africa from Asia. Through an analysis of documents and news items, the projects linked to OBOR initiative could be deciphered. Amongst the core projects are upgrading of the Mombasa Port, building of a new ultra-modern port in Lamu, building a new standard gauge railway line linking Mombasa port, the capital Nairobi, and the land locked neighbouring countries. The railway and pipeline is envisaged to link the ports in Kenya, to oil fields in South Sudan and Uganda, while also joining with Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi facilitating exports for these countries products. The railway line is expected to cover 2,700km with phase I, the 610 kilometer stretch from Mombasa to Nairobi construction underway. The estimated cost is 25 billion US dollars, with China’s Exim Bank being the principal financier covering 90% of the costs. (Cascais, 2015) Financing for the construction of the new port and the pipeline is unclear, with ambiguity on what role the OBOR institutions AIIB and SRF have in the Kenyan chapter of this initiative. Worth noting here is the lack of a clear bilateral agreement specifically highlighting how Kenya and China will work towards the new Silk Road venture.

In Kenya the most salient impact is on the infrastructural front, with an estimated foreign direct capital investment of USD25 billion on the railway modernization, pipeline from Kenya to South Sudan at USD4 billion, while Lamu port and associated infrastructure investment will be USD27 billion when complete (Daily Nation, March 6 2016). This is capital which Kenya as a country
cannot raise, but OBOR and its associated financial institutions can come in and bridge the deficit. When fully operational, these projects will benefit oil export from Uganda and South Sudan, whose conflict with Sudan has led to challenges on exporting her oil to China and other countries. At the height of successful oil production by Sudan before the conflict, China imported 5% of its oil from the country (Shinn, 2014). However, due to the conflict and resultant separation between the North and South, Sudan retained 25% of the oil fields, while South Sudan retained 75%. With conflict still persisting, China’s investment in Sudanese oil is not bearing fruits as optimum production of oil has not been attained. The Kenyan route therefore offers an opportunity for South Sudan to export her oil to China without being frustrated by the North, a win-win situation for South Sudan and China. On the same breath, discovery of oil fields in Northern Uganda also diversifies oil import source markets for China. Uganda can export her oil through Kenya, as she is landlocked. With the Kenyan route secure, China has also taken care of any prospects for future OBOR expansion into the African hinterland, while getting a strategic port of call in the event of any security challenge in the horn of Africa region.

**Projected Impact on Egypt**

Tiezzi (2016) argues that, without Egypt, the Maritime Silk road is unfeasible. This makes Egypt an indispensable member of OBOR. In fact, its centrality to the initiative explains why it’s the only African country whose President Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi formally signed a memorandum of understanding with China with regards to the OBOR initiative in January 2016. The Suez Canal is the transit point between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. As an added sweetener financing to the core project with the road China gave USD1 billion to Egyptian central bank, and USD700 million loan to the National Bank. Separately, the expansion of the Suez Canal over a 10-year period, and building of a new administrative capital for Egypt have been initiated, with the colossal sums of USD230 million and USD45 billion respectively being the costs that China will foot.

The infrastructural impact has already been highlighted. However, aside from this, the OBOR initiative in Egypt is expected to have other positive impacts. The China-Egypt Suez Economic Zone a result of the initiative will create over 10,000 jobs for Egyptians. Egypt will also get a brand new administrative capital aside from Cairo. President Al-Sisi gets to have a partner in China for his ambitious projects. On the Chinese side, with the completion and operation of the Suez Canal falling under Chinese control, this comes with substantial influence on power and security
dynamics within the region previously dominated by the West. Tiezzi (2016) says “imagine the New Suez Canal, completed with Chinese financing and managed by a Chinese company as the gateway between Europe and Asia”. The benefits will be immense. Chinese footprints in matters of global security, and specifically the Mediterranean region will be felt.

Projected Impact on Djibouti

The involvement of Djibouti in OBOR is not as clear as Egypt’s. However, there are 14 megaprojects funded by China as part of the belt and road initiative, worth 9.8 billion US dollars. These are aside from the military base at port Dolareh, which is the main investment aimed at cushioning the maritime routes security interests in East Africa and the Indian Ocean (Edens, 2015). This base is of strategic importance to China as it is the first Chinese military base of any kind, outside of Chinese soil (Linehan, 2016). Officially, the base is to shove up anti-piracy in the area, but speculation is rife that it could be used to guard the trade artillery linking Asia and Europe, through the Suez Canal which China is modernizing. The base will act as comprehensive supply point” for Chinese ships, with berths for loading and off-loading cargo. The estimated cost for construction of the military base is USD590 billion, and will mainly be supported by China (Liu, 2016). Military expert Li Jie summarizes the significance of this undertaking, the depot will play an important role in the one belt, one road strategy and enable China to respond rapidly to emergencies in North Africa, Middle East and South Asia (Cheung & Lee, (2015).

With a population of 887,900 in 2015, and a combined GDP of 1.589 billion US dollars, Djibouti does not offer much in terms of market and trade for Chinese products. Other reasons besides trade therefore informed China’s decision to enter Djibouti into the MSR initiative. China’s entry into the country with a military base makes Djibouti to be the most important ally in political and security matters for 3 of the 5 permanent members of the UNSC. Aside from China, Djibouti also hosts a French military base and the biggest US base in Africa, Camp Lemonnier. Russia is also thought to harbor ambitions of setting up a base here (Edens, 2015). This has propelled the small horn of Africa nation to the coveted status of being almost invincible in world politics. Aside from the politics, economically, the USD1.589 billion dollar GDP African country (World Bank, 2015), is in dire need of capital. As part of the OBOR financing, China will inject 9.8 billion US dollars to infrastructural projects other than the military port base, which will cost a further USD590 billion. This is a substantial improvement in its infrastructural investment. China on the other hand,
gets a strategic position in the geo-politics of North Africa, Middle East and Europe, a sphere previously dominated by the US. (Linehan, 2016) It’s reported that China’s entry into Djibouti was actively opposed by the US, even going as far as proposing the US to double its rent for Camp Lemonnier, due to its implications to the geo-politics of the region (Colombant, 2012). China has therefore clearly scored one against the US in the horn of Africa. This, coupled with her control of the Suez Canal, will give her immense powers.

**OBOR in Africa: Opportunities and Challenges**

As earlier shown, Africa’s inclusion in the Belt and Road Initiative is minute. While much has been said about growing Sino-African relations, a study of Africa in China’s most ambitious ever project does not support the importance that China places in Africa as a region and continent. Three countries out of 67 in the OBOR do not in any way support the claim that Africa is an important ally to China. In fact, China’s 2015 Africa policy paper do not mention One Belt, One Road” in Africa. In its current states, what opportunities and challenges does OBOR have in Africa?

**Opportunities Current Infrastructural Projects in Africa**

The 1,780km Tanzania Zambia Railway line (TAZARA) has symbolized China’s presence in Africa since the 1970’s. Currently China is involved in numerous mega infrastructural projects in Africa. For purposes of this paper, some of those which lie within the mandate of OBOR will be highlighted. Top on the list is the 2,700km East African Railway line. This includes Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan. As indicated earlier, extent of involvement of OBOR affiliated institutions in financing the Kenyan part are not clear, though China’s Exim bank has been linked. (Friedman, 2009) Another major railway project is the 1,315km Kano-Lagos railway line in Nigeria, the 1,302km Bengue railway line in Angola (which brings to total 4,000km railway in Angola constructed by China), 560km Belinga-Santa Clara railway in Gabon, 172km railway in Libya and 430km rail in Mauritania to name but a few. To put this into perspective, the entire African rail network is 50,000km (Executive Research Associates, 2009). On the other hand, China is constructing port facilities in Kenya, Tanzania, Gabon, and Djibouti among others, with most road construction being handled by Chinese contractors, using Chinese financing. The 1,302km Angola railway line will be linked with Angola-Zambia and TAZARA in future. On port construction, China is involved in construction of the Lamumega port in Kenya, Bagamoyo port in Tanzania, Santa Clara deep water port in Gabon amongst others (Greig, Mason, &Hamner,
It’s safe to say even without OBOR therefore, China is heavily involved in opening up Africa.

Firstly, with China involved in all these infrastructural projects in Africa, coupled with OBOR’s vision for improving connectivity among countries, the initiative will offer a centralized, clear vision, and concerted effort in streamlining infrastructural development in Africa. A case in point is the railway line in Angola which is complete on their side of the border, but under-utilized because neither Democratic Republic of Congo nor Zambia have linked up to connect to the port, hence hindering efforts to export their products. Secondly, capital for infrastructural development in Africa comes from various Chinese bank loans under individual bilateral agreements entered into by these countries. Through OBOR, the capital inflow can be clearly centrally monitored through the AIIB and the SRF. This need is further strengthened with China signing a memorandum of understanding with the African Union (AU) in January 2015 to connect all 54 countries with high speed rails, ports and roads. The traditional „equatorial land bridge” which is the natural trade route between East and West Africa can be a good starting point for OBOR in Africa expansion. This route begins in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Congo’s, Central African Republic, to the West in Douala Cameroon. (Kennedy & Parker, 2015)

**Results and Discussion**

The initiative of One Belt One Road cuts across three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa, targeting 4.4 billion people in 67 countries representing 63% of the world population. This initiative is a laudable one given that it will attend to the needs of both the industrialized and developing countries of the world with the needs of these countries met if the initiative is properly attended to. Three countries in Africa are directly involved in the belt and road initiative – Egypt, Kenya and Djibouti – the extent of this involvement is unclear with many documents indicating Egypt as the sole African state to be involved in the initiative. This also plays a similar game with the methodology and operational style of the West that brings up lofty projects that are aimed to developed the developing African countries when in truth, they are meant to compound the woes of underdevelopment of the African continent which accepts their economic blueprints of development.

Egypt and Djibouti are strategically located at the heart of the global geo – politics playground, hence the interest from China to integrate them in the OBOR initiative. Given that China has
announced her stead and prominence in international politics, the need to follow up in her economic strength and dominance through making in-road to the economic assistance of Africa and partnership to outwit the West has made her invest the much she can into the development of the countries in Africa. Kenya offers an alternative route to China to import oil from South Sudan without having to pass through North Sudan that will not easily be a conducive route to admissible to the economic interest and development of the Southern Sudan. Egyptian President, Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi is the only African country or president to have signed a memorandum of understanding with China with regards to the OBOR initiative in 2016; this goes to show that the initiative in other countries in Africa are either put in place to make these other countries have some false hope or ward-off the West from trampling on their interest in those countries.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The one belt one road initiative is indeed a beneficial one for the African countries who are lucky to be chosen for the initiative as it will give rise to infrastructural development of face-lift in these African countries and will also assist in the industrialization and creation of employment opportunity in these African countries, like the case of the Suez Canal in Egypt. The initiative is also aimed at establishing China global economic hegemony through the establishment of her presence in three of the five continents in the world, and which is aimed at getting involved more than half of the world population as beneficiaries of the initiative. It is indeed a laudable initiative that will threaten the West to seat up in drawing up their own economic blue-prints for their countries and the world.

It is recommended that given the way and manner Kenya and Djibouti’s initiative was drawn without any formal agreement through a memorandum of understanding, China can decide to abandon the initiative in these countries and will not be held liable to it given that no document was signed as a binding force on them, therefore, Kenya and Djibouti must do well to insist on this nature of agreement for the initiative to be seen and recognized as a valid one.

China must be seen as operating the same economic line of trade as the west that has not been favourable to Africa and Asia in the past as this will make these countries to have the same distrust as it presently has for any economic policy coming from the west.

China must go beyond just three countries in Africa to enable her drive to fully industrialize Africa and Asia through the initiative being felt and achieved.
China must not use this initiative to make these African and Asian countries a site for the dumping of her waste products or flood the markets of these countries with substandard cheap products from their countries; rather it should establish their industries in these countries to enable the increase of employment opportunity for citizens of these countries – ‘Chinalization of African Initiative’

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MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD: NIGERIA IN FOCUS

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Abstract

The paper is an examination of the multinational corporations and underdevelopment in the third Nigeria. The main objective is to examine the role of transnational corporations in developing economies of Nigeria. The activities, the nature, role and operations of multinational corporations deserve analysis. This study intends to direct attention to the nature and collective consequences of these transnational corporations especially Unilever Nigeria Plc. who the writer strongly believe are the producers of consumable goods. The exploitative consequences of transnational corporations include: decapitilisation, technology retardation, structural distortion, political instability and cultural degradation all of which intensify problems of underdevelopment in Nigeria. The paper instrumentalized the secondary source of data as its methodology. The findings show that there were surplus transfer of technology and marketing and pricing practices of the multinational corporations were not helping matters. It concludes that multinational corporations are agents of underdevelopment. The paper had also recommends among other things that government especially the law makers should enact proactive laws that regulate the operation of multinational corporations and that their roles should completely be subordinate to the government development orientation especially the change mantra of the present administration.

Keywords: Multinational Corporations, Underdevelopment, Third World Countries

Introduction

Multinational corporations (MNC’s) are very large conglomerate companies owned by foreigners, who have headquarters in one foreign country and establish subsidiaries in other countries. The
term multinational corporation is popularly used to describe the instrumentality of transnational phenomenon on which has resulted in the internationalization of production.

Historically, the roots of modern multinational have been traced to Europe’s great trading companies beginning with the Dutch East India in 1689. The rate of growth of multinational corporations expanded in the 19th, 20th and into 21st century. Not until the World War II, however, did the development of transitional corporations truly accelerated. Between 1945 and 1968 foreign direct investment in the international ventures increased to 10 percent annually. Multinational corporations have been important transmission belts for the diffusion of technology and managerial know-how across national boundaries.

In Nigeria, the historical origin of transnational corporation date back to 19th century when the British imperialist colonized the country by creating a political climate and propagating the economic theory of the national advantage of direct foreign investment and import substitution, industrialization, which offered the social and intellectual framework for the establishment and growth of transnational corporation in the country. Multinational corporations are charged with shifting productive facilities abroad to avoid demands of powerful labour unions for higher wages.

In Wader, (2006) the practice of moving from industrially advanced countries to industrially backward countries where labour is cheap and unions weak or nonexistent; the activities of transitional corporations is also to maximized profits and increase the wealth of local elites at the expense of the poor.

This paper examines the existing literatures concerning the activities of transitional corporations and their role in economic and political status of third world countries. It has equally shed more lights on positive and negative consequences of transnational corporations. The study also, stated the claims of transnational corporations to provide employment opportunities, corporate responsibilities and challenges to these claims were particularly made with reference to the theory of political economy of international relations by Robert Gilpin.

**Conceptual and Contextual Framework**

**Multinational corporations**

Transnational corporations have been defined variously by different scholars. Vernon (1974), defines a transnational as a” a cluster of corporations of diverse nationality joined together by ties of common ownership and responsive to a common management strategy”. In his book, *the political economy of international relations*, Gilpin (1974), gave simple working definition of
transnational corporation as “a firm that owns and manages economic units in two and more countries. Suffice it to say therefore, that such direct investment means the extension of managerial control across boundaries. The international operation of these corporations is consistent with liberalism but is directly counter to the doctrine of economic nationalism and the view of countries committed to socialism and state intervention in the economy.

According to Heinecke, (1985:11), a transnational corporation is a multi-product firms most of whose shares are owned by few people in one country, and whose manufacturing and state outlets are fragmented into many partial subsidiary operations across a linked system straddling many countries. Nearly all its revenues come from its overseas branches. By investing in host countries outside their own areas, TNC’s take out much more capital than they bring in, capital flows out through debt-servicing and manipulation of export-import prices, worsening poverty in already poor countries. Less than a quarter of the finance comes from the parent company; the remaining comes from locally raised funds. TNC’s give as little as possible and take away as much as is politically acceptable. Their production costs are much lower in poor countries like Nigeria where the factors of production of land and labour are relatively cheaper, and legal controls are generally weak. These large business corporations are found in the oil, construction, marketing, automobile and communication industries. In communication for instance, there is MTN Globacom and others. Chevron-Texaco, Elf Mobil and others in oil; Julius Berger, Dantata and Sawoa and others in construction; Glaxo-Smithcline, Pfizer May and Baker in pharmaceutical, Peugeot, Volkswagen, Mercedes, and others in the automobiles and UAC, Tantalizers, PZ, Unilever and others in the marketing.

Heinecke (1985), further observed that, the apparently unimpeachable doctrine of comparative advantage, according to which each nation is naturally destined to specialize in what it is the best at producing, obscures the real organization of the international division of labour whereby most participant specialize in starvation while a few assume that of easy responsibility of collecting profits.

**Underdevelopment**

Rodney (1972) argued that underdevelopment is not absence of development, because every people have developed in way or another and to a greater or lesser extent. All the countries term as underdeveloped in the world are exploited by others; and the underdevelopment with which the world is now pre-occupied is a product of capitalist, imperialist and colonialist exploitation.
Underdevelopment makes sense only as a means of comparing levels of development. It is very much tied to the fact that human social development has been uneven and from strictly economic view- point some human groups have advanced further by producing more and becoming wealthy. African and Asian societies were developing independently until they were taken over directly or indirectly by the capitalist powers. When that happened, exploitation increased and the export of surplus ensued, depriving the societies of the benefit of their natural resources and labour. That is the genesis of underdevelopment in the contemporary world.

**Third World and Capitalist Economy**

Links between capitalist economies and the third world countries are indicated in the effects of economic recession at the third world. Wilmot, (1985), illustrated, income from oil and other industrial raw materials required by the metropolis could drastically reduce as a result of this recession, thereby creating problems for even the economically fairly buoyant countries such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and Nigeria amongst others. Economic links between the capitalist industrialized world and the third world are structurally and historically developed. Scholars such as Rodney (1972) and Frank (1967; 1968) have tried to show how structurally these links are. They observed that third world and the capitalist countries constitute a single system in which pools of wealth are concentrated in the metropolis and poverty in the periphery/satellite states. Thus links of trade, unequal exchange and outright pillage of the third world, guaranteed that rich north become richer and the poor south become poorer as they sink deeper into poverty and despair.

**Methodology**

This paper is an inquiry as to whether the transnational corporations through its roles and operations have been able to contribute meaningfully to the political and socio economic development of their host countries. They exploit the third world countries through secretive decision making, transfer pricing, under invoicing and over invoicing of exports and imports. They engage in a range of activities, many of which have little to do with the development aspirations of the countries in which they operate. The TNC’s are not interested in the development of their host countries or establishment of industries that would produce further machines. Their activities create structural disarticulation and dislocation in the third world. For instance, many of the manufacturing activities of the TNC’s particularly in the automobile are more of assemblage of technically knocked out parts. A Peugeot assembled in Nigeria for example is not as qualitative as
the one manufactured in France, the home country of Peugeot. Again all the industries established by the TNC’s have high level of import dependence in terms of raw materials and technical know-how.

TNC’s behave like sovereign states in their host countries and even perform more efficiently those functions which are often, wrongly, thought to be peculiar to nation-states. They extract and deploy resources, accumulate capital, coordinate production, distribute income, intervene in their political life and even determine their political interest, and maintain the type regime. Charles and Eugene 1999 asserted that it is on record that the activities of the multinational conglomerate that spear-headed the overthrow of Salvador Allendale of Chile and to some extent the Murtala’s regime in 1976. If Nigeria obeys their dictates and becomes exporter of disintegrated industrial commodities to be assembled into finished products elsewhere, this will be possible only if she throws open her door evermore widely to TNC’s giving them even greater concessions such as free enclave of land, super exploited cheap labour and tax-holiday and even the most talk about tax-waiver for Aswani brothers/Stallion in rice importation scandal; while they are busy repatriating surplus profits to their home countries.

Profits officially declared and published by TNC’s are only as small part of effective returns. The parent company exacts monopoly rent from its subsidiaries by charging them inordinately high licensing fees and royalties for the use of technology over which the parent has monopoly control. Real profits are thus disguised. A TNC may decide to show high profits in one country and low profits in another, if the tax on profits in one country and low profit in another. Taxes imposed by the host country evade by intra-company trade, as subsidiaries are forced to buy supplies from and make sales to the parent at artificial rigged prices. TNC’s thus make contribution to long-term stable economic growth in the host countries. TNC’s get an average of 45% return on their investments in Africa, contrasted to 15% in their home countries. And this has negative effect on investment possibilities at the host economy. Nigerian labour is still being sold out at murderously low wage-rates and is prevented from organizing itself into trade unions, and is repressively disciplined. It is only by making super profits in poor countries that TNC’s offset the higher wages which trade unions won for the workers in their home countries.

Bribery is the standard method by which TNC’s gain and maintains access to politicians and officials in poor countries. According to George (1997), in 1997 the United States senate disclosed that the ninety-five American TNC’s gave bribes or lobby as is used to be called amounting to one
billion dollars in three years. By depositing large sums of money into selected individuals’ foreign accounts, the TNC’s co-opt key local personalities who use this unearned wealth to generously buy the loyalty and support of their gullible clients. Since the units of capital are so much longer than nation states, the rulers of semi-colonial countries identify their interests primarily with the international business community, the TNC’s bourgeoisie thus negating their flimsy appeals to national pride, patriotism and self-reliance. They are denationalized because they look for direction and leadership not to their own people but to the boardrooms of Detroit, Frankfurt and Tokyo. (Charles, 1994: 66).

Far from producing the essential goods needed by the common man, the TNC’s mostly produce unnecessary, over priced and harmful materials which are sold by means of deceptive, dishonest and soporific advertising. Milk-substitutes and feeding bottles for instance, are sold at spurious appeals to the indispensable prestige value of these commodities whose contribution to better nutrition remain very questionable. A typical example is the Nestle, a subsidiary of Unilever Nigeria PLC, the manufacturers of Nutrend, Cerelac, Nestle Milo and Maqggi which are primary consumable goods.

**Discussion of Findings**

Unilever Nigeria PLC set its foot on economic arena of Nigeria in 1961 as a trading organization, today it is one of the leading food manufacturing and house hold items. The company has set to bring more new products as the return to democracy has created a favourable economic environment. The present democratic arena has raised business hope. From 1999 when the country returns to democracy to the smooth transition from one civilian regime to another, the administrations bring back the economy on sound footing. They gave more emphasis on policies aimed at resuscitating manufacturing industries and on macro-economic policies which tend to promote co-operation with other members of the organized private sector and other stakeholders. On a general note, Unilever was established as people oriented conglomerate which its key assets are people, products brands, know-how research and development. Charnel (1998), asserted the fact that, it has spend over 700 million CHF on research and development per year. Unilever has the following objectives

- The business activities in Nigeria take cognizance of the need to comply with the relevant local laws and regulations on environmental protection and sustainable development of natural resources;
➢ It is their policy to take local legal requirements as minimum, but in the absence of any local laws they adopt internal Unilever world-wide rules and guidelines that are often stricter;

➢ They strive to always minimize the impact of their operations on the environment. Through the utilization of packaging and manufacturing processes that are internationally recognized to have minimum impact in the environment; and

➢ The management and staff of Unilever Nigeria as well as the suppliers and consumers are encouraged to show interest in matter relating to the protection of the environment and conservation of natural resources.

No doubt, the change in local management does not necessitates that Unilever Nigeria will be run from its international headquarters Vevey, Switzerland.

From the foregone, we will be able to establish that the basic advantage of foreign direct investment was that it enables the firm to retain control of its capital with two alternative object: product control, which gave safely as well as satisfactory return; and to remove competition between that foreign enterprise and enterprises or to appropriate fully the return of certain skills and abilities. Perhaps there can be no congruence of interest between the profit maximization objectives of the transnational corporations and the development priorities of the host countries. Government and the public in Nigeria remain suspicious of corporate motive and behavior many believe such corporation like Unilever makes unjustifiable profits that they do not share with the host countries. It is also argued that relatively few countries benefit from the operations of corporations that those citizens spend their money on imports rather than domestic products, and that they created isolated enclaves of wealth and conspicuous consumption in poor societies. Still another allegation is that corporations over charge for imported and often obsolete technology. Finally, the developing economies had continued to attract transnational corporations; this suggests that on the balance their governments view them in positive light.

Transnational corporations cannot be directly blamed for the lack of development in the less developed countries. Their prime objective is global profit maximization and their actions are aimed at achieving that objective, not developing the host less developed country. If the technology and the products that they introduce are inappropriate, if they weaken the balance of payments position, in the last resort it is up to the less developed countries like Nigeria’s
Conclusion
This paper discusses the multinational phenomenon as fundamental and stigmatic contradiction that defines the essential character of neo-colonial capitalism in Nigeria. The findings were worrisome in that direct foreign investment through the transnational corporations’ stands only to satisfy the quest for profits and repatriate such profits to further deepens the unequal relationship between the suppliers of capital and the recipient of such capital investments. This increase the volume of trade while rise to oligopolistic conglomerations that reduce competition and free enterprise.
From the research also emerges the following general conclusion. Transnational corporations transfer capital resources from capital-rich countries to capital-poor countries through such devices as transfer pricing, sharp accounting practices, over-invoicing imports, and under-invoicing exports as well as overpricing technology and know-how which deepen the already underdevelopment of the third world. Multinational corporations claimed to have created jobs, on the balance, and when compared with domestic enterprises. They do in fact destroy jobs because they curtail employment by driving labour competition from the market through capital intensive technologies which are inconsistent with the factor endowments of the third world nations.
TNC’s pay employees higher salaries and provide generous fringe benefits than some domestic enterprises, they may have unwittingly, contributed to the widening of the elite-mass gap and polarization of social forces in the host states. In fact there is serious disparity between the employees in host countries and those in the home countries.
Additionally, transnationals are studied because they influence government policies since most government planners are in league with the TNC’s, through bribes, kick backs and other corrupt incentives, the TNC’s influence development planners. The TNC’s produce and control agricultural technology and inputs which are used in the execution of government agricultural policies which in turn affect the large majority of rural population. By extending their activities to the rural hinterland of the third world, the TNC’s are creating a farming system based on their technology and not on the technology which is a product of peasant creativity. They also provide technology for industrial scale production which today has become a big instrument of rural differentiation.
Recommendations

Based on the findings the following recommendations were made:

❖ The only appropriate and ethical stance is to regulate the activities of the multinational corporations so that the countries of the third world can exercise their sovereign power over the operations and transactions of such conglomerates.

❖ That the law makers should come out with proactive laws that can minimize the imperialists tendencies of both politico and socio-economic development of the third world

❖ The TNC’s are not interested in the third world development. Their activities create structural disarticulation and dislocation in the third world; this attracts high level of import dependence in terms of raw materials and technical know-how. There is need for developing economies to redefine their international trade relations in the World Trade Organization (WTO).

❖ There are links between the TNC, World Bank group and the United Nations system. For instance, members of the TNC’s are also members of these international organizations. They occupy key positions in the World Bank and the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the United Nations system. Consequently, they influence development policies in the third world. This therefore demands for proactive measure on the part of developing nations in terms of their membership of such Organizations in order to curtail constant control of their economy and by extension interference on their political life by the multinational corporations.

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SOCIAL DEPRIVATION AND INSECURITY: A NIGERIAN PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

“A hungry man is an angry man” so says an old wise saying. People are usually angry, Frustrated, violent and sometimes depressed when their aspirations are either obstructed, disallowed or even scuttled. According to the Nigerian Constitution 1999 as amended, everyone is entitled to the freedom to pursue a livelihood without let or hindrance. In Section 14 sub-section 2, it is the responsibility of the government to “provide security and welfare for the people of Nigeria”. However, these Constitutional Provisions have not been adequately met. Rather, what is experienced is the opposite of what the constitution says. It is in recognition of the aforementioned reality that this paper interrogates the topic “Social Deprivation and Insecurity: A Nigerian Perspective”. The Paper interrogates insecurity by using contending theories such as, conflict, frustration-aggression, structural functionalism and liberal economic theory. It is the view of this paper that there is a strong correlation between social deprivation, underdevelopment and insecurity in Nigeria. The paper provides some few recommendations.

Introduction

Insecurity simply means the absence of security. Defined in various ways depending on the context and situation, insecurity can be defined primarily to suit a given phenomenon. In the Nigerian context, insecurity cannot simply mean the absence of security; it goes beyond that. It
means the lack or absence of safety of lives and property and also, the unavailability or inadequacy of basic security infrastructure and apparatus in Nigeria. Some persons may argue that the mere presence of law enforcement agencies and agents presumes the availability of security whereas; presence does not amount to effectiveness or efficiency as the case may be.

The Nigerian situation is peculiar in many respects. First, Nigeria is multi-ethnic, Multi-linguist, multi-cultural and Multi-religious. Second, Nigeria’s ruling elite is wasteful, corrupt and highly unpatriotic. Third, the Nigerian Populace is highly security unconscious and nonchalant. Fourth, National Social/Economic Strategies are misplaced thus occasion inequality, injustice, social deprivations and insecurity. This paper looks at insecurity and social deprivations in Nigeria; its effects, consequences and the probability of a way forward. In achieving the aforementioned; conflict, Frustration-Aggression and Liberal economic theories are used in the interrogation of the subject matter.

**Background on insecurity.**

Insecurity is a global phenomenon. There is no country in the world that can be said to be hundred percent secure, absolutely or exclusively free from incidents of insecurity. The situation becomes even dicier when a country is bedeviled with situations or experiences of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, ethnic and religious intolerance and mis-governance. In developing societies (Nigeria inclusive), there is abundance of the indices which encourage insecurity other than the ones mentioned above. Chief amongst such is social/ economic deprivation.

The level of inequality in majority of these societies (mostly in Africa), has widened the gap between the rich and the poor so much that the rich are as insecure as the poor for obvious reasons. According to Professor Thomas Imobighe of blessed memory, high fences, and more guns cannot guarantee security. The west preaches peace and security through the amazement of military weapons and personnel. (Buzan, 1983). Imobighe refers to this as Pax –Atommica or Pax-Amamenta. However, he is of the view that, peace and security is better pursued through Pax-Mundi i.e. the satisfaction of human needs (Imobighe, 1998).

“In a modernizing society, security means development, security is not military hardware, though it may include it, security is not a military force, though it may involve it, security is not traditional military activities, though it may encompass it, security is development and without development, there can be no security. A developing nation that does not in
fact develop simply cannot remain secure for the intractable reason that its own citizens cannot shed its human nature.

McNamara, (1968) also asserts that the threats to a countries national security might not necessarily be military in nature. Stemming from this fact, Ochoche (1997) says that national security is about the protection and enhancement of values against those that seeks to limit or destroy their realization. The ongoing global war on terrorism is an attestation to the claim by Ochoche. Western societies led by the United States are of the opinion that Western Values are threatened by Islamic Fundamentalists whereas, Societies in the Islamic World believe that Western culture and value systems are a threat to Islamic civilization. The consequences that are to follow these conflicting and mutually suspicions ideologies are better imagined. The current insecurity being experienced in Nigeria is a direct consequence of the above.

Theoretical Framework:

Theory is a compass which helps researchers to navigate conceptual hypothesis during the investigation of phenomena. This is applied through the identification of variables which could have correlative effects. In applying theory, researchers are required to interrogate concepts in line with world’s best practices particularly, when empirical tools such as data are involved. Data in whatever form help in the process of identifying variables (dependent or independent) with correlative effect on phenomena under scientific investigation. For example, Merton (1968) Wrote that the postulate of universal functionalism, the assumption that all social and cultural items which exist in society fulfill sociological functions, and the postulate of functional indispensability, which relate to the assumption that certain institutions or social arrangement are imperative to the society.

Merton argues that postulate exactly correspond to reality. According to him the postulate of functional unity of society, at best, is an article of faith; Stressing that the postulate cannot empirical test. Merton note that the extent to which a social arrangement is functional must be determine through investigations rather than simply beginning with the assumption that it merely exists.

Without theories, actions and behaviours can neither be explained nor understood. Some scholars define theory as a collection of concepts. Others say that theory is an interconnected set of hypotheses. Others say that theory is a set of concept plus the Interrelationships that are assumed to exist among those concepts. Another way of viewing theory is as a system of explanation. Some
scholars regard theory as a conceptual scheme, a frame of reference, or set of propositions and conclusions. A dictionary if consulted will give us a different definition. Accordingly, the dictionary sees theory as a mental viewing, contemplation, conjecture, a systematic statement of principles or a formulation of apparent relationships or underlying principles of observed phenomena that has been verified to some degree (Guralnik. 1972:1475).

All of the above definition of theory is true. Yet, no single definition pulls together all of theories essential elements. Theory is an intellectual tool used by researchers to identify, observe and explain phenomena. Therefore, field of theory becomes a complex set of explanatory tools needed in the explanation of phenomena.

For example, to ascertain the relationship between two variables, such as insecurity and social deprivations, the relationship can only be established if the causality of insecurity has been successfully tied up or linked with the social malady of deprivation. In doing so, theory would have been successfully used to explain the contributory condition (insecurity) to social deprivation problems. Since both concepts are dependent and independent variables as such, they need theory to establish causal or interrelated relationships with one another.

**Conflict Theory:**

Conflict is endemic to human relationships and societies. As Zartman (1991:370) has observed, conflict occurs during interactions among people; “an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions and an expression of the basic fact of human interdependence”. In the same vein, Coser (1956) has equally concurred that conflict occurs when two or more people engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate the rivals. Coser (1956) had further explained that conflict emerges whenever one party perceives that one or more valued goals or means of achieving these valued goals are threatened or hindered by another party or parties or by their activities. These perceived threats occur especially if both parties are seeking to expand into the same physical sphere or field of influence or activity.

Sannice (2009) further posits that Conflicts that are primarily based on communal identification are usually directed at other communal groups in the form of riotous clashes or, in extreme cases of inter communal rivalries in mass slaughters such as those perpetuated against the Hutus by the Tutsi in Burundi in 1972, 1988 and the one in 1995. Robert Gurr (1971) classifies conflict as conflict issues that are based on group identification. Socially deprived people in
Nigeria are a group. This group is engulfed in one conflict or the other. The difference between the Nigerian group conflict situation and those mentioned above is the fact that it is beyond ethnicity in Nigeria.

Regarding insecurity and social deprivation in Nigeria, conflict is a situation where the component units of a federation do not get along. Conflict highlights the disagreements and differences amongst various interest groups in the Nigerian federation. It emphasizes how unresolved disagreements could lead to social deprivation and insecurity. Conflict also represents the challenges inherent in a federal system regarding its inability to maintain equilibrium, guarantee the rule of law and maintain harmony in society. Politically, conflict exposes the inability of Nigeria’s federal system to provide space for full democratic participation that encompasses both extra institutional groups and specific organized political institutions in a way that enhances democracy rather than promote insecurity, social disharmony and deprivation.

Frustration- Aggression Theory:

This theory explains a large amount of everyday occurrences of aggression. People learn through experience to respond to frustrations with aggressive or non-aggressive responses. When people’s desire to get to their destination on time is thwarted, they are more likely to behave aggressively (Novaco, 1991). Researchers have suggested that unemployment, which frustrates a person’s goal for financial stability, is associated with greater aggression (Catalano, Novaco, & McConnell, 2002). More recent work has replicated this pattern of results in Germany and showed that merely expecting to be unemployed in the future is enough to increase aggressive inclinations (Fischer, Greitemeyer, & Frey, 2008).

Consonant with this, Stagner (1995) has observed that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always suggests the existence of frustration which always leads to some form of conflict. In the Nigerian context, social/economically deprived people become disgruntled and they become a readymade militia used by unpatriotic elements in the Nigerian society.

Social Deprivation.

To be deprived means to be deliberately denied certain deserved rights and privileges accruable to one by virtue of being a member of an organization or state. Deprivation can either be in form of opportunities, entitlements or even individual or group aspirations. For the sake of this paper, more emphasis will be on social deprivation. It can be defined as the outright denial of
a right to aim for a better life through the deliberate act of distorting or cutting off the social lather or network of an individual or group. These can be in areas of education, housing, employment, income generation, and entrepreneurship.

The Nigerian situation is depressing to say the least. In the area of education, many school age children are not in school. These children are either out of school because of poverty or simply because they are not inclined to go to school. For those who are in school, the education system does not provide adequate or conducive environment for learning. In the tertiary institutions, industrial actions in form of strikes often paralyse the system; leading to chaotic situations most times. Social indicators, especially in terms of school enrolment, insecurity (even in schools) and health shortages support the above argument. Unemployment is one of the most prominent issues which amount to social deprivation.

The way to counter the problem of deprivation is through social policy which may be embedded in economic policy; explicitly aimed at direct government intervention and provision of social welfare, in part through broad-based social services and subsidies, provision of education and health services, social security, and pensions, land reforms, incidence of taxation, labour market interventions, redistributive policies and so on. Positive government social-economic interventions encourage social justice for citizens. Government failure in this part creates societal problems in different ways.

Looking at social deprivation from a legal angle, it means that the deprivation of citizens becomes a human rights issue. The law through the constitution provides protection for citizens by guaranteeing their rights in socio-economic and political aspirations. This means that the law must be regarded as a part of human activity. According to Lon Fuller, the law must be seen as or regarded as “a dimension of human life”. As such, it can compel society to take one of many possible directions, the two extremes of which are set out by Professor Fuller in his treatise *Anatomy of Law*:

> “Law can appear as the highest achievement of civilization, liberating for creative use, human resources otherwise dedicated to destruction. It can be seen as the foundation of human dignity and freedom, our best hope for a peaceful world. In man’s capacity to perceive and legislate against his own defects, we can discern his chief claim to stand clearly above the animal level. Philosophers of
former ages have indeed, not hesitated to see some kinship with the divine in man's ability to record his own faulty nature and in effect, to recreate himself by the rule of reason. A shift in mood and all this bright glitter surrounding the law can collapse into dust, law then becomes mans badge of infamy his confession of ineradicable perfidy’”(Fuller, 1977).

Critics of Nigeria’s legal system and law reform proponents believe that Nigeria must strive to achieve the former direction of the two set out above. Indeed, presumably, that is the very motivation underlying any movement for law reform. Moreover, to regard law as “the foundation of human dignity and freedom” is philosophically and ideologically consistent with the basic underlying values reflected in Nigeria’s Constitution.

Within the Nigerian context, the 1999 Constitution (as amended) explains government role in citizen’s welfare. What this implies is that government is directed by the Constitution to ensure that national problems such as social deprivation do not exist, eradicated (if it exists) or minimized. Chapter II of the 1999 constitution (Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy) State as follows in sessions:

13. It shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of government, and of all authorities and persons, exercising legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform to, observe and apply the provisions of this Chapter of this Constitution.

14. (1) The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice.

(2) It is hereby, accordingly, declared that:

(a) sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this Constitution derives all its powers and authority;

(b) The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government: and

(c) The participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution.

Sub-section (b) is directly linked with social services in Nigeria. It is germane to argue that most governments in Less Developed States (LDS) fall short of the above. In Nigeria for example, social services are at its lowest ebb. The country continues to rank very low both in global human capacity development index and life expectancy index. These can be attributed to the high degree
or level of social deprivation in the country. Nigeria is not alone in this. In fact, almost all the countries in the LDS are culpable.

**Comparison between Human Development Index (HDI) of Nigeria, Sub-Saharan Africa and the World from 2005 – 2011.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Low HDI</th>
<th>Nigeria</th>
<th>Sub-Saharan Africa</th>
<th>World</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>0.456</td>
<td>0.459</td>
<td>0.463</td>
<td>0.682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>0.453</td>
<td>0.454</td>
<td>0.460</td>
<td>0.679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>0.448</td>
<td>0.449</td>
<td>0.456</td>
<td>0.676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>0.443</td>
<td>0.446</td>
<td>0.451</td>
<td>0.674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
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<td>0.445</td>
<td>0.670</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
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<td>2005</td>
<td>0.422</td>
<td>0.429</td>
<td>0.431</td>
<td>0.660</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These figures have not changed much since 2011 in terms of positive outcome; except that it has further declined. The development indicators for sub-Saharan Africa in general and Nigeria in particular, have remained perpetually poor over the years as shown in Table above.

**Accessing Social Deprivation from the Democracy and Governance Angle**

Democracy as a philosophy is the goal of progressive humanity; it appreciates the worth of the individual and seeks to crystallize in any aspect of human society, this way of life. The nature of Nigeria’s politics as it currently operates, leaves less to be desired. It is a far cry from what political founding fathers of Nigeria dreamt of. They dreamt of a democratic system of government capable of moving Nigeria forward perhaps, to the level of socio-economic progress, prosperity, free and fair elections and good governance. Half a century later, Nigeria is still struggling to find its feet.

The basic gains of good governance such as food, portable water, good education, security of lives and property, good and adequate health care, social security, gainful employment and general quality of life are still lacking. This failure of governance and democratic principles in Nigeria can arguably be said to be the major factor responsible for social deprivation and insecurity in Nigeria. The general belief among Nigerians is that most of the politicians are in the game just to secure control of the political system without a political know how as to what it takes to bring
political dividends to Nigerians. The general public no longer trusts their political leaders as a result of past unfulfilled political promises. Late Dr Alex Ekwueme, Nigeria’s former vice president wrote: “A decision must be taken which will not destroy the trust between a leader and his followers” the lack of trust in Nigeria’s politics, which is as a result of leader – led disconnect, constitutes a problem within the Nigerian political framework.

Nigeria’s political problems cannot be isolated from the institutions put in place to guarantee the smooth operation of the state. Most public institutions are weak due to the lack of political will by the ruling elite to make them work. Often, public officials attend local and international conferences with the promise to implement whatever decisions or agreements reached, only to do otherwise. One example of such agreements is article one of the United Nations Commission Resolution On Human Rights reached on the 3rd of March, 1992, dubbed the “Paris Principles,” it says, “a national institution shall be vested with competence to promote human rights. This principle assumes that a horse can be taken to the stream and be forced to drink water.

Many stake holders have continuously attributed these governance shortfalls to all manner of factors. Most of these arguments regarding reasons why Nigeria is underdeveloped are baseless. Many blame the phenomenon on bad governance, corruption and colonialism etc. These pundits forget that underdevelopment should and cannot be attributed to colonialism alone. While this paper concurs with the argument that bad governance, corruption and colonialism played (and still plays) negative role in the underdevelopment of Africa, it believes that other factors also contribute to the problem. For example, in 1957, Chief Obafemi Awolowo praised the British for giving Nigerians “a common nationality” and for leaving behind a heritage of “order, good government and parliamentary democracy” (Awolowo, 1957). For Awolowo, colonialism (imperialism) took on a tripartite meaning.

Awolowo once said that there were three imperialisms raining side by side and in concert. They were, first of all, the “imperialism of ignorance, disease and want”, second, British colonialism, and third, the “imperialism of local Caesars who flourished under the aegis of British imperialism” (Awolowo, 1960). He warned his compatriots that it would be naive and dangerous to imagine that the only enemy to be destroyed was British colonialism. On the contrary, unless Nigerians worked hard and in the right direction “when British abdicates sovereignty in Nigeria, she would leave behind the order two imperialisms whose reign would be poignantly grinding and
oppressive (Awolowo, 1960). This was a time when most nationalist leaders insisted that the surest and most rapid part toward self-government lay in focusing unified mass pressures on the alien power (Grundy, 1966)

**The Insecurity/Social Deprivation Nexus**

There is a nexus between social deprivations and insecurity in Nigeria. This argument hails from the point that when individuals are unable to take care of themselves, find gainful employment in order to earn a legitimate living, frustration sets in. When this happens, the idea of surviving by any means becomes an option, even if it means breaking the law. These deprivations result to conflict in several ways. For example, the insurgency in the North East part of Nigeria and the militancy in the Niger Delta Region can by all means be attributed to socio-economic deprivation.

According to Sannice (2009), the underlying causes of conflicts in Africa are incomplete nation-building and difference in identities derived from complex internal factors such as ethnicity, religion, culture and language. Other causes include economics, competition for limited resources, state and society relationship and political demands that exceed state capabilities. The relationships among these factors, which are independent rather than intervening variables, are far less clear. For a better understanding, conflicts should be organized according to the issues at stake and to the bases of group mobilization.

The actual forms and content of conflict reflect approximately but not precisely the particular combination of interest upon which action is based. This refers to pluralist countries (such as Nigeria’s) where coalitions often vary from issues to issues and cultural categories are neither carefully demarcated nor politically salient. What this implies is that the deprivation being experienced by certain groups (such as the teeming unemployed youth) in the Nigerian society breeds and encourages group dynamics. Such dynamics facilitates consensus towards group action. When success is recorded in this regard, it becomes a formidable force with a devastating and destabilizing effect on society.

Gurr (1971) posited that the extent of inequalities between classes is a source of conflict. He adds that when inequalities coincide with communal cleavages, the consequences are often explosive. Bakwesegha is of the opinion that conflict is driven by unfilled needs of the people; be it in terms of autonomy, sense of justice, identity, basic needs or rights of individuals. Most of these needs are of a collective character and more often than not, provoked by official neglect,
persecution, denial of human rights or insensitivity or egoism as well as arrogance of power on the side of some rulers.

Imobighe (1998) is of the view that, peace and security is better pursued through Pax-Mundi (i.e. the satisfaction of human needs). McNamara (1968) urges political leaders to be mindful of the fact that, without development, there can be no national security. Adams (1997) posits that When attempts at reaching agreements, consensus and harmony fails, parties concerned more often than not, result to other means perceived as best options available in order to gain optimum advantage. This development in interpersonal, inter-group, intra-group and international interactions is what can be defined as conflict. The Niger Delta and North East crisis are cases in point.

The success rate in the area of recruitment into terrorist organizations and other destabilizing elements in Nigeria, attest to the legitimacy of these arguments. For details and more on terrorist recruitment strategies in Nigeria, see Okokhere, 2014).

**Conclusion**

National Security means nothing without the effective management of the internal affairs of a state. It also means that National security does not and cannot exist without the internal guarantee of homeland security. Insecurity will remain a national problem in Nigeria, as long as there are socially deprived people who are ever ready and willing to vent anger at society. Socio-economic development and societal wellbeing can only be achieved in an environment where social justice prevails. Some critics have argued that Nigeria is gradually belonging to the committee of failed states; judging by the enormous state failure in many areas of national life. All these failures are traceable to elite political culture, socialization and behavior in Nigeria.

According to Almond (1995) “Every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientation to political action.” He went further to posit that in any operating political system, there is an ordered subjective realm of politics, which gives meaning to the polity, discipline to institutions and social relevance to individual acts. Going by the above provocative thought by Almond G.A., it then means that the concept of political culture thus suggest that the traditions of the society, the spice of its public institutions, the passions and the collective reasoning of its citizenry, the style and the operating codes of its leaders (elite) are not just random products of historical experience, but fit together as a part of a meaningful whole and constitute an intelligible web of relations.
Therefore, for the individual, the political culture provides controlling guidelines for effective political behaviour. For the collectivity; it gives a systematic structure of values and rational consideration which ensures coherence in the performance of institutions and organizations. In essence, the political culture, as Verba indicates, “consists of the empirical believes, expressive symbols and values which defines the situation in which political action takes place. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a polity’’.

Nigeria’s political culture and behavior is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life history of elite individual Nigerians who currently make up the system. As a result, political behaviour is carried out according to private experiences carried into public events. The social deprivation and security nexus becomes easy correlative variables to accept going by the above literary and theoretical postulations. On the part of government (regarding the way forward) there is a need for the development of a long-term strategy for the management of societal dynamics; including the effective use of human and material resources for optimal national benefits. This recommendation is an ambitious realist perspective. However, the behavior of the Nigeria elite ruling class in the realm of governance leaves less to be desired. Ethnicity, nepotism, corruption, lawlessness, banditry, terrorism, etc; strives in the absence of order and good governance. Also, religious intolerance and hate speeches contribute to the tensions and general insecurity in the country.

The extent to which the Nigeria state has degenerated to asserting primordial sentiments made late Justice Chukwudi Oputa (rtd), former Chairman of the Human Rights Violations Investigation Commission) to lament;

Where is Nigeria going? Indigenization politics didn’t solve problems. State-creation did not solve anything. Everybody still clings to his ethnic group. It is either you are Hausa or Kataf or Yoruba or Igbo. What will become of Nigeria?

(NTA, News Report)

**Recommendations**

- Social/economic development and empowerment: There is need for government to introduce economic policies aimed towards the empowerment of deprived groups. This group may include the unemployed youth and economically displaced persons in the society. Other recommendations include:
(a) political reforms
(b) Social justice
(c) Wealth creation through massive employment drive
(d) Skill acquisition for youth in Nigeria
(e) Massive technical education
(f) Adequate and functional retirement benefits for senior citizens. This will reduce corruption in the civil service.

References


POlitical violence and terrorism in nigeria: implications for the federal system of government

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abstract

Political violence and terrorism in most part are attributes of a dysfunctional political system as is the case with Nigeria. It is even more so when there are federating units which are either not economically viable or politically stable. These attributes and more are the subject of this paper’s analysis. The guiding questions that are used to harmonize the various arguments and focus of this paper are as follows: 1. Are perceived imbalances in the federal political structure of state sufficient reasons or justifications to resort to political violence and terrorism? 2. Do people resort to political violence and terrorism because they see politics differently? 3. Is political violence and terrorism a result of the fact that different groups perceive political authority in society differently? 4. Do people resort to political violence and terrorism because they pursue different ideologies and interests in the society? The general objective of this paper is to look at the twin issues of political violence and terrorism within the Nigerian body polity and assess the implications that these have on the federal system. The burning question however is, would Nigeria join the growing numbers of failed federal systems? To be able to understand this, the following objectives are equally important as they also act as guiding landmarks for this paper. These include identifying the existing defects in the present structure of Nigeria’s federalism which gives legitimacy to the debate on the national question. 2. To examine the various contentions and issues that seem to have defied resolution but (flashpoints in Nigeria’s ethno-religious and political relations) which have (has) degenerated into incessant political violence and given impetus to terrorist activities 3. To identify the possibility (if any) of elite conspiracy in the political violence and terrorism activities in Nigeria. 4. To investigate and establish a possible link between politically violent and terrorism prone individuals and groups in Nigeria and abroad. 5. To establish the link between the failure of the good and effective governance project in Nigeria and political violence and terrorism.
The **significance** of this paper is based upon the need to find possible solutions to the ever present political violence and terrorism problems in Nigeria’s federation. A major significance of this study is that it contributes to the ever-growing scholarship, dialogue and concern for the preservation of Nigeria as a state and a federation

**INTRODUCTION**

The 1999 civil rule to date gave Nigerians great hope in the areas of political stability, economic growth, poverty reduction, national integration, security, infrastructural development and job creation. Unfortunately, these hopes and great expectations have not been realized. Nigeria remains one of Africa’s poorest countries despite being one of its richest in both human and material resources; including being one of the World’s largest producers of the most sort after resources, oil and gas. The Nigerian state and its federating units have not faced a more challenging period since the civil war than this time in its history. The reasons can be traced to the way the business of state is carried out. In Nigeria, control of state is viewed as an instrument for ethnic or regional power, hegemony and wealth; hence the continuous struggle to control the apparatus of state power especially at the centre. The above explains several issues in the socio-political, structural, ethnic and regional power tussles in Nigeria.

These issues include who governors and how, resource control, religion, federal political appointments, violence, terrorism and the national question. All these challenge the very basis of Nigeria’s current federal arrangement; which has brought the issue of restructuring to the national debate. There are other burning issues such as the lack of infrastructural development, poverty, crime, massive unemployment, illiteracy, and inadequate health care for citizen (e.t.c) among others.

It has been argued that all the above issues boil down to the lack of good governance. However, amongst the issues identified above, the most captivating and threatening to the Nigerian federation and continuous existence is the twin national embarrassment of political violence and terrorism. Political violence which often takes the shape of terrorism is not new in Nigeria. Since the first republic and after independence, political violence has been in the national consciousness of Nigeria.
Violent events in the Western region of Nigeria which eventually led to the fall of that republic attest to the fact that political violence is not new in Nigeria. What is new in the violent attributes of Nigeria’s political culture however, is the extremist terrorist nature which the current events have taken. For example, after every general elections in Nigeria, people are killed, properties destroyed, and inter-ethnic relations strained. The latest being that which happened after the 2011 and 2015 general elections.

The recent terrorist phenomenon called the Boko-Haram, operating in Northern Nigeria has its background in political thurgery and violence from the North Eastern part of Nigeria. This revelation, properly harnesses the cross breeding of political violence with terrorist groups and their activities in Nigeria.

Various fallacies are inherent in the development theories of the classical school. Theorists of the Marxist persuasion have pointed out that the problems faced by post-colonial state of the Third World in general and Nigeria in particular, can be traced to the period of the country’s formation and constitutional development under colonialism (Onigbinde 2003). Seeley (1919), on the other hand, had also stated concisely the relationship between history and political science when he asserted that “history without political science has no fruit (and) political science without history has no roots.” Hence the need to trace the historical background and antecedents of Nigeria, which in no small way, may have contributed to the problems of political violence and terrorism in Nigeria.

**Historical Background and Antecedent**

When the scrabble for Africa ensued, Western nations that carved out colonies for themselves did so without regard to the congruency of borders, tribal and linguistic (differences) similarities. As these colonies emerged into nation-states, they found themselves lacking some essential sense of commonality such as shared values, cultural orientations and an integrated system of communication and interaction that is expected of a community. Thus, as Zack-Williams (2007) had noted, for many African countries, political independence was accompanied by the institutional arrangements for a modern state which itself was imposed upon an economic infrastructure of a pre-modern society. Nigeria constitutes that quintessential manifestation of a culturally and linguistically heterogeneous society.

Geographically, Nigeria is located within the Gulf of Guinea. This location enabled it to have some element of intercourse and proximity with both the western coast of Africa and central
Africa. Its immediate neighbors, ironically, are Francophone countries. Dahomey (now Republic of Benin), is located on the west, Cameroon is on the east, Niger and Chad Republics border the north. Its most prominent physical features are the Rivers Niger and Benue which entered Nigeria through the north-west and the north-east respectively.

Nigeria is a compact area of 932,768 square kilometers with a population of about 140 million (going by the 2006 Census figures) and an access to the sea. Linguistically, many languages are spoken in Nigeria such that scholars have argued that it is even better to analyze Nigeria along linguistic line. The estimated number of ethnic nationals, each with its own distinct language and culture, is put at about 374 and 389. However, three languages are predominantly spoken by large proportion of the population. In the north is the Hausa language, Yoruba in the west and Igbo in the east. Of course, part of the ethnic and tribal political problems generated within the country is the challenge posed by the minority to the dominance of these three major languages and tribes. However, historically, these linguistic groups have represented autonomous ethnic and tribal groups before the advent of the colonizers and the amalgamation. This has led to arguments concerning the artificiality of the present day Nigeria. Some have claimed that Nigeria is a British creation and its existence or claim to nationhood arose as a result of the British presence in Africa (Coleman, 1986). This claim has been buttressed by the fact that Lady Lugard coined the name ‘Nigeria’ (Ejiomofor, 1987) from the words ‘Niger Area’. Claims like these by colonial apologists have tended to confer legitimacy on colonialism and at the same time confirm that Nigeria and African as a whole never had a past. In other words, Africa or Nigerian history started with colonialism.

Like every former colony, the politico-administrative history of Nigeria evolved through major phases; one of which is a recent one and is borne out of the recent concern of most states with their level of development. One of the phases is the pre-colonial era. A major misconception of this era was the belief that there was no politico-administrative structure on the ground. However, this would not be true as a form of politico-administrative system and structure existed to manage the large empires in existence then. These empires and kingdoms include the Yoruba Kingdoms in the west which extended to Dahomey (the present Republic of Benin), the non-imperialistic but highly egalitarian Igbos in the east, the Benin Kingdom and the Nupe Kingdom along the middle-belt area and the Hausa-Fulani empires of Sokoto and Kanen Borno in the north-west and north-east respectively. The main peculiarity of this era and these kingdoms and empires
was not the existence of any form of politico-administrative or bureaucratic structure per se, but that these forms and structures existed without any resemblance to the western Weberian ideals. As Balogun (1983) had stated, these ancient empires and kingdoms that flourished have usually been able to maintain their hold and hegemony on their vast territories partly through operating a kind of bureaucratic structure and system based on spoils, patronage, nepotism, god-fatherism and coercion. Thus, that they were able to exist for the number of years that they did and in equal splendor should be a pointer to the efficiency of the system they adopted. Ikelegbe and Oyibo (1995) in providing an analytical view of these empires and kingdoms have concluded that “many of the pre-colonial societies were stable, prosperous and survived till early 20th century when they were subjugated by the British”.

The Lord Lugard 1914 amalgamation of the north and southern parts of Nigeria created its fair share of the mirage of problems confronting Nigeria even to date. First, was the attempt at federalism which was originally designed for the sake of easy political administration of the colonial Nigerian territory. Whilst Federalism brought several nations within the Nigerian polity together, actual federal practice has hardly been able to keep them together happily. According to Olukoshi and Agbu (1996:97) (in Amuwo, et al (1999)), “It is necessary to recognize that the crises of Nigerian federalism is not just about bickering ‘tribes’ but also about social injustices that are rooted in cross-national class and gender conflicts”. Also, in their contribution to the federalism debate, Amuwo and Herault (1999) argue that the political and economic culture of a federal system in terms of the aggregate premises - both value and factual- of governance can, to varying degrees, depending on the nature and character of the federal state, be antithetical to the wishes, aspirations and goals of individuals and nationalities. J.J. Linz (1997a:21) posits that “federalism can only assure that nobody could be fully unhappy but certainly not that everyone will be happy with the solutions”. However, when a neo-patrimonial federal logic makes happy only state officials and their acolytes, even if the latter cut across ethnic, religious, regional, class and gender cleavages, pockets of dissent, dissidence and contestations will naturally emerge.

Second, was the political violence in the then western region of Nigeria which comprised of the present Lagos, Osun, Oyo, Ogun, Ondo Ekiti, Edo and Delta States. That crisis led to the fall of Nigeria’s first republic. Third, was the August 15th 1966 military coup d’état which marked the beginning of military incursions into Nigeria’s politics and governance. This negative development occasioned a long history of military rule and consequent socio-economic crises.
Third, was the civil war which started as a result of the Hausa/Fulani indiscriminate and genocide-like killings of Igbos in the north after the counter coup of July 1966? The then Military governor of the eastern region, Colonel Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu had declared the secession of his region from the Federal Republic of Nigeria and announced the formation of the Republic of Biafra. Since after the civil war, the Nigeria federation has never been the same. Fourth, is the democratization process muddled with insincerities and hypocrisies on the part of Nigeria’s political class and their co-conspirators

**Conceptual Clarification**

Concepts used in this paper are clarified in order to give valuable meanings to definitions, theoretical analysis and hypothetical explanations. Concepts are the pieces or part of the body of a study, which when properly clarified, gives purpose, understanding and direction to a research work.

**Political Violence**

This is the violence which arises as a result of political activities. In Nigeria, it manifests in different forms. One of such manifestations is through intra party and inter party feuding, when there is a perceived lack of transparency or internalized democratic practice within a political party, violence can occur. Also, when there is perceived electoral fraud or manipulations after general elections, there can be political violence.

**Terrorism:** Terrorism is a deliberate criminal act targeted at individuals, groups or the state, with the aim of inflicting injury, harm or even death, for the purpose of achieving a particular goal or objective. Terrorism can take different shapes. For example, religious terrorism mostly occurs when members of a particular religious faith perceive imminent danger to their beliefs or religious values. It is worthy of note that religious terrorism in Nigeria happens without the above. Political terrorism is aimed towards actualizing an ideological goal or objective. Political terrorism can also be directed towards addressing imagined, perceived or real threat to group identity and survival. There are notable differences between political terrorism and religious terrorism. For example, political terrorism stops once the political objective is realized whereas, religious terrorism does not.

**Federalism:** Federalism is that form of government where the component units of a political organization participate in sharing powers and functions in a corporate manner. Although the
combined forces of ethnic pluralism and cultural diversity amongst others tend to pull the people
in a federating unit apart, attempts are continuously made towards addressing the contending issues
in a federal system.

Conflict: Conflict is a situation where the component units of a federation do not get along. Conflict highlights the disagreements and differences amongst various interest groups in the Nigerian federation. It emphasizes how unresolved disagreements could lead to political violence and terrorism. Conflict also represents the challenges inherent in a federal system regarding its inability to maintain equilibrium, guarantee the rule of law and maintain harmony in society. Conflict exposes the inability of Nigeria’s federal system to provide space for full democratic participation that encompasses both extra institutional groups and specific organized political institutions in a way that enhances democracy rather than destroy it.

Problematising Federalism, Political Violence and Terrorism in Nigeria.

The trajectory which this paper has lined for itself is to critically examine the implications of the twin issues of political violence and terrorism on the federal system of Nigeria. Scholars are agreed that the federal system of government, at best, posits one of the most fragile systems of government especially when compared with the others and that because of this, especially since it is made up of ethnic minorities that have agreed to come together but still share some elements of distrust of each other, every little commotion or actions become suspect and may be sufficient to break the fragile co-existence. In Nigeria, a paramount issue was the integration whereby the various ethnic groups would achieve higher levels of mutual trust, national identity and consciousness (Osadolor, 1999).

The point of emphasis is that political restructuring can lead to the establishment of a national identity even as the range of inter-group relations are enlarged, leading progressively to the evolution of national character in spite of the existence of an ethnically plural society as is the case in Nigeria (Osadolor, 1999). To cope with the problems of national integration, security and development, alternative strategies and long-term solutions are often pursued by political leaders and decision makers. But in the post-independence political situation in Nigeria, imbalances in the federal structure have over the years been allowed to degenerate and aggravate. Crises, such as those involving political violence and terrorism are numerous but the proffered solutions have tended to be of an ad hoc nature, leading often to debates on the national question.
The informing motif behind (main reason for the) this paper (of) on political violence and terrorism is prevention and solution. Before any preventive measures can be taken, there is the need to understand the dynamics involved in the problem. There is no doubt that Nigeria’s federal structure is threatened by the menace of political violence and terrorism. What is in doubt is Nigeria’s capacity to adequately address the lingering and persistent problem.

Nigeria like every other federal system has had its own share of political upheavals perpetrated by the struggle for power which gives unlimited access to the wealth of the nation. Rather than diminish with years being a Federal state, political violence and terrorism in Nigeria seem to be on the increase and more dynamic. Federalism is not a panacea to integration of diverse elements, at best it is a fragile solution to managing heterogeneity, hence the many examples of failed or failing federal systems such as India, Soviet Union, Germany, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Sudan and now Nigeria etc.

However, added to the problem of political violence is the resurgence of terrorist activities in the north threatening the fragile federal system. These are the problematic that this paper critically looks at, especially their impacts on the federal system taking a cue from the fact that all these portray differences that have resulted in the breakup or collapse or (braking) apart) former federal systems such as India, Soviet Union, Germany, Yugoslavia etc. This paper therefore elucidates and brings to the fore, the implications of these political and religious problems on (asks, what impact does political violence and terrorism have on) Nigeria’s federalism?

The Terrorism, Political/Religious Violence Nexus.

In recent times terrorism have taking a dramatic twist in Nigeria. For some unknown or yet to be identified reasons, the phenomenon have metamorphosed into an ethno-religious affair; while the perpetrators seems to have been emboldened. This paper focuses more on the religious aspect of terrorism in Nigeria because the most active terrorist group in Nigeria (Boko Haram), claim to be fighting a jihad on behalf of Islam.

Terrorism in Nigeria has a different personality compared to that which happens in other parts of the world. This is the case because Nigerian terrorists are a movement and not an organization. They neither have a politbureau nor a manifesto. They also do not have an identifiable and charismatic leader. They have declared a Clandestine and Covert Guerrilla war on the Nigeria State by bombing facilities which belong to International Organizations i.e. the United
Nations building in Abuja, Religious Organizations such as churches, mosques and State Institutions such as the Federal Police headquarters, Military installations, etc. They use guerrilla style because of the surprise element involved. The terrorists like to take their targets or victims by surprise.

There are other ways religious terrorists carry out attacks which include, assassinations, murder, kidnappings, (hostage taking) and Genocide. A guerrilla war when targeted at religious victims, take the shape of a non conventional strategy. For example, infantry type attacks are employed. They also use commando style during attacks. One would have expected that these terrorists would base their terrorist activities on a particular ideological conviction, thus maintaining a particular trend or personality. However, the multiple personality of the Nigerian terrorist network, make it cumbersome to compartmentalize or at best, categorize in its activities. This makes a consensus terrorism definition almost impossible thus giving credence to the lack of a definite scholarly or institutional definition of terrorism.

According to the United Nations: a “TERRORIST is any person” who, acting independently of, the specific recognition of a country or as a single person, or as part of a group not recognized as an official part or division of a nation, acts to destroy or to injure civilians or to destroy or damage property belonging to civilians or to governments in order to effect some political goal,

Golder and Williams, (2004) posits that despite decades of effort, with even greater focus after September 11, attempts to develop a generally accepted legal definition of terrorism and political violence have failed. The failure is made possible because of the individual variability both in kinds of conflicts and in their methods. Golder and William further argue that the lack of consensus on what constitutes terrorism points to its inescapably political nature, perhaps best encapsulated in the aphorism that ‘one person’s terrorist is another person’s freedom fighter?"

Friedlander, (1979) believes that terrorism is different from other types of violent actions primarily because of the illegality accorded it as a result of its deliberate choice of victims who are innocent or deliberate disregard for the innocence of its victims. Thus, in essence then, and by its very nature, terrorism involves the deliberate disruption of norms, the violation of generally accepted standards of decency, including the laws of war as they apply to innocent and helpless victims. Burton, (1979) Terrorism includes a range of social and political problems whose behavioural scope is bondless and includes behaviour that appears to be abnormal.

The literature on religious terrorism and political violence in Nigeria largely implicates
socio-economic, political and governance deficits as the major causes of such violence. This section departs from the underlying causes approach and undertakes an analytical inquiry into the immediate and visible factors that trigger religious and political conflicts in the country. It also evaluates the nature of state management of conflicts in Nigeria and posits that government’s haphazard approach to these conflicts as well as the absence of a long-term strategy for its management account for their persistent manifestation. Drawing from this, it becomes largely correlative through the nexus between political violence and terrorism embedded in religious extremism.

Religion could serve, and has indeed served as an instrument of social harmony in many civilisations. Paradoxically, however, it has also served as a motivation for violence, hence its indication in some literature as a ‘double-edged sword’ (Maregere et al 2011:17–23; Obasi, 2009). From time immemorial, religious bigots have attempted to legitimise violence in the name of God. Contemporary acts of extreme violence such as terrorist attacks are often justified as ‘holy warfare’. In the past two decades, religion has been at the centre of most violent conflicts around the world, thereby gaining notoriety as one of the prime security challenges confronting the world in the wake of the Cold War (Juergensmeyer 2004:6). A study conducted in Spain has found that societies that are divided along religious lines are more prone to intense and prolonged conflict than those divided by political, territorial and ethnic differences. Perhaps this reality explains the prime position that religious violence occupies on Nigeria’s security pyramid. Religiously motivated violence has plagued the country more than any other security challenge.

There are several causal diagnoses of religious conflicts in Nigeria, but much of the literature in this area pay premium attention to the underlying socio-political, economic and governance factors that precipitate, not only religious, but violent conflicts generally. This section of the paper presents, as a point of departure, an analytical inquiry into the past, immediate and visible factors that have promoted conflicts (including political violence and terrorism) in the country.

Wilmot (1994: 185) posits:

> 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? Colonisation 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.

Kennedy, (2008: 27) explaining violence from an urban perspective posits thus: African American youths living in urban contexts appear to be disproportionately likely to experience cumulative violence in their communities [...] These seemingly higher rates of exposure to multiple types of violence can be attributed, in part, to structural issues facing African Americans living in urban settings, including residential segregation, with its concentrated levels of extreme poverty, limited resources and collective efficacy, and isolation from conventional opportunities; and chronic unemployment.

The above example can be extended through a synopsis of the Nigerian constant experiences of urban violence, which results from sudden removals of subsidy on the prices of petrol. The sudden removal of subsidy on the price of petrol was largely condemned by different groups of people in the Nigerian society through the mass protests and general strike, which were highly effective for two weeks particularly from (1st – 16th January 2012). With the removal of subsidy, the price of a litre of petrol increased from N 65.00 to N 141.00. The fuel pump prize has since increased to N 145.00. Even with the increase, regular devastating fuel shortages is experienced; forcing people to buy at between N 300.00 and N 500.00. The Nigerian government claimed that the removal of subsidy was necessary to ensure development of infrastructure, proving that government would divert the subsidy on the price of petrol to finance capital projects such as roads, electricity, water, health facilities and so on. Recently also, this similar action was taken by government which resulted in the price of petrol been sold for more.

The Politics and Governance Angle

The way and manner things are done in Nigeria (particularly in government circles) leaves less to be desired. There are inconsistencies, irregularities, conflicts of interests and general recalcitrance in the politics and governance project in Nigeria. These lapses have given room for (and rise to) various group agitations (both legitimate and illegitimate) using both legal and illegal means. Ethnic identities and loyalties have overshadowed national patriotism with everybody
clinging to his ethnic nationality. There seems to be an added need for protection and a guarantee of safety which the Nigerian state can no longer give. It is also in this respect that the advocates for a Sovereign National Conference are clamoring. The popular consensus as it seems is for a renegotiated Federation with a hallmark of “True Federalism”. As Adejumobi (2003:175) has noted, this would allow for the different nationalities to discuss and find solution to two pressing issues;
The first is the inter-group relations.

That is, the tensions and contradictions that arise from this relationship dwelling on the issues of marginalization, domination, inequality, fairness and justice among ethnic groups. The second...is the class dimension. That is, the exacerbation of class inequalities and antagonisms in society between the rich and the poor, the affluent and the underclass.... The latter sometimes reinforce the former and do increase ethnic conflicts and antagonism in society.

Osaghae (1995) has also noted that the main issue of the national question is basically how to structure the Nigerian federation in order to accommodate the different ethnic groups and thereby guarantee access to power and equitable distribution of resources. The background to this, of course, is the perceived domination of some ethnic groups by the other engendered by the structurally skewed nature of the Nigerian federation.

It would seem, therefore, that the future of the Nigerian state is strongly and irrevocably tied to the issue of the National Question and the call for the Sovereign National Conference. This is primarily because, as Momoh (2002:2) has noted, the national question and the call for a sovereign conference are related fundamentally to the question of rights of nations and peoples within the context of oppression and feelings of marginalization. Specifically, each ethnic group that has ethnic militias is expressing a particular sentiment private to it and which excludes non-ethnic members from its consideration.

This ethnic exclusivity to a large extent determines how political actors are selected in Nigeria. In achieving this, ethno-religious and political Primordial interests are exhibited. Various scholars on democratic dispensation shared much with Lijphart's (1984) remark on the strategic selection of political actors. The most important issue in Nigerian context today is how to bring
peace, unity and reduce the economic hardship, coupled with ethno-religious and political violence. As scholars identified various models in addressing ethno-religion and political conflicts, it seems to opine that these models are not working well in the Nigerian geo-political lines.

Sequentially, Liphart identified four models: (a) Power sharing, that support total coalition among the majority and the minority groups. This approach has been proved unrealistic in totality because still the majority are in control of the lucrative posts and neglecting the minority as well in Nigeria; in contrast, politicization occurs as a result of two overlapping factors: the interests of elites and group competition for scarce resources. (b) Hegemonic control, the dominating influence by one political group over society is even on the increase in Nigerian society against any opposition group, this model prove to be unrealistic in the political history of Nigeria.

For Lijphart’s (1984), all multi-ethnic nations are, ‘profoundly divided along religious, ideological, linguistic, cultural, ethnic or racial lines. He also opined that, nations ‘virtually made up of separate sub-societies each with its own political party, its own interest group and its own means of communication, would as a society lack ‘flexibility necessary for a popular democracy. Under these situations the ruling majority would be not only undemocratic, but also becomes dangerous, because those marginalized minorities who are constantly denied access to power would feel excluded; and would stop showing allegiance to the government. Consequentially, such would cause conflicts to escalate (Lijphart, 1984: 22-23).

In addition, the challenges for sustainable and political development in Nigeria today is nothing more than the issue of government economic policies which reflect the personal interest of political actors and the policy markers.

(c) Federalism, one of the consequences of forced integration, is that the issue of federalism in Nigeria failed to unite people under one single entity because the ethno-political systems of inequality, marginalisation and religious diversity has been the long history of agitation over the ‘oppressed’, and ‘marginalised’ groups who are the minorities, these phenomenon leads to fear of minority status, negative remembrances and images, lack of adequate constitutional protections and breakdown in stratification patterns (d) Arbitration, these models consist of an external or internal arbitrator for resolving violence, however considering the phenomenon of diversity in ethno-religious lines in most African countries and Nigeria in particular, therefore this model is not applicable because it does not yield any positive result, (Lemarchand, 1995).

Given the complexity of ethno-religious and political nature of Nigeria, it appears that the
solution will only emerge through the commitment of competing groups in Nigeria to forge a pact to establish an institution that will not exclude any group (Aborisade and Mundt, 1999). As concludes by Rothschild, in a hegemonial system one ethnic segment dominates the others, wields preponderant coercive power, and arrogates to itself most of the benefits of the state, (Rothschild, 1979, 132-135).

**Differentiating Religious Terrorism from Political Terrorism:**

Political violence is a form of political terrorism. The tactics used in the process towards actualising violent political aims and terrorist objectives; coupled with the high impact it has on its victims make both concepts a correlative national phenomenon and tragedy. Religious terrorism is the more virulent form of anti-state and democracy agitations, even more virulent than political terrorism. This becomes clearer when one compares these two types of terrorism.

For instance, religious motivated terrorism differs from other acts of terrorism primarily because; (1) while political terrorism attempts to find a resolution within the life times of the perpetrators, religious terrorism outlives their participants. This is predicated on the belief that the rewards of those involved in this cause are trans-temporal and the time limit of their struggle is eternity. (2) Targets of religious terrorism are not chosen for their military values but rather they are chosen for the sole purpose of making an impact on public consciousness both by its brutality and suddenness. (3) The constant recourse to a ‘god’ to justify their action has the power of ‘satanising’ the enemies while making the perpetrators of religious terrorism ‘godly’.

As Juergensmeyer (2004: 34-38) had noted, this is a kind of “ perverse performance of power meant to ennoble the perpetrators’ views of the world while drawing viewers into their notions of cosmic war”. The effect of this, as he had also noted, is “not so much that religion has become politicised but that politics has become religionised. Through enduring absolutism, worldly struggles have been lifted into the high proscenium of sacred battles”. (4) The targets of religious terrorism and violence also have the tendency to assume and acquire a similar religious mien, explanation and perspective. For instance following the 9/11 attacks, America adopted the song, “God bless America” as the country’s unofficial national anthem thereby signifying a counter ‘religious’ phase and perspective to the anti-terrorism posture of America.

As a matter of fact, the then US President, George Bush further whipped up national sentiments when he invoked the ‘religious image’ of America’s “righteous cause” as combating and bringing to an end the “absolute evil” of its enemies. (5) The ‘divine’ nature of religious
terrorism, the notion that the battle is between ‘good’ and ‘bad’, ‘truth’ and ‘evil’, the expectation of heavenly rewards for the terrorists all rule out the possibility of a compromise or a peaceful resolution. (6) The spiritual dimension of the war makes it to go beyond the confines of human law and ideal of morality. Society’s law are subordinated and in extreme cases are deemed non-existence or inapplicable because of the recourse to a higher authority. The belief and perception here is that society’s laws and limitations are of no relevance when one is obeying a higher ‘divine’ authority. (7) Finally, the end result of religious terrorism is that it impacts a sense of redemption and dignity on the perpetrators. It is at this level that religious terrorism acquires a personal willingness on the part of the perpetrators who often times are men who feel alienated and marginalised from public life.

**Implications on the Federal System in Nigeria**

The ethnic and religious composition of Nigeria and its manipulation by the political elite has posed a lot of challenges to governance and security in Nigeria. This has been aggravated by the failure of the state to perform its core duties of maintaining law and order, justice and providing social services to the people. For instance, the failure of the state has led to the emergence of ethnic militias in several parts of the country such as the Odua Peoples’ Congress (OPC), Baakasi Boys and the emergence of Boko Haram in northern Nigeria. Meanwhile, it has been documented that the nature of violent conflicts in the world is changing in recent times particularly in terms of the causes of the conflict and the form of its expression (Bloomfield and Reilly, 1998).

According to Harris and Reilly, one of the most dramatic changes has been the trend away from traditional inter-State conflict (that is, a war between sovereign states) and towards intra-state conflict (that is one which takes place between factions within an existing state) (Harris and Reilly, 1998). They argued that conflicts originating largely within states combines two powerful elements: potent identity based factors, based on differences in race, religion, culture, language and so on with perceived imbalance in the distribution of economic, political and social resources (Harris and Reilly, 1998).

Federalism is a process of power sharing within various segments of people because the method allows for power to be shared among so many regions. Federalism involves the devolution of power by the centre to regional units and a formal distinction between the powers of the central government and the powers of the federal units (Coakley 1993:15). A federal arrangement can increase the confidence of the conflicting ethnic groups and allow them to feel less threatened by
other ethnic groups (Lake & Rothschild 1996:61-63).

Federalism in real sense is associated with various problems. First, federalism usually refers to the devolution of powers to a specific geographical region and is thus only a solution where the conflicting ethnic groups are territorially based (Welsh 1993:77). There are some forms of non-territorial partitions, such as the cultural councils of Belgium (Cohen 1997:610), but generally federalism is taken to involve devolution to a particular geographical area he argued. Nigeria today serves as an element of example in African countries that has experienced the method of federal system of government that is not working. Terrorism and political violence has impacted upon the Nigeria Federation through the following implications:

(a) The fall of the economy (recession occasioned by capital flight and de-investment)
(b) Political instability
(c) Ethno-religious tensions
(d) Internally displaced persons (IDPs and refugee problems)
(e) Youth restiveness
(F) General insecurity

**Conclusion**

Political violence and terrorism in Nigeria is perceived by authorities as a menace only when it is perpetrated by opposition groups which are not on the side of government. It is on record that there have been evidence of state sponsored violence and terrorist acts in Nigeria both during the military and civil eras. Also, elite groups or geopolitical zones that are benefiting from the present federal arrangements of Nigeria do not think that political violence and terrorist activities are capable of destabilising the Nigeria federation. In fact, they do not consider it much of an issue. Therefore, it is not expected that possible solutions can be found within these groups.

Despite its devastating effect, political violence and terrorist activities in Nigeria seem to have quadrupled. This paper recognises the fact that acts of political violence and terrorism has not diminished despite government’s claim to have defeated perpetrators. Terrorists are still killing and kidnapping citizens at will. The kidnap of the Chibock School girls have recently been reaffirmed by the kidnap of another 110 Dapchi School girls yet, the government is claiming to be winning the war on terror. Political assassinations remain a big headache with multitudes of unsolved political murders in Nigeria.
Poverty is everywhere in Nigeria, violent crimes are an everyday occurrence. Despair and hopelessness is now a part of national life. Restiveness and terrorism has become an everyday event particularly in the northern part of the country. There seem to be a lack of political will to tackle these myriad of problems which are capable of destabilising and disintegrating the federation. Federal systems are at best a fragile humanly contrived system that are not only prone to instability, but that can be easily fragmented as numerous examples have shown. The on-going terrorist acts and political violence that especially precedes every election year and accompanies every election are visible fault lines that may break up this federation. Hence this paper evaluated the impact of political violence and terrorism on Nigeria’s federalism. 1999 ushered in civil rule after long spells of military dictatorships in Nigeria. The experience Nigeria have undergone in terms of the failure of the good governance project which in turn have occasioned the numerous social, political and economic problems in Nigeria have necessitated the investigation and subsequent analysis of political violence and terrorism in this paper. The Nigerian federation may for now (in the short term) avoid or escape a brake up. On the long run, this may not be the case due to the abundance of numerous disintegrative variables and factors in Nigeria. The pertinent question then is, when will it and how will it happen?

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Oxford.


THE 2008 GLOBAL ECONOMIC RECESSION: CAPITALISM ON EXILE OR THE TRIUMPH OF MARXISM

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Abstract

Encouraged by the ideological evolution and the universalization of Western Liberal Democracy, Francis Fukuyama had ultimately assumed that capitalism would become the final form of human government and economic system. As a prediction intended towards the nullification of Marxian theory of socialism, Fukuyama's premise met its utter theoretical exile when capitalism could not contain the vagaries of market forces and hence the 2008 global economic meltdown. Thus, this paper gives a theoretical insight into the inherent contradictions of capitalism that paved way for the financial crises that rocked the globe in 2008. It argues that state intervention afterwards was a step close to the justification and currency of Marxian historical and dialectical materialism. As a documentary research, the paper relied on secondary sources of data. Findings from the literatures reviewed show that state intervention via bail-out funds and welfarist gestures implied the triumph of Socialist ideology in the wake of the 2008 Global Economic Recession. The paper recommends that the ideology of Liberalism upon which the capitalist system is birthed from should be overhauled to include the apparent inadequacies of capitalism as a dominant economic system in the West.

Keywords: Economic Recession, Marxism, Capitalism, Welfarism and Market

INTRODUCTION

Capitalism has always presented itself as a system devoid of inherent contradictions. Most apologists of the capitalist ideology have hitherto 2008 global economic recession assumed that in
all circumstances, the forces of demand and supply are enough to sustain the market argument which summarily presupposes that when private individuals/sector (other than the public) control economic institutions, the desired economic goals of the state and the individuals therein would be achieved. In both theory and practice, this perception has been sustained even more in the aftermath of the Soviet disintegration.

The globalization of this view has nonetheless gained major intellectual prominence by bourgeois scholars of the Western European origin. Francis Fukuyama (1992), for one, in the wake of the end of the *Cold War* had argued, even further, that the advent of Western Liberal Democracy may signal the endpoint of humanity's *socio-cultural evolution* and the final form of human government. He postulated this to show how the practice of the capitalist ideology especially by the United States had ended the socialist/communist ideology of the defunct USSR and by extension a nullification of the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism (which considers communism as the ultimate end of history).

However, the sweeping reliance on the market forces as the dominant global economic system and the consideration of non-democratic states as ‘reactionary’ has nonetheless proven the currency of Fukuyama’s argument. In fact, international financial institutions viz: IBRD, IMF etc have been co-opted to make universal the capitalist ideology and would stop at nothing to fulfill this goal. As money-lending institutions, they condition intending nation-states who are not democratic to become one as a condition to enjoy financial instruments. To encourage the growth of the capitalist system, they proffer also, austerity measures so as to reduce government expenditure on public goods.

The system however struck an unanticipated iceberg when in 2008 events rolled out to see the decline of the global capitalist institutions. Excess and unchecked lending by commercial banks snowballed into the desiccation of liquidity and hence the 2008 global economic crises. Sher and Iyanatul (2010:3) summarized the decline when they submitted that:

*Following events in 2008, particularly the collapse of Lehman Brothers in September, risk-loving banks and investors around the world rapidly reversed their perceptions. Due to the complexity of the mortgage-backed securities, they were, however, unaware of the true extent of the liabilities linked ultimately to a rapidly deteriorating US housing sector. Consequently, liquidity quickly*
dried up, almost bringing the global financial system to its knees.

Some commentators even questioned whether American-style capitalism itself had been dealt a death blow.

Their argument encapsulates the decline of the capitalist system and of course showed that the American-styled capitalist ideology could not re-invent itself in the face of looming depression. In fact, without the intervention of state institutions as Sher and Iyanatul (2010) had argued, the system would have derailed into perilous state where the commanding height of the economy under capitalism would fail. To ventilate the state in the height of the meltdown, Sher and Iyanatul opined that:

Determined to avoid mistakes made by policymakers during previous crises, governments in both advanced and developing countries reacted aggressively by injecting massive amounts of credit into financial markets and nationalizing banks, slashing interest rates, and increasing discretionary spending through fiscal stimulus packages. This response helped avoid a catastrophic depression in many countries though the effectiveness of policies has varied depending on the magnitude of the response and vulnerabilities of the domestic economy (2010:4).

Arising from the above, states had to take socialist measures like nationalization, injection of liquidity amongst others so as to salvage the ‘carelessness’ of the capitalist ideology. This paper hence, is an attempt to theoretically substantiate the place of the state in the face of capitalist ideology and justify state actions as such, as not only capitalist wit but ironically the triumph of Marxism.

OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

This research intends:

i. To examine the nature and causes of the 2008 economic depression;

ii. To determine if same exiled capitalism or triumphed Marxism

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

The concepts of economic recession, capitalism and Marxism are germane to this intellectual discourse and hence they shall be explicated as follows:
**Economic Recession**

In economic studies, “recession is referred to as a general slowdown in economic activity over a sustained period of time, or a business cycle contraction” (http:www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/recession). Economists thus argue seriously that during recessions, many macroeconomic indicators vary in a similar way. Hence, production as measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP), employment, investment spending, capacity utilization, household incomes and business profits all fall during recessions (Ogbu and Ereke, 2017).

On the effects of recession on the state of a nation’s economy, Biafore (2009) notes that while compounding the problem of the economy, “recessions lead to lower interest rates on savings because the Federal Reserve Board cuts the federal funds rate to boost the economy. Worse yet, layoffs are common during recession”.

To Biafore (2009) “the problem is, recessions are difficult to recognize when they arrive and almost impossible to predict. In fact, it takes a while, sometimes a long while, to find out that a recession has already began”. During the 2007-2009 recession though, economists identified a number of possible predictors before the world economy went fully slow.

**Capitalism**

Capitalism is often thought of as an economic system in which private actors own and control property in accord with their interests, and demand and supply freely set prices in markets in a way that can serve the best interests of society. The essential feature of capitalism is the motive to make a profit. As Adam Smith, the 18th century philosopher and father of modern economics, said: “It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest.” Both parties to a voluntary exchange transaction have their own interest in the outcome, but neither can obtain what he or she wants without addressing what the other wants. It is this rational self-interest that can lead to economic prosperity (Sarwat and Ahmed, 2015).

At the very foundation of a capitalist system is the belief in economic freedom. This freedom has two dimensions: freedom of economic choice and freedom of enterprise. Freedom of choice means that in a world of scarce resources the individual is free to make his own economic decisions. Consumers, workers, savers, producers, etc., all are free to make the economic choices that will impact their lives. Freedom of enterprise is usually more narrowly defined as the freedom to own and operate a business. It also entails the freedom to make all business decisions, limited only by
competition and the interplay of the forces of supply and demand in the market place. Due to the concept of economic freedom, the basic economic questions are answered in a market (capitalist) system by individuals acting in their own interest in the market place.

Central to the belief in economic freedom is the concept of private property. Goods and services and factors of production are privately held by individuals. As owners of productive resources, individuals are free to utilize or dispose of their property as they see fit. Thus, individual ownership includes the right to reap the rewards or suffer the risks of economic decision making. As owners of the factors of production, individuals may be rewarded with "rent" for the use of their "land," "wages" for the use of their "labor," " interest" as a return on their "capital," and "profit" as a reward for their "entrepreneurship." The opposite of private ownership is public (or government) ownership of the means of production. Public ownership precludes individual decision making, thus limiting the economic choices of the individual (Sarwat and Ahmed, 2015).

**Marxism**

Marxism is the philosophical, sociological, political and economic analysis that explores class relations and societal conflict using a materialist interpretation of historical development and a dialectical view of social transformation. It originates from the mid-to-late 19th century works of German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (Woff, Resnick, Richard and Stephen, 1987).

Marxist methodology originally used a method of economic and sociopolitical inquiry known as historical materialism to analyze and critique the development of capitalism and the role of class struggle in systemic economic change. According to Marxist perspective, class conflict within capitalism arises due to intensifying contradictions between the highly productive and mechanized production performed by the proletariat and the private ownership and appropriation of the surplus product (profit) by a small minority of the population who are private owners called the bourgeoisie. The contradiction between the forces and relations of production intensifies leading to crisis. The haute bourgeoisie and its managerial proxies are unable to manage the intensifying alienation of labor which the proletariat experiences, albeit with varying degrees of class consciousness, until social revolution ultimately results (O’Hara, 2003). The eventual long-term outcome of this revolution would be the establishment of socialism – a socioeconomic system based on social ownership of the means of production, distribution based on one's contribution and production organized directly for use. As the productive forces and technology continued to
advance, Marx hypothesized that socialism would eventually give way to a communist stage of social development, which would be a classless, stateless, humane society erected on common ownership and the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" (Ermak, 2016).

**METHODOLOGY**

The study relies mainly on documentary analysis of literatures on global economic recession, capitalism and Marxism. On this basis, published and unpublished reports, magazines, periodicals and newspapers were subjected to textual analysis. We gathered data in respect of the causes, effects and theoretical justification of the 2008 global economic recession and the aftereffect.

**THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

Theoretical underpinning of this research is based on the Keynesian response to the inability of the market argument to eschew the 1930s economic depression. This study will further explicate the view in relation to the 2008 global economic recession which saw a recrudescence of the former.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, the advanced capitalist economies suffered widespread unemployment. In his 1936 *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, British economist John Maynard Keynes argued that capitalism struggles to recover from slowdowns in investment because a capitalist economy can remain indefinitely in equilibrium with high unemployment and no growth (Sarwat and Ahmed, 2015).

Keynesian economics challenged the notion that laissez-faire capitalist economies could operate well on their own without state intervention to promote aggregate demand and fight high unemployment and deflation of the sort seen during the 1930s. He postulated that government intervention (by cutting taxes and increasing government spending) was needed to pull the economy out of the recession.

These actions sought to temper the boom and bust of the business cycle and to help capitalism recover following the Great Depression. Keynes never intended to replace the market-based economy with a different one; he asserted only that periodic government intervention was necessary which of course involves the deployment of state institutions to the rescue of capitalism when besieged with depression. Keynes also argued that the forces that generally lead to the success of capitalism can also usher in its failure. Free markets can flourish only when
governments set the rules that govern them—such as laws that ensure property rights—and support markets with proper infrastructure, such as roads and highways to move goods and people. Governments, however, may be influenced by organized private interests that try to leverage the power of regulations to protect their economic position at the expense of the public interest—for example, by repressing the same free market that bred their success. Thus, according to Rajan and Zingales (2003), society must “save capitalism from the capitalists”—that is, take appropriate steps to protect the free market from powerful private interests that seek to impede its efficient functioning. As against the contradictions that led to the financial depression of 2008, the concentration of ownership of productive assets must be limited to ensure competition. And, because competition begets winners and losers, losers must be compensated. Free trade and strong competitive pressure on incumbent firms will also keep powerful interests at bay. The public needs to see the virtues of free markets and oppose government intervention in the market to protect powerful incumbents at the expense of overall economic prosperity. Economic growth under capitalism may have far surpassed that of other economic systems, but inequality remains one of its most controversial attributes. Do the dynamics of private capital accumulation inevitably lead to the concentration of wealth in fewer hands, or do the balancing forces of growth, competition, and technological progress reduce inequality?

Economists have taken various approaches to finding the driver of economic inequality. The most recent study analyzes a unique collection of data going back to the 18th century to uncover key economic and social patterns (Piketty, 2014). It finds that in contemporary market economies, the rate of return on investment frequently outstrips overall growth. Sarwat and Ahmed (2015) opined that with compounding, if that discrepancy persists, the wealth held by owners of capital will increase far more rapidly than other kinds of earnings (wages, for example), eventually outstripping them by a wide margin. This factor actually reinforced the intellectual justification for the 2008 global economic recession.

CAUSES AND IMPACTS OF THE 2008 GLOBAL ECONOMIC RECESSION

The causes of the crisis have become, understandably, a major topic of discourse among both academics and policymakers. As located in the above Keynesian thought as regards the 1930s economic depression, the debate surrounding this issue has generally focused on the role of market failure in precipitating the crisis, namely the catastrophic performance of the financial market that
was in stark contrast to the theoretical proposition that it is efficient (i.e. prices in the stock and bond markets instantly and accurately reflect all available information at the time). This puts one of the core tenets of capitalism into question. At the same time, most contributions to the ongoing post-mortem analysis of the crisis recognizes that government failure has played a major role in allowing banks and other financial institutions to capitalize on loop-holes in the regulatory system to increase leverage and returns. In terms of government policy, Taylor (2009) stresses that the excessively loose US monetary policy fuelled the credit boom, while others such as Elmendorf (2007) conclude that interest rates were not too low.

In addition to these dimensions, the debate has considered both the contribution of domestic issues (US financial regulation and monetary policy) and global imbalances (the glut of savings flowing from surplus countries to deficit economies). Overall, drawing from a comprehensive review of crisis-related studies, four core, but interrelated, factors can be identified: interest rates, global imbalances, perceptions of risks and regulation of the financial system (Acharya and Richardson, 2010).

In the years leading up to the crisis, a number of economists expressed their concerns that the large current deficit in the United States was unsustainable. Based on previous current account-driven crises, many commentators felt that the US deficit of more than five per cent was a signal of a potential crisis; Roubini and Setser (2004) even warned of the likelihood of a global crisis unless these imbalances were reduced. In emerging economies, current account crises typically occurred when there was a loss of confidence and a reversal of capital flows (a ‘sudden stop’, leading to sharp depreciation of the currency) (Edwards, 2004). However, in the case of the crisis of 2007-2009, there was no reversal of capital flows to the United States and thus the US dollar did not collapse as predicted by some economists.

What then is the link between the global financial crisis and the imbalances leading up to 2007? It is argued that the flows of capital from China and other exporting countries fed into the US housing bubble and credit boom along with its depressing effect on bond yields. For this reason, mortgage rates remained low in the US even after the Federal Reserve started tightening monetary policy in 2004 (Baily et al. 2008). In addition, foreign borrowing directly funded both investment in US companies and the mortgage debt instruments that were at the centre of the sub-prime disaster. Overall, during the decade preceding the crisis, credit indeed grew most strongly in deficit
countries, which was only possible to maintain through the ever-increasing flows of capital from surplus economies (Astley et al. 2009).

As argued by Shiller (2008), ‘The housing bubble was a major cause of the subprime crisis and of the broader economic crisis...’ (Shiller 2008:29). However, due to the rapid increase in securitization of mortgage bonds, this was no ordinary housing bubble insofar it was not only domestic lenders that were exposed to the stability of the US housing market but investors around the globe.

Against this backdrop, the trigger for the crisis unsurprisingly was the US housing market. After the Federal Reserve started increasing interest rates, the delinquency rate on home loans began to rise in 2006 before gaining momentum in 2007 (Astley et al. 2009). The end of low, introductory interest (‘teaser’) rates on sub-prime loans was a major factor in driving this rise in delinquencies. This rise in bad loans subsequently led to the failure of a number of US mortgage lenders. Over 2007, hedge funds were hit hard by the defaults and subsequent unwinding of the sub-prime market. However, the real problem was that banks and other investors around the globe were exposed to this situation, but because of the complex nature of the financial products, particularly the collateral debt obligations and credit default swaps, did not know the size of their exposure and losses (IMF, 2010).

Consequently, in mid-2007, financial institutions started to hoard liquidity, which led to a freezing of the market for asset-backed commercial paper. The credit crunch had begun. This, in turn, led to a further increase in perceptions of risk and decrease in lending, which was greatly exacerbated by the failure of Lehman Brothers in September 2008, an event that almost caused the financial system to implode. The United States was the epicenter of the crisis and its economy was hit directly by the meltdown in the sub-prime mortgage market along with the repercussions of the financial crisis and the ensuing credit crunch. As a consequence, the United States economy fell into recession in December 2007 and is estimated to have shrunk by 2.7 per cent in 2009.

**BETWEEN MARKET-FORCES FAILURE AND THE TRIUMPH OF MARXISM**

From the above account of the 2008 economic depression, it is lucid, albeit concise, that the downturn in global economy as witnessed by the US and other frontline capitalist states is a manifestation of the inherent contradiction of capitalism. It indicated a total failure of capitalist institutions to sustain the argument of the forces of demand and supply. Hence, when the crunch became imminent, state intervention unarguably formed the last resort.
Be that as it may, it is the position of this paper that the inability of the capitalist system to rescue itself from the contradictions that bedeviled it in the wake of the 2008 global economic recession implied a triumph of the Marxist postulation which did not preclude the end of history to capitalism as against those of Francis Fukuyama. Michael (2012) summed it up when he opined that:

This crisis itself has been immediately caused by the bursting of the United States (U.S.) housing bubble, which has been the result of an increasing overvaluation of real estate and of its financing though the sub-prime market. This in turn created immense financial problems for the two largest mortgage lenders in the U.S., Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. In consequence, both institutions had to declare insolvency, and survived only because of state assistance given by the U.S. government. In the wake of the subprime crisis more banks had to cope with financial difficulties, and from this point onwards the crisis did not remain restricted mainly to the U.S. but evolved to a global financial and economic crisis

From the above, the system survived because the state intervened through proliferation and injection of liquidity into the private sector (Banks and mortgage institutions). Some capitalist would debunk this idea with the claim that state intervention is also capitalist wit as against the magnanimity of the state. Ludwig (1929) nullified this claim by reinforcing the welfarist tendencies of the state as follows:

i. State intervention measures by rule setting,

ii. State intervention measures by interventions in private economic activity, e.g. through subsidies, protectionism, or state investments,

iii. State intervention measures as coordination mechanisms.

According to the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (2012), the US Federal Reserve and central banks around the world took steps to expand money supplies to avoid the risk of a deflationary spiral, in which lower wages and higher unemployment led to a self-reinforcing decline in global consumption. In addition, governments enacted large fiscal stimulus packages, by borrowing and spending to offset the reduction in private sector demand caused by the crisis. The US Federal Reserve's new and expanded liquidity facilities were intended to enable the central bank to fulfill its traditional lender-of-last-resort role during the crisis while mitigating stigma, broadening the
set of institutions with access to liquidity, and increasing the flexibility with which institutions could tap such liquidity.

This credit freeze brought the global financial system to the brink of collapse. The response of the Federal Reserve, the European Central Bank, the Bank of England and other central banks was immediate and dramatic. During the last quarter of 2008, these central banks purchased US$2.5 trillion of government debt and troubled private assets from banks. This was the largest liquidity injection into the credit market, and the largest monetary policy action, in world history.

Following a model initiated by the United Kingdom bank rescue package (Roger, 2009), the governments of European nations and the US guaranteed the debt issued by their banks and raised the capital of their national banking systems, ultimately purchasing $1.5 trillion newly issued preferred stock in their major banks (New York Times, 2008).

In October 2010, Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz explained how the US Federal Reserve was implementing another monetary policy —creating currency— as a method to combat the liquidity trap. By creating $600 billion and inserting this directly into banks, the Federal Reserve intended to spur banks to finance more domestic loans and refinance mortgages. However, banks instead were spending the money in more profitable areas by investing internationally in emerging markets. Banks were also investing in foreign currencies, which Stiglitz and others point out may lead to currency wars while China redirects its currency holdings away from the United States (Wheatley, Jonathan and Peter, 2010).

Governments have also bailed out a variety of firms as discussed above, incurring large financial obligations. To date, various US government agencies have committed or spent trillions of dollars in loans, asset purchases, guarantees, and direct spending (Langley, 2015). Significant controversy has accompanied the bailout, leading to the development of a variety of "decision making frameworks", to help balance competing policy interests during times of financial crisis (Tim, 2010). The US executed two stimulus packages, totaling nearly $1 trillion during 2008 and 2009 (BBC, 2009). Other countries also implemented fiscal stimulus plans beginning in 2008.

All of the above are pointers to the fact that the failure of the capitalist system can only be salvaged by socialism. By extension too, it shows the extent of the relevance of the Marxist philosophy of historical materialism as against the futile prediction that the theory ended with the fall of the Berlin wall in the early 90s.

CONCLUSION
The study has presented a theoretical rationalization of the 2008 global economic recession as a letdown of the prominence given to the capitalist system. It has given justifications for state intervention as not only welfarist gesture but a step towards the nullification of a ‘perfect’ market system. From the literatures reviewed/analyzed, some scholars had argued that interventionism is a capitalist gesture consummated by captains of industries to rescue the system in times of depression. Far from it, Marxist apologists assume that ‘welfarism’, ‘interventionism’ etc are all features of socialist measures geared towards recouping the state from the turmoil of economic peril. This further reinforces the currency of the Marxist ideology as against the claims that his theory ended with the end of cold war. The work proposes a thorough overhaul of the capitalist system especially in the argument of bourgeois scholars that the system can never be faulted. But given the 2008 economic meltdown, and the subsequent intervention of the state, the Marxist ideology remains justified and relevant.

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DEBATING COLONIALISM AS AGENT PROVOCATEUR OF NIGERIA’S DEVELOPMENT DILEMA

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Abstract

Nigeria is richly endowed by providence with human and material resources critical for national development and advancement. However, since gaining political independence, Nigeria has continues to meander the path befitting failed, weak and “juvenile” state that had very great prospects at independence and was touted to lead Africa out of the backwards of underdevelopment and economic dependency, Nigeria is still stuck in the league of very poor, corrupt and underdeveloped, infrastructural decaying crisis riven, morally bankrupt and leadership deficit countries of the south. The foregoing scenario is not unconnected with historical antecedent, social, economic and political conditions of Nigeria. The result is manifested in high rate of unemployment, poverty, hunger, insecurity, infrastructure decay and deficit. To establish and fill intellectual lacuna, certain questions remain sacrosanct: Is colonialism the agent provocateur of Nigeria’s development dilemma? Does the long military dominance impede Nigeria’s development? Does mono-economic structure of the Nigerian polity contribute to sagging and sapping economy? And its Nigeria’s development dilemma attributable to bad governance by few selfish elite? Question if any other factors affect Nigeria’s development and proffer solutions.
Survey method is employed. Probability and non-probability sampling techniques are adopted. Data collected are analyzed with the aid of non-parametric statistics. It found out that colonialism among others contributed immensely to Nigeria’s underdevelopment. The work concluded that unless the Nigerian power blocs dismantle colonial education, political and economic legacies and evolve sound, transparent policies; Nigeria may not likely overcome the problems militating against her development efforts. It recommended the adoption of the positives of good governance transparent and accountable leadership as well as convocation of genuine Sovereign National Conference akin to that of United States of America, Britain and Canada are important and German to Nigeria’s rapid social, political and economic development.

**Keywords:** Colonialism, Agent Provocateur, Nigeria, Development Dilemma

**INTRODUCTION**

Nigeria – 1914 to 1960 witnessed a chequered journey of balkanization and sowing of seeds of discord among different nationalities speaking different languages, with formal amalgamation of conquered territories of the North and South by the British Colonial Governor – Lord Lugard in 1914. Since the attainment of flag independence in 1960, Nigeria began the difficult and tortuous journey towards globally competitive modern nation building. As soon as the British realized that at some point, they would have to relinquish direct political control to the natives, it became imperative for them to plan a long term strategy to ensure continued control and exploitation of their former colony long after attainment of political independence. (Abdullahi, 2012 and Rodney, 1971).

The British succeeded in achieving its neo-colonial hold on Nigeria through education system, political legacy and economy (Abdullahi, 2012 and Rodney, 1971). If the colonial imperialists had failed to enhance socio-economic development, why had the neo-colonial leaders failed to demystify the yoke of deliberate underdevelopment intention of the British? It is true that since 1960, Nigeria has been embarking upon the gargantuan task of nation-building to launch the country into socio-economic, security and prosperity. The efforts ended in unmitigated disasters due to combined factors of long military dominance in power, poor economic planning and irresponsible democratic, carrier, corporate, culturalcum religious leadership. The problem is manifested in the underdevelopment of oil rich Nigeria till date.
The United Nations Development Programme UND (2014, 1990) in its Human Development Index Report declared that in spite of the enormous man, material and financial resources Nigeria is endowed with, the nation is presently grouped among the 20 poorest economies in the world, and among the 30 least developed countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Nigeria remains the 15th nation out of 177 failed nations of the world (World Bank, 2013). Besides, of Nigeria’s estimated 160 million population (projected from 2006 census) about 100 million people live on less than USD1.0 a day. This is an estimated 70 percent of all Nigerians are regarded as penurious.

According to Imhonopi and Ugochukwu (2013), Nigeria is a nation of paradox, adding that:

Nigeria is richly endowed by providence with human and material resources critical for national development and advancement. However since gaining political independence, Nigeria has continued to meander the path befitting failed, weak and “juvenile” states. A state that had great prospects at independence and was touted to lead Africa out of the backwards of underdevelopment and economic dependency, Nigeria is still stuck in the league of very poor, corrupt, underdeveloped, infrastructurally decaying, crisis driven, morally bankrupt and leadership-deficient countries of the South. Rather than become an exemplar for transformational leadership, modern bureaucracy, national development, national integration and innovation, Nigeria seems to be infamous for whatever is mediocre, corrupt, insanely violent and morally untoward.

Relevant Literature reviewed on the subject matter of discussion showed that there are gaps in knowledge which the paper intends to fill. Thus, to the knowledge of the researcher, colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism as the major challenges to development in Nigeria have been little explored and largely uncharted. Also, the monolithic nature of the Nigerian economy (overdependence on oil) which encourages dependency syndrome as well as poor economic planning as albatross to national development have not been explored. These partial views of authors on the foregoing constituted intellectual lacuna which this paper intends to bridge. Based on these knowledge gaps, certain questions remain sacrosanct. Is colonialism the agent provocateur of Nigeria’s development dilemma? Does the long military dominance impede Nigeria’s development? Does mono-economic structure of the Nigerian polity contributes to
sagging and sapping economy? And is Nigeria’s development dilemma attributable to bad governance by few selfish elite?

**Specific Objectives of the Study**

i. To confirm colonialism as the agent provocateur of Nigeria’s development dilemma.

ii. To ascertain if the impact of the long military dominance impinges on Nigeria’s development.

iii. To examine the impact of mono-economic structure on Nigeria’s development.

iv. To find out how bad governance by few selfish elites impedes Nigeria’s development.

v. To chart alternative pathways for meaningful national development.

**Hypotheses of the Study**

i. Colonialism is the agent provocateur of Nigeria’s development dilemma.

ii. Long military dominance causes Nigeria’s development dilemma.

iii. Mono economic structure of the Nigerian polity stifles Nigeria’s development.

iv. Positives of good governance can be adopted to rescue Nigeria from the yoke of development dilemma.

**Justification of the Study**

Colonialism, long military dominance, over dependence on oil, and bad governance have been identified as serious hindrance to Nigeria’s development over the years. The introduction of conflicts, tension and disunity by the British colonial Governor – Lord Lugard in 1914, with the formal amalgamation of conquered territories of the North and South, had hitherto made the journey towards building a modern nation difficult and arduous. (Rodney, 1972, Abdullahi, 2012). In the 58 years of direct colonial rule, as would be envisaged, the British designed and organized how the huge economic resources of the colony should be harnessed and explicatured. It is safe to confirm that the economy of colonial Nigeria was organized primarily to serve the interest of the imperial power. The only benefits to the colony were purely weak infrastructure like the present narrow gauge railway, port facilities and some road network purposely to ease exploitation and export of agricultural and mineral products as well as imports and marketing of manufactured (finished) British goods. The neo-colonial hold on Nigeria was achieved through their education legacies which did not promote Nigerians self esteem, self confidence and self reliance. British
political legacy which to –date perpetuates national instability and the concomitant bad governance by few selfish elite; and economy through the failure of our education and political systems, the British and; now its numerous capitalist countries allies in the West, have been able to remain in control of the commanding heights of Nigerian economy (Rodney, 1972 and Abdullahi, 2012). Finally, it will give significant insight that will assist policy formulation, readjustment by government and functionaries. It will serve as information to researchers into new thinking and ideas about what solutions can be proffered for Nigeria’s paradoxical development dilemma and open up other areas for further research.

**Conceptual Issues**

According to Rodney (1972) development is a multifaceted process. At the level of individual, it implies increased skills and capacity. Rodney posited that at the level of social groups like a nation, it implies increased capacity of a country to regulate both internal and external relations for the benefit of the citizens. Gboyega (2003), sees National Development as an idea that embodies all attempts to improve the conditions of human existence in all ramifications. It implies improvement in material well being of all citizens; not the most powerful and rich alone, in a sustainable way such that today’s consumption does not imperil the future. It also demands that poverty and inequality of access to the good things of life be removed or drastically reduced. It seeks to improve personal physical security and livelihood and expansion of life chances. Todaro (1982), national development is a multi dimensional process involving the reorganization and reconciliation of the entire economic and social system. He opined further that besides the improvement of income and administrative structure as well popularattitudes, customs and beliefs, the objectives of national development should increase the availability and widens the distribution of basic life sustenance to raise the standard of living, expand the rate of economic and social change. Todaro (1982) Rodney (1972) and Audu, et al (2017) emphasized the need for national development to answer the questions of what is happening to poverty? What is happening to unemployment? What is happening to inequality? The scholars added that if any one of these three is missing, the country cannot be said to have been developed. Buzino and ikwu (1991), gives broad definition of development as multi-dimensional process which involves the reduction and eradication of inequality, unemployment, poverty, slavery and other associated social vices. The duo posited that development should entail the enthronement of changes in economic growth: provide full
employment, liberation, progress, social justice and structure for the betterment of the lot of the masses. The bottom-line of the foregoing conceptual exploration is that any quantum of the consumption of today should not jeopardize that of the future. By and large, national development should be as sustainable as possible.

**Statement of the Problem**
The advent of colonial imperial foreign powers on the socio-economic and political soils of Nigeria heralded corruption and complex conflicts which retarded development on the former amalgamation of conquered territories of the North and South by the British Colonial Governor – Lord Lugard in 1914. (Rodney, 1972 and Abdullahi, 2012) was Nigeria’s albatross. The exercise sowed seeds of discord among the 250 ethnic nationalities speaking over 400 dialects/languages, which hitherto manifested in ethnic agitations and tensions till date. Examples are Boko Haram insurgency in the North East, Niger-Delta Militancy in the South-South, MASSOB in the South-East, Oodua Peoples’ Congress in the West and other threats like Egbesu Boys, Bakasi Boys and so on. Also, the colonial imperialists introduced corruption, when the Native Authority system encouraged the native police to collect bribes and pervert justice. Corruption and conflict introduced by the colonial masters formed the major causes of Nigeria’s developmental dilemma. The major preoccupation of this paper is that, even after independence in 1960, corruption continued and was entrenched during the various civilian and military regimes in Nigeria. Corruption manifested during the second republic of Alhaji Aliyu Shagari, Olusegun Obasanjo of 3rd Republic; regimes of Ibraheem Babangida and Sanni Abacha when the public treasury was looted and the gains were used for personal aggrandizement. Up till now, there is hardly any administration in the country that has not been found guilty of the act of corruption which continues to pose a challenge to development. Corruption leads to bad governance and results into state failure in addressing poverty, inequality, unemployment and insecurity. (Ajodo – Adebanjoko, A and Okorie, N. 2014, Alimi, 2016).

**Literature Review**
**Development Scenario In the Precolonial Era**
In Africa, evidences emerged that some of the elements of democratic development existed in traditional African political institutions. (Lamidi, and Kabir, 2016). Principles of good governance such as accountability, consensus building and popular participation were common features of many pre-colonial systems of government in Africa. Ake (1996) argued that:

*Traditional political systems were infused with democratic values. They were invariably patrimonial and consciousness was everybody’s business... standards of accountability were even stricter than in Western societies, Chiefs were answerable not only for their own actions but for natural catastrophes such as famine, epidemics, floods and drought. In the event of such disasters, chiefs could be required to go into exile or asked to die (Ake, 1996).*

Azelama, Oviasuyi and Alimi (2008), asserted that some parts of Nigeria experienced an advanced state of human civilization and centralized government. In most areas, the socio-economic and political lives of the people were already effectively, efficiently and elaborately organized in peaceful manners. It was the western colonialisation of Nigeria that disorganized already knightly organized traditional political system that was more citizen responsive, people centered and citizen conscious.

**The Impact of Colonization on Nigeria’s Development**

The African states are colonial legacies forged as an instrument for the pacification and exploitation of the indigenous population. It has been pointed out that the colonial Public Administration system was imposed on the people with the aid of superior fire power and administration organization (Egonwan, 1987 and Gboyega, 1987). Given its own fundamental objective of social control and economic exploitation, the colonial bureaucracy neither sought nor won the affection of the people. The outcome of this development was that the state came to be regarded as an alien and oppressive force to be resisted and avoided whenever possible. Popular alienation from the state has persisted in the post colonial period (Wuncsh and Olowu, 1995), not only because the political elites exploits ethnic identities to win support but more critically because the state has remained an instrument of extraction and repression. While it is true that the people were mobilized into the nationalist agitation on the promise of a better life in the post independence period, the expectation has remained unfulfilled. “Instead power elites have used their control of the state to accumulate private fortunes and employed the forces of the state to suppress rivals and
the broad mass of the people who question their abuse of power and the betrayal of the nationalist agenda”. (Wunsch and Olowu, 1997).

Therefore public administration system in developing states has been unable to penetrate its society, regulate relations in it and extract from it, most of the resources it needs for its activities. In the case of Nigeria, mass disaffection with the state bureaucracy is aggravated by the imposition of policies such as Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP, IBB 1986, austerity measures OBJ, 1999-2007) that have served to impoverish broad sections of the people, widespread corruption among state officials and the duplicity of National leaders, as was witnessed during Shagari and Babangida regimes, (1999, 1983 and 1986-1993) have also helped to engender popular cynicism towards state bureaucratic institutions. The media widely reported that officials are not interested in the administrative details in order to ensure success, they are rather interested in securing their own share of the profit; consequently, the foregoing corrupt practices seriously endangered transparency and accountability. (The Nation, 2016, The Punch, 2016 and Vanguard, 2016).

Colonialism, Corruption and Nigeria’s Development Dilemma – The Nexus
Corruption that slows down development, exacerbates kleptocracy breeds poverty, unemployment, inequality in Nigeria could be traced to the colonial era when the native authority system of Lord Luggard encouraged the native police to collect bribes and pervert justice. Consequently, after independence, corruption continued unabated and was institutionalized during the various military regimes in Nigeria particularly during the regimes of Ibraheem B. Babangida and Late Sanni Abacha during which time, the treasury was looted and the gains were used for personal aggrandizement. Up till today, there is hardly any administration in Nigeria that has not been found guilty of corruption (Aghayere, 1997, Adebanjoko and Okorie, 2014).

Interrelationship Between Western Colonization of Africa (Nigeria) Conflict and Development
Walter Carrington (2014); the former US Ambassador to Nigeria confirmed that Nigeria was beset by unending debilitating crisis for almost a century instigated by European, colonization of Africa since 1900. He added that Nigeria’s problems started in 1914, when Lord Lugard, with no regard for the different cultural traditions of the people who inhabited the territories; “amalgamated the Northern and Southern protectorates into one administrative unit to which his wife Flora Shaid
gave the name, NIGERIA. What is remarkable, however, is how well this country, made up of over 250 different ethnic nationalities, speaking around 500 dialects/languages has held together for a nation, despite a bloody war and halfdozen successful military coups”. Research studies had it that monumentally sustainable development could only take place in an atmosphere of peace and conviviality. Hence conflicts that retarded Nigeria development over the years, emanated from the seed of discord sown by Lord Lugard, the British Representative in Nigeria 1914 – 1960, through the amalgamation of North and South into one administrative unit, with this marriage of entirely strange bed fellows, Nigeria had been witnessing tensions, agitations and violent conflicts (Abdullahi (2012). Also, Audu, et al (2017) corroborated the fact that capitalism and imperialism contributed to corruption, poverty, unemployment, inequality, insecurity as well as infrastructure decay and deficit in Nigeria.

**Interface Between Neo-Colonialism, Imperialism, Dependency and Nigeria’s Underdevelopment**

Omolayole (1984) Omisakin, (1999) and Abdullahi (2012), declared that Nigeria’s colonial history and heritage provided the conducive atmosphere for neo-colonial interest to manifest and thrive. These neo-colonial interests have aggravated the nation’s over-dependence on foreign ideas and technology. Consequently, Nigeria has virtually lost control of the commanding heights of her economy. Nigeria remains till date, a nation of paradox, both rich and poor, with the citizenry suffering in the midst of plenty. Up till now, near absence of good governance has truncated the efforts of Nigerians and Nigeria to take their destiny in their own hands, meaning that the concomitant effects of bad governance as experienced since 1960, is the utter surrender of Nigeria’s resources to foreign control, thus leaving the Nigeria populace to be impoverished and poor. In summary, the attempt by the previous good leaders to provide good governance, which might have promoted Nigeria to regional continental and global greatness were hurriedly subverted by foreign neo-colonial vested interests with the collaboration of their local agents. Also, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund IMF and Paris Club further eroded good governance which could have fetched Nigeria and Nigerians freedom from control and manipulation of the commanding heights of our economy till date.
Achebe (1983) asserted that poverty, unemployment and misery in Nigeria is artificial, created by the gullibility of the down-trodden, the followers and crisis of leadership. He concluded that;

*The trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership. There is nothing basically wrong with the Nigerian character. The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of her leaders to rise to the responsibility to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmark of exemplary leadership.*

Aghayere and Alimi (2019), traced Nigeria’s development dilemma to the cultural peculiarities of the Nigerian people which aid and abet corruption. Hence, if we blame Nigeria’s development plight on leadership deficit, we should also lampoon the poor followership for supporting unethical behavior in both private and public institutions. Nigerian societies lack the capacity to query or raise questions about emergency opulence or wealth. A criminal who engages in robbery and money making rituals is protected by kinsmen because of crumbs the community members enjoy. Also, a community member who clinches juicy appointment or he is elected is prodded to steal from the government confers. Suddenly, if the elected or appointed arrives town with expensive fleet of cars, ready to perform the house warming of multi-million edifice, the people cheer. The implication of this disposition is that, government funds are being stolen into safe haven, that is, the home community of the appointed or elected official. Instead of raising alarm, people keep quiet unlike in the developed world, where people raise alarm and the responsible police rise to the occasion.

Conversely, if the so called appointed officer or the elected fails to make it while in office, the society chastises him and accused him of been sluggish, stupid and insensitive. All these can never promote development

George (2011), attributed leadership failure in globally completive nation building to four fronts: The political class, the civil service, the religious cum cultural leadership and the corporate class.

As a corollary, Nebo (2010) argued that:

*Poverty in this land is artificial. Unemployment too is self inflicted scourge... The level of widespread poverty, unemployment. High incidence of corruption and insecurity of life and property in Nigeria exist only because our leaders at the local, state and federal levels either do not know what to do or are profiting and driving some form of psychological pleasure watching Nigerian’s suffer or therefore are reluctant to do something (Nebo, 2010)*
**Impact of Monoeconomic Structure on Nigeria’s Development**

There is correlation between the monolithic economy and Nigeria’s development. Omolayole (1984) and Omisakin, (1999), posited that apart from the problem of “political instability, since the attainment of independence in 1960, the problem of Nigeria has been demographic economic and structural. The population of dependent is increasing drastically; there is paucity of statistical data for effective planning, there is monoeconomic structure, which means, over dependence on oil, with the consequence of domination of Nigeria’s economy by foreign imperial interest. It is a known fact that today, Nigeria is sagging and sapping economically, despite its rich endowment with man, material, financial and natural resources. Low industrial capacity utilization, according to Omisakin (1999) and high dependence on imported input for the existing manufacturing industries, contributed to the ailing economy, now in recession. Besides, the external value of our currency has declined with low exchange rate while we have galloping inflation. Authorities have argued that any mono economy (Nigeria) will be dependent on foreign assistance for survival, thus having its growth and development hanging on the balance, while a diversified economy will be viable and strong to withstand external shock thus promoting wealth creation, employment generation, infrastructure provision, security and instability.

**Theoretical Framework**

**Prebendal Theory**

Joseph (1996) postulates that prebendalism refers to primitive acquisition of wealth and materials. He depicts the politics of corruption in Nigeria where cronies or members of an ethnic group are compensated when an individual from the group comes into power or where; “State offices are regarded as prebends that can be appropriated by office holders who use them to generate material benefits for themselves and their constituents and kin groups. This patron-client or identity politics has encouraged corruption in Nigeria to the extent that appointments, promotions, admissions, award of contracts among others are done with consideration for one’s ethnic or religious affiliation (Aghayere and Alimi, 2009).

**Frustration – Aggression Theory**
Ted Gur (1970), postulates that aggression is the result of frustration which results from an individual’s or group’s inability or failure to attain their goals in governmental or private set up. So, conflicts are born out of individual’s or group’s aggressive behavior arising from poverty, unemployment, inequality and insecurity.

By way of application to this paper, corruption which could be traced to the colonial era has resulted in absolute poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation, injustice, infrastructure decay and deficits; which in turn have culminated into violent conflicts, militancy, insecurity and underdevelopment.

**Research Methods**

Survey method was adopted. Primary and secondary data were explored. Probability and non-probability sampling techniques were employed, random sampling, purposive sampling, stratified sampling, and multi-stage sampling. The universe or population of study was 500 comprising top echelon of the political leadership, civil service, religious cum cultural leadership, corporate class and civil society organizations, drawn from citizens and non-indigenes of Osun State. Fifty (50) formed the sample size. Primary data were collected from scheduled interview and skype interview o five (5) respondents purposively selected; fifty questionnaires (50) were administered while the whole fifty (50) were retrieved representing 100% response rate. Secondary data came from desk review, online engagements and email consultations. Data collected from interview and questionnaires were analyzed using non-parametric statistics. The tools for data analysis in specific terms included the descriptive showing the frequencies, means percentages and other data about research variables drawn from the research questions, objectives of study, Hypotheses and statement of research problem.

**Results And Discussion of Major Findings**

**Table 1 – Frequencies across Gender**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

138
Male | 35 | 70.0 | 70.0 | 100.0  
Total | 50 | 100.0 | 100.0

Table 1 reveals the frequencies across the respondents on gender basis. It shows that there are total 50 respondents, from which 35 (70%) are males and 15 (30%) are females.

Table 2: frequencies across colonialism as agent of Nigeria’s development crisis through amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorate in 1914.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>78.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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Table 2 finds out that the respondents regarding colonialism as agent of conflict and Nigeria’s development dilemma constitute 39 (78%) who replied yes while 11 (22%) of the respondents answered no to the statement.

Table 3: Frequencies across long military dominance as the cause of Nigeria’s development challenges

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>56.0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 reveals the frequencies of the respondents with regard to the statement that corruption could be traced to the politics of the colonial era which resulted in unemployment, poverty, hunger, infrastructure decay and deficit. From the respondents 28(56%) have replied yes, 22 (44%) of the respondents said no.

Table 4: Frequencies across mono economic structure as impediment to Nigeria’s development.
Table 4 shows the frequencies of the respondents regarding the statement that bad governance by few selfish elites is Nigeria’s albatross. From the respondents 29(58%) replied yes while 21(42%) said no.

Table 5 shows the frequencies of the respondents with regard to the statement that poor economic planning is albatross to national development. From the respondents 22 (44%) said yes while 28(46%) of the respondents said no, arguing that it is the implementation process that is corrupted, poor and uncoordinated.

Table 6 shows the frequencies of the respondents regarding the statement that the economy of colonial Nigeria was organized primarily to serve the interest of the imperial powers.

Table 7: Frequencies across the only benefits to the colony were purely weak infrastructure like the present narrow gauge railway port facilities and some road network purposely to ease
transportation and export of agricultural and mineral products including importation and marketing of manufacturing (finished) British goods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 shows frequencies of the respondents with regard to the statement that the only benefits to the colony were purely weak infrastructure. From the respondents 20(40%) supplied yes answers while 30(60%) said no answers, noting that our political leadership, civil servants, religious/cultural leadership, ineffective civil society and University dons have failed to build upon the colonial legacy.

Table 8: Frequencies across mono-economy encourages dependent syndrome that impede development in Nigeria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Table 8 reveals the frequencies of the respondents regarding the statement that mono-economic structure of the Nigerian economy encourages dependency syndrome that impede development in Nigeria. From the responses 40(80%) said yes while 10(20%) responded no. by implications, any nation’s economy that is not diversified will be perpetually dependent on foreign aids, while a diversified economy, will be abundantly self-reliant, with robust employment opportunities, wealth creation, political stability, equality and infrastructure development.

Table 9: Frequencies across Neo-colonial hold on Nigeria was achieved through their education legacies which did not promote self-esteem and self-reliance. From the respondents 2958%) said yes, while 21(42%) responded no to neo-colonial hold on Nigeria which was achieved through their education legacies which do not promote self-esteem and self-reliance.
Table 10: Frequencies across British political economic legacies which to-date perpetuate national instability and concomitant bad governance by few selfish elites.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>41</td>
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<td>No</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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Table 10 presents the frequencies regarding the statement that British political economic legacy which to-date perpetuates national instability and concomitant bad governance by few selfish elites. From the respondents 41(82%) said yes, while 9(180%) responded no; because they pointed out that if the British left behind poor political economic legacies which to-date perpetuate national instability why couldn’t the power blocs, the ruling elites improve upon the decadence as done in Ghana and South Africa who were former British colonies.

Table 11: Frequencies across the British numerous capitalist countries allies in the West, have been able to remain in control of the commanding heights of the Nigerian economy; due to the failure of our education and political systems.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>84.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>98.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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Table 11 presents the frequencies of the respondents regarding the statement that the British numerous capitalist countries allies in the West have been able to remain in control of the commanding heights of the Nigerian economy owing largely to the failure of our education and political systems. From the respondents 42(84%) said yes while 8(16%) said no.

The latter argued that Nigeria lacks virile and active civil society, it is the gullibility of the civil society organizations, the autonomous space who failed to reject the corrupt leaders that contributed to the loss of the control of the commanding heights of the Nigerian economy. Also, corrupt electoral system accounted for inept and corrupt political leaders.
Table 12: Frequencies across the adoption of the positives of good governance as panacea to Nigeria’s development dilemma.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>96.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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Table 12 presents the frequencies regarding the statement that the adoption of the positives of good governance is the panacea to Nigeria’s development problems. From the respondents, 48 (96%) said yes, while only 2 (4%) said no. The implications of the foregoing are that, rule of law, probity; transparency responsiveness and accountability in governance are vital ingredients for national development. If successive governments in Nigeria had adopted ethically sacrosanct and strong leadership styles, Nigeria could not have found herself in the present cantankerous, precarious and paradoxically poorest economic condition summary, conclusion and Recommendations.

**Summary**

We succeeded in analyzing diverse issues not only the past, but also the present circumstances that have brought Nigeria to her knees. Colonialism, introduction of conflict and corruption into Nigeria’s polity), Neo-colonialism, imperialism, impact of the long military dominance and mono-economy are investigated as albatross to the development of our nation over the years. The paper also looked at poor planning and shoddy implementation process in Nigerian governance. We recommend policy options as a way of navigating the rocky road ahead for a better Nigeria.

**Conclusion**

This study concludes that the Nigerian power blocks may not be able to achieve globally competitive nation building projects unless our education is development oriented, while students develop ideas to be worked upon for technological advancement of the nation. Also, Nigeria will not be able to navigate the rocky water ahead until the Nigerian politics and economy are targeted at promoting self-reliance, self-esteem, and self-confidence. With all the aforementioned, Nigeria be stronger to shake-off the failure of our education, political systems, and economy, the British, and now its numerous capitalist countries’ allies in the West, who have
remained in control of the commanding heights of the Nigerian economy since independence in 1960.

**Recommendations**

Adoption of the positives of god governance, accountable leadership for stronger states value virtue and attitudinal change as well as complete cultural re-orientation are inductable, desirable and inevitable. These suggestions, if meticulously implemented, could be the better alternative pathways from the decadence of the colonial and corrupt ruling Nigerian elites of the past and present, hence the rocky water ahead will be easily navigated.

Finally, with the foregoing, our leaders will remain focused with clear-cut national ideology, focus a making our self-reliant, while human capital capacity building should be re-invigorated and re-invented for a better Nigeria.

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CHILD POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: TO
ENHANCING SOCIAL PROTECTION POLICIES IN NIGERIA, ISSUES,
CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES

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Abstract

This work presents a seemingly intractable nature of poverty in Nigeria and elsewhere on not only adults, but most importantly on children as well. The study reveals that poverty remains an onerous task and a tremendous challenge that has proved somewhat insurmountable globally. Poverty is an agonising reality in Sub-Saharan Africa and in Nigeria in particular. The fight against poverty has not been won despite multiplicity of policies, strategies and programmes, there is yet no answer to the pervasive plague, nor is there any marked progress towards reducing poverty, let alone eradicating it. This study examines the problems of the political economy nature and character of the manipulation of the perceived efforts at eradicating poverty in pursuance of the landmark Millennium Development Goals in Nigeria. The study also derived its data from valuable secondary sources and adopted a political economy conceptual framework. The study equally maintains that the failure, dysfunctionality and inefficacy of poverty of poverty reduction and eradication efforts in Nigeria are largely deliberate acts by the leadership and governing class. The paper opined that the steps toward the actualization of the Millennium Development Goal of poverty eradication in Nigeria are perilous, tortuous and foggy. In conclusion, the study recommends that structural and institutional reforms will create a conducive environment to engineer a strategically systemic, programmatic, coherent and integrated approach to poverty reduction and elimination policies eradication programmes with efficient public/private sector involvement in Nigeria.

Keywords: Poverty, Child Poverty, Sub-Saharan Africa, Social Protection and Challenges.
Introduction
This paper seeks to provide a strategic overview of the issue of child poverty and social protection in Sub-Saharan Africa – including enhancing social protection policies in Nigeria, issues, challenges and possibilities. The central objective is the thematic development of the concept of social protection, including guidance on how agencies might operationalized the concept more effectively in their policy and programme work, globally and with southern partners. It concentrates more on poorer developing countries like Nigeria, although some reference is made to issues in middle income and traditional economies in order to inform policy-makers of the full range of possibilities. It also takes into consideration social protection in non-emergency situations, as there is generally a separation of institutional responsibilities for ‘emergency’ and ‘developmental’ and within international organizations.

Various international agencies are currently actively involved in policy development on this theme. The World Bank has in 2001 prepared a social protection sector strategy paper; the ILO is seeking to incorporate the findings of a global research programme by social protection into current initiatives such as ‘fair work for All’; and the Asian Development Bank has developed a strategy frame which sets social protection policy and programme work in the context of their new commitment to poverty reduction.

This paper is also intended to review and contribute to the ongoing debate in this field. It seeks to particularly draw attention to the Nigeria’s governance aspects of social protection provision and the importance of links between national and international frameworks of targets and rights, and the realization of effective social protection provision. The overarching global framework for these goals is taken to be the International Development Targets (IDTs) which are designed to provide milestones against which progress towards the goal of poverty reduction can be measured accurately.

Several donors have adopted the IDTs in order to elaborate strategic thinking on the actions required in order to achieve global poverty reduction. The UK Department for International Development (DFID) is one of these donors and has elaborated Target Strategy Papers (TSPs) in order to spell out the action need to achieve each of the targets. The economic well-being Target Strategy Paper relates to the most well-known of the targets, that of reducing by one half the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by the year 2015. This TSP contains the following arguments relevant for elaborating policy frameworks for social protection.
The indicator of achievement is a reduction in the proportion of people living below a dollar a day from one quarter to one eight of the world’s population by 2015. This reinforces the focus on poorer countries, and in particular South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa and East Asia where the majority of people under this global poverty line live;

Achieving the target is argued to be built around three fundamental requirements, namely growth, equity and security. Social protection is discussed among the priorities for action at the national and global levels which are needed to support progress in each of these three areas;

The core message of this paper is that the livelihoods of poor people must be at the centre of any strategy for action for poverty reduction – implying an emphasis on the capabilities and assets of the poor themselves as the primary foundation for sustainable poverty reduction.

The relationship between social protection and the human rights framework are also worth noting. The right to livelihood security in a number of international documents, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The essence of this right is the guarantee of a minimum livelihood – not necessarily income – in circumstances which jeopardize an individual’s survival, including unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood and old age. The theme of social protection has been pursued in a number of ILO Declarations since the UDHR.

As is widely recognized, however, the ILO instruments have tended to rely heavily on assumptions geared to conditions of work characteristics of the formal sector and the developed world. Recent work in the ILO emphasizes the need for radical rethinking if the ILO’s leadership on issues of social protection is to supply appropriate guidance for developing country contexts (Van Ginnecken, 1999).

Applying a rights framework to the issue of social protection in developing country contexts raises the following basic question: how can countries which lack the resources to provide transfers to the poorest on a sustainable basis in conditions of widespread deprivation, best act to ensure the fulfilment of the right to minimum livelihood with dignity for their citizens?

At this juncture, this paper attempts to address this question in two ways:

The state has obligations to protect, promote and respect social and economic rights. While the state should respect the right to minimum livelihood under all circumstances (i.e never act in such a way as to undermine this right – for example taxing the starving) in other respects the state should seek to work towards progressive realization of this right in conditions where scarcity of resources makes full immediate realization unattainable.
The state’s obligation in respect to social protection for its citizens does not mean that the state has to achieve this uniquely through providing social security transfers – promoting the enabling environment for people to use their efforts to achieve security or livelihoods is equally important.

The global study of child poverty and Disparities Guide has identified the challenges of social protection to include the following: health, nutrition, education, child protection and social protection as five ‘pillars’ of child well being and approach and approached child poverty not only from income/consumption perspective but more comprehensive in terms of deprivation in seven areas. The seven areas comprises four household outcomes shelter, sanitation, water, and information and three child, outcomes food and nutrition, health and education.

In determining the survival, growth and development of the child in Nigeria, poverty is usually expressed in economic monetary terms or in non-monetary terms, this study utilized the deprivation concept: this approach widens the scope of child poverty and overcomes the weakness of the various conventional money-related poverty indices.

The deprivation approach adopted in this study identified seven areas in which a child could be deprived made poor. These are also split into household and child outcomes. Household outcomes impact directly on the child and include shelter, sanitation, water and information. Child outcomes which are nutrition and food, education and health impact directly on the child.

This paper also reviews the contemporary conceptual development regarding the meaning and importance of social protection, and identifies avenues in which international agencies could contribute to improving the coverage and effectiveness of social protection as an integral part of poverty reduction strategies in Nigeria.

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

Concept of Poverty

Over the years, the concept of poverty has evolved in the history of economic thoughts, witnessing different stages of transition since the 18th century (Aho et al, 1998). However, the second transition in the evolution of the concept of poverty began at the end of the colonial period with new awareness of the problem of poverty as it afflicts developing countries. The post-colonial period has been characterized by a deliberate transfer from the north to the south of the anti-poverty policies development in Europe during the nineteen and twentieth century. Poverty has been traditionally understood to mean a lack of access to resources, productive assets and income
resulting in a state of material deprivation (Baulch, 1996). Emphasizing deficiency in private consumption, poverty has been defined as private consumption per person falling below a particular level. The level may be set by the Food Energy Method (FEM) or the Purchasing Power Parity method (PPP). In any case, whether the level is determined by FEM or PPP methods, the underlying definition of poverty is a shortfall in private consumption. As the consumption and income approach to defining poverty has come under increased criticism, it has been suggested that in the analysis of poverty, common property resources and state-provision of commodities should be taken into account. The concept of poverty also should be broadened to include lack of dignity and autonomy. Baulch (1996), emphasized that the inclusion of the latter in the concept of poverty draws from the insight that being non-poor implies a “freedom from the necessity to perform activities that are regarded as subservient and their ability to choose self-fulfilling and rewarding life styles. It is the inability of one to reach a minimal standard of living which involves private consumption of food, clothing and shelter (World Bank, 1990), but also access to whether basic needs of health, education (Idaghu, 2002), Clean and potable water and social security. Poverty simply means the state of not having or not being able to get the necessities of life (akinbola, 2002), which could imply having less income and material possession (Iyayi, 2002) to meet the necessities of life. Following the increasingly multidimensional conceptualizations, poverty is viewed as a process, rather than as a static concept. For instance, the poor instead of being viewed as a passive victim of society in need of assistance, rather viewed as agents who struggle to cope with poverty with whatever assets they may possess. The emphasis is on the assets they own and resources they can access that rather than what they lack. Moreover, research focuses on the coping mechanisms of the poor, the concept of assets has been extended to include social capital and house relations. A child that is poor will lack access to basic needs of life, after no food, no clothing and living in poor housing environment. The emphasis should really be on assets they have. Therefore, determining the aspect of poverty in which the child is classified and the causes will help to develop a better strategy for alleviating this condition.

In a similar vein, Onibokun and Kumuyi (2011) opined that poverty is a way of life characterized by how caloric intake, inaccessibility to adequate health, housing and other societal facilities and how quality education, while Ajakaiye and Oluinola (1999) posited that poverty is an entity faced with economic, social, political, cultural and environmental deprivation to which a person, a household, a community or a nation can be subjected. Poverty which is a symptom or
manifestation of underdevelopment of the individual, is a state of insufficient or total lack of necessities and facilities like food, housing, medical care, education, social and environmental services, consumer goods, recreational opportunities and transport facilities as Aboyade (1999) rightly articulated. World Bank (2011), observed that poverty has various manifestations which can be linked to lack of income and assets to attain basic necessities of life such as food, shelter, clothing and acceptable levels of health and education, the sense of voicelessness and powerlessness in the institutions of the state and society which subjects the poor to rudeness, humiliation, shame, inhuman treatment and exploitation in the hands of the people in authority; absence of rule of law, lack of protection against violence, extortion and intimidation, lack of civility and predictability in interaction with public officials; lack of economic opportunities, threats of physical force or arbitrary bureaucratic power that makes it difficult for the people to engage in public affairs; and vulnerability to cope with them. Poverty in this study or paper is conceptualized as an undesirable state and people are seen to be poor when they lack the basic capacity to meet their existential needs are found in a condition of lack or impaired access to productive resources, broad deprivation and social and economic helplessness or predicament.

Types of Poverty

Poverty can commonly be viewed as not only the lack of income, but also how literacy, nutritional status and life expectancy and the access that people have to choices that they are able to make (World Bank, 2012; UN, 1999). Poverty can be structural (chronic) or transient (temporary). The former is a persistent or permanent socio-economic deprivation and it stems from a host factors like limited productive resources, inadequate levels of education, lack of access to productive assets and inputs, lack of skills for gainful employment, endemic socio-political and cultural and gender factors and limitations, while the latter is transitory, temporary or traditional and it is policy-induced, yet it could become structural if it is not overcome now or left unaddressed. Erudite scholars like Giddens (2012) attempted a distinction between subsistence or absolute poverty and relative poverty. Subsistence poverty refers to lack of basic requirements to sustain a physically healthy existence sufficient food and shelter to make possible the physically efficient functioning of the body. Poverty may therefore be analyzed in terms of lack of resources to maintain the living conditions and amenities that re customary or at least widely encouraged or approved in society (Townsend, 2010).
In another development, Oladeji and Adebayo (1996) and Aku et al (1997), classified poverty along five dimensions of deprivation viz; personal and physical, economic, social, cultural and political deprivations. Personal deprivations is experienced in areas like health, nutrition and literacy; economic deprivation manifest in denial of access to the basic necessities of life; social deprivation is linked with obstacles to full participation in different aspects of society, cultural deprivation has to do with values, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and orientation which limits access to economic and political opportunities and political deprivation that arise is as a result of economic constraints or difficulties, illiteracy, ignorance, and lack of political voice.

**Child Poverty Explained**

Approximately 306 million children live in Sub-Saharan African (UNICEF, 1998:113). With at least 40-50 per cent of children in most African countries living below the poverty line (World Bank, 1997), this implies that at least 137 million African children and probably many more live in poverty. Over 40 million African children of primary school age do not attend school (UNICEF, 1998, p.10); over 4 million African children die every year before reaching age 5 (UNICEF, 1998, P.97), and 31 percent of African was aged 14 or under in 1993 (Coletta et al, 1996, p.1). This varies from country to country with children aged 14 or under comprising 45 percent of the Zimbabwean and Zambian populations in 1992 and 1993 respectively (Mwanza, 1998; Government of Zambia/UN, 1995), rising to an estimated 54 percent of Mozambicans (Rebelo, 1999). If children are defined as under 18, the proportion rises still further. As such they are clearly a significant population group. In a region where 60 to 70 per cent of the population of many countries live below the poverty line (either a nationally determined poverty line or World Bank ‘dollar a day’ poverty line), large number of children are growing up in abject poverty.

**CONCEPT OF SOCIAL PROTECTION**

Here, the global context for social protection and the reasons for the enhanced interest in the issue in the international development community is reviewed. It involves addressing the diversity of definitions of and approaches to social protection which are adopted by international development agencies as they develop policy in this discipline line.

First and foremost, the issue that needs children under 5 – approximately 111 million – are underweight (Kennedy and Haddad, 1998). These appalling statistics represent a ‘stunting of lives
and hopes of Africa’s children’ (OAU, 1992), and, if not determinedly addressed, of future
generations, and indeed of Africa’s future.

This disproportionate concentration of poverty among children compared to adults is
apparent in African especially Nigeria.

In every African country analyzed in the 1997 status of Poverty Report, both rural and
urban children were shown to be more likely to be poor than either adults or elderly people (World
Bank, 1997b, p.26). In 1993, 61 per cent of South Africa’s children lived in poverty compared with
47 percent of 16-64 year olds and 52 percent of those of 65 and over (de Haan, 1998, p.16).

Also in Ghana, 45 percent of all children lived in the poorest 20 percent of households
(SCF, 1998a, p.1). Data like this which calculates the incidence of child poverty taking children
rather than households as the unit of analysis is rare but revealing of the extent to which poverty
is concentrated among children.

An estimated 47 percent of the Sub-Saharan African population as a whole to be addressed
is the distinction, if any between social protection and alternative terms in circulation. Social
security is the most long-established of these terms. However, it is still primarily associated with
the comprehensive and sophisticated social insurance and social assistance machinery of the
developed world. As such, it is seen by some as inappropriate to the debate in much of the
developing world, where higher levels of absolute poverty, combined with financially and
institutionally weak states, pose a set of fundamentally different challenges. the more recent
terminology of safety nets (or sometimes more specifically social safety nets) is by contrast
associated primarily with developing countries. These terms imply a more limited range of
interventions – notably targeted social assistance (often now administered through social funds)
which have often been originally conceived as short-term, compensatory measures during
structural adjustment or other national crises in the globe.

The context of social protection has only come into widespread use relatively recently. For
land and Srinivas, the term has:

‘the same encompassing tenor or umbrella sense as social security...
(but also) the advantage, over social security, of being extensively
used in both ‘more developed’ and ‘less developed ‘parts of the
world’ (Land and Srinivas, 2000, p.14).
However, there is also a danger that different academics and development agencies use social protection with different definitions in mind. Understandings of the meaning of social protection vary in a number of ways: between broad end narrow perspectives; between definitions which focus on the nature of the deprivation and problems addressed; and those which focus on the policy instruments used to address them; and between those which take a conceptual as opposed to a pragmatic approach to the task. Most definitions have a dual character, referring to both the nature of deprivation and the form of response. Almost all definitions, however, include the three dimensions as stated below:

- They address vulnerability and risk
- Levels of (absolute) deprivation deemed unacceptable.
- Through a form of response which is both social and public in character.

For the purpose of this paper, we will use the following definitions:

‘Social protection’ refers to the public actions taken in response to levels of vulnerability, risk and deprivation which are deemed socially unacceptable within a given policy or society’.

Social protection in relation to the above definition deals with both the absolute deprivation and vulnerability of the poorest, and also with the need of the non-poor for security in the face of shocks and the particular demands of different stages of the life – circle (e.g pregnancy and child-rearing, marriage, death and funerals). As such, it encompasses as its core the two main broad fields of response mechanisms, namely social assistance and social insurance. Van Ginneken (1999) distinguishes these two components of social protection as follows:

‘Social assistance is defined in cash or in kinds that are financed by the state (national or local) and that are mostly provided on the basis of a means or income test. The concept also includes universal benefits schemes, i.e, those which are taxed-based but do not use a means test... social insurance is social security that is financed by contributions and is based on the insurance principle. The essence of insurance is understood here to be the elimination of the uncertain risk. Of loss for the individual or household by combining a larger number of similarly exposed individual or households into a common fund that makes good the loss caused to any one member (Van Ginneke, 1999, p.6).

This description however, is not specific regarding the identity of the institutions providing insurance-based social protection, but identifies the state as provider of social assistance. Given
the importance of the poor (that is, transfers from community, kin, religious groups, etc), and in keeping with broad definition of social protection proposed above, we suggest that the concept of social assistance should not be restricted to state funded transfers, but apply to all forms of public action, which are designed to transfer resources to groups deemed eligible due to deprivation. This eligibility may be seen in terms of income poverty, or in terms of other dimensions of deprivation. Similarly, insurance is understood broadly to encompass any form of pooling of resources among groups to provide protection against risk. Insurance schemes may be state-run (statutory unemployment insurance or possessions for example), state-regulated but run in the private sector, or informal.

Better still, the public character of social protection responses in our definition may be government or non-governmental, or may involve a combination of both types of institutions. Response to risk and deprivation may take the form of strengthening collective, membership-based responses to risk; statutory instruments which enhance security; interventions which enhance access to employment and secure tenure of assets; and direct interventions to ensure minimum acceptable standards of livelihood for those with insufficient assets to secure a livelihood.

The discipline of social protection thus encompasses many different areas and traditions of policy response. Many of these are highly technical and specialized in character (such as insurance systems, pension reform, welfare transfers, or public employment schemes). Definition that seek to locate social protection within a broad context can go further, to include famine relief, or even in some cases most activities that relate to public policy to support the wellbeing of citizens and reduce poverty. We are also aware that the definition provided above could, for example providing an education system is a way of mitigating deprivation. It is equally important therefore to read the above definition as referring to the protection of those who fall temporarily or persistently under levels of livelihood deemed acceptable or are likely to do so, rather than the promotion of a general standard of opportunity and livelihood for all citizens, while the definition remains broad, it can thus distinguished from areas of general development policy, although issues of overlap with promotional policies will inevitable remain stable.

**CHILD POVERTY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

This paper does not attempt to lay out all the causes of child poverty. As with adult poverty the causes of child poverty are multifarious. Instead we will describe a cognizance of child poverty which is aimed at understanding the multiple requirements of reproduction alongside the
significance impact of the word economy on the lives of individuals. In doing so, we hope to provide links to some key issues which have limited our understanding of the causes (and thus the solutions to) child poverty.

The multiple causes of poverty affecting adults, such as conflict, natural disasters, population growth, governance, employment opportunities, access to land, failed economic strategies, and so on, to greater or lesser degrees, also affect children.

In discussing child poverty, the causes and thus the solutions to poverty also change as one moves from the household environment, through the community, regional and international perspective. This linking of the micro, meso and macro level environments is crucial to understanding causes of, and solutions to, child poverty. Solutions to child poverty are often focused at the meso (e.g. access to health care) or micro (e.g. intra-household transfers, individual child) level. It is related to how children have been understood in the policy environment with longstanding policy emphasis on providing for them and distributing their costs between the household and state. We will argue here that, causes of child poverty are significantly more complex than the current policy solutions provide for (while not denying the inherent importance of many current policies for children), are frequently hidden and, importantly, will also be found at the macro level.

ENHANCING SOCIAL PROTECTION POLICIES IN NIGERIA

It is important to look at the way in which children have been analyzed by social science and how that analysis has been translated into social and economic policy especially in Nigeria. Educationalists, psychologists, biologists, health and welfare professionals dominate the agenda for child development. These professionals, influenced by European turn of the century thinking about the place of children, have in the main, accepted a standard model of children which is currently understood as a time free from work and centred on development, play and learning. This thinking emerges from a view of children as natural, passive, incompetent and incomplete (James and Prout, 1997). This standard model has been challenged by broader social analysis emerging from recent sociology anthropology, development and gender studies which has produced a view of children as social actors in their own right, able to act with volition, holding social and economic power and actively determining the shape of society. Nevertheless, the dominant standard view remains, perceiving children as inadequately socialized future adults and this continues to inform
much of the social, political, cultural and economic agenda for children (James and Prout, 1997),
around the world.

The above analysis has totally relegated children in policy terms to an almost invisible and
dependent status with the family, socialization and education becoming the dominant concerns.
Children are thus seen as, in the main contained in, and controlled by, households and parents, and
institutions of the state such as schools. Children are seen firstly as receiving, costing and
consuming and not as contributing to society and to an economy, and secondly as dependent on
adults and society. As a result policy makers, statisticians and family economists focuses on the
way in which the costs of children can be distributed between the family and the state and in
addition on how children can be protected in Nigeria.

These two concerns have dominated much of the policy agenda for children. This in turn
has re-enforced the tendency of most analysts to subsume children within households (Qvortrup,
1997) or other social structures which afford protection and care. Undoubtedly, a primary influence
on children’s welfare is the situation of their households and the communities in which they live
and children do require protection. However, subsuming the child in this way obscures other
important information about incidence, diversity and the special effects of child poverty such as
children’s economic activities and intra household contributions to child education and health.
This calls for adequate and effective action on poverty.

It is necessary to acknowledge the relative powerlessness of children and thus the lack of
real political will to address children’s poverty. Despite widespread political rhetoric that ‘children
are the future’ and compelling case for eradicating child poverty, in practice investing in activities
that mitigate the effects of poverty on children and promote their development often takes how
priority compared ‘with other areas of public expenditure. The very low government budget
allocations to health and education in many African countries attest to this fact.

It is a known fact that, in almost all the societies, children as a group are seen as, and indeed
in most cases are, structurally powerless. To a large extent, they are dependent on others promoting
their interests and welfare both as a group and as individuals. At household level, children are
usually subject to decisions made by others, which in the context of poverty may lead to the
interests of individual children being privileged over others, most obviously or the basis of gender,
valuing the extent of children’s social, economic and political contributions to society as a whole,
collecting differently valued data and thus measuring their poverty differently would ultimately
lead to new policy solutions. In addition, the participation of children in the design of policy solutions, as with adults, creates effective and workable policy solutions to alleviate child poverty in Nigeria.

Child poverty statistics (those that are available) for Sub-Saharan Africa are appalling and the apparent and steady collapse of the social fabric which protects children’s welfare is of major concern. What then are the policy options to improve the quality and future life of children in Sub-Saharan Africa? It has been suggested in this paper that macroeconomic policies, widespread conflict pandemic among others have been critical factors in undermining societies social fabric (and thus children welfare) undermining sustainable livelihoods, and in contributing to the decline in service quality, access and provision (and thus human capital formation). What is required here is a combination of policies and policy processes which maintain or improve social cohesion, enhance sustainable livelihoods, promote improvements in policies which have specific impacts on children such as health, education and sanitation; and ensure inclusive processes of policy formation and implementation. Short term (so called painful) macro-economic policies have long term impacts because of their effects on children and the inter-generational implications of those effects. The actual costs of these policies in terms of uneducated, unhealthy, unskilled children growing into adults have not been calculated. Nor have they felt the impacts in terms of the decline in social cohesion and costs to women and children within the household.

Successive Nigeria government have over the years formulated policies and adopted strategies and programmes supposedly to combat and reduce or eradicate poverty completely. Such anti-poverty efforts, whether well thought out or haphazardly planned, whether real and genuine or false imagined and deceptive, predates the signing of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in September 2000. Ironically, most of the same governments contributed through faulty and inappropriate political, economic and social policies mismanagement, corruption and inaction to poverty to the poverty status of the country, which is not only frightening and worrisome, but also structural and endemic. For example, the Olusegun Obasanjo military administration (1976-1983) launched the Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) and the Green Revolution Programmes respectively to improve nutrition, enhance healthy living and reduce poverty through agricultural revolution and productivity. Although the Buhari administration (1983-1985) did not articulate any clear out and specific poverty alleviation programme, the Babangida government (1983-1993) made some unannounced efforts expectedly meant to alleviate poverty in Nigeria. The critical
issue is whether such bold and ambitious efforts and a welter of poverty alleviation programmes which included the peoples and Community Banks that sought to provide loans to prospective entrepreneurs in both rural and urban areas (Oladeji and Abiola, 1998) and without collateral requirements, the Directorate of Food, Roads Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) that was supposed to open up rural areas through the provision of basic social amenities that would turn them into production centres for enhanced national development and the Nigerian Agricultural Land Development Authority (NALDA) which was meant to reduce the prevalence of subsistence agriculture and provide a catalyst for the infusion of large scale commercial farming and the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) that was to design and execute programmes geared toward combating mass unemployment precipitated largely by the Shagari dispensation and the global economic crunch which then had its toll on the country.

The Abacha regime (1993-1998) and midwifed the Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP) probably as a bailout strategy from the debilitating and excruciating poverty that almost engulfed Nigeria that was then acknowledged as one of the world 25 poorest nations. Apart from the Better Life for Women and the Family Support Programme introduced and piloted by Mrs Maryam Babangida and Mrs Mariam Abacha that were meant to cater for the needs of the rural women, health care delivery, child welfare youth development and improved nutritional status to families in rural areas, the Obasanjo civilian administration introduced the National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP) and the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) in 2001 and 2005 respectively. While NAPEP which was designed to cover youth empowerment, rural infrastructure development, social welfare service and natural resource development and conservation schemes produce insignificant impact on Nigerians and was not distinguishable from the motley crowd of other previous failed poverty alleviations programmes introduced in the country (Akinbode, 2003), they rather ambitious and supposedly promising NEEDS which was expected meant to lay a solid foundation for sustainable poverty reduction, employment generation, wealth creation and value orientation appears to be bogus poverty reduction strategy despite Charles Soludo’s (2005) claim and assertion that NEEDS is a realistic appraisal of what is feasible within the medium/long term framework and it is more focused, realistic and reform based or oriented.

However, a critical appraisal of the poverty reduction and eradication strategies and programmes adopted and executed so far in Nigeria by various governments indicate that there
have been fraught with deliberate poor and cosmetic plans, lack of political will and genuine commitment, lack-lustre attitude and fraudulent manipulation of the poverty reduction process and efforts. As a consequence, Nigeria which was one of the richest 50 countries in the wake of 1970s, has slide to become one of the 25 poorest countries in the twenty-first century. In fact, it is ironical to note that Nigeria that is the six largest exporter of oil is equally the host of the third largest number of poor people after China and India. Even though the 2004 statistical report of the National Planning Commission (Federal Office of Statistics, 2012) show that poverty using the rate of US$ 1 day, increased from 28.1 percent in 1980 to 46.3 per cent in 1985 and decline to 42.7 per cent in 1992 only to increase again to 65.6 per cent and decreased to 54.4 per cent, Nigeria still fare poorly in all development indicators.

Again, the seeming increase in economic growth in the last few years has not significantly narrowed the gap between the rich and the poor in Nigeria. Although, economic growth is a necessity, but not a sufficient condition for poverty reduction, it is obvious that the gains from the so-called peripheral growth have not significantly or sufficiently tricked down to reduce poverty in Nigeria; rather, it has resulted in increased in equally. Moreso, the experiences of the scattered poverty reduction and eradication strategies and programmes in Nigeria as far as the well being of the poor is concerned have been evidently disappointing. Equally worrisome is the fact that the country has the resources necessary for the attainment of human development targets, yet it is not meeting them, an indication that it is plagued not only with human development effort deficit, but that there is a deliberate design to ensure the abysmal failure of such misplaced efforts. The efforts are misplaced partly because the policies and programmes are genuinely pro-poor, especially as such pro-poor policies and programmes will succeed if the power relations is sufficiently diffused (Kimenyi, 2005) so that all members of the Nigerian society have significant leverage over the type of policies that are enacted and programmes that are also executed by the different governments or regimes.

The problem of poverty in Nigeria indicates that poverty is not really reducing, let alone on the part of eradication. Rural poverty increased from 22 percent to 68 percent, while urban poverty increased from 17.2 percent to 55.2 percent. The poverty situation in Nigeria is precarious not only in income but also in terms of food (Ijaiya, 2011). On income poverty, the nation witnessed a worsening income inequality, while on food poverty, the proportion of the underweight children stood at 30.7 percent in 1999. The figure for rural food poverty stood at 34.1
per cent, while that of urban food poverty was 21.7 percent. Similarly, Nigeria, Nigeria’s rank in the Human Development Index remained low, being the 152 out of 175 countries. This low HDI score reflects the situation with regard to poor access to basic social services in the country (UNDP, 2011).

The use of socio-economic indicators like per capita income, life expectancy at birth access to health care services, safe water, education, sanitation facilities and electricity, also depicts or shows the extent of poverty in Nigeria. As indicated in the cable below, the rate of poverty in Nigeria has not shown any significant reduction when considered from the above indicators.

The failure and dysfunctionality of the poverty reduction and eradication policies and programmes in Nigeria, both before and after the Millennium Development Declaration, can therefore be appropriately traced to deliberate poor planning, policy disconnect and discontinuity, pro-rich approach, political design stimulation interference and manipulation, selfish, fraudulent and corruptive motive, poor coordination, action dilemma and general lack-lustre and lackadaisical attitude by government and its poverty related institutions and agencies. The above development and experience questions the integrity, purpose and workability of the so-called poverty reduction and eradication efforts in Nigeria.

CHALLENGES OF SOCIAL PROTECTION IN NIGERIA

In the face of the discussion of poverty reduction and eradication policies, programmes and efforts in Nigeria, the country is engulfed, entangled and embroiled in poverty. This does not only bring into fore the paradox of a rich county and a poor people, but it exposes the inevitability of a political economy explanation for the failure, dysfunctionality and inefficacy of poverty reduction and eradication efforts. From the stage of conception through policy formulation to programme design and execution, the underlying problematic in the failure and inefficacy of poverty reduction and eradication efforts in Nigeria is the manipulation of the political structure and process for the economic benefit and personal aggrandizement of the rich and the disadvantaged and pauperization of the poor and down trodden are the prime targets.

To start with, the so-called poverty reduction and eradication programmes are not pro-poor right from the conception and design stages. The real targets therefore, by design, are not the poor Nigerians, but the opportunistic few (rich) and their army of beneficiaries. Moreover, the
programmes are mostly politically motivated and not appropriately constructed to satisfy the economic needs of the poor and the social requirements of the Nigerian populace. The malfunctioning and failure of the so-called pro-poor policies and programmes are largely due to design and content deficiency as well as the corrupt enrichment and empowerment drive of the Nigerian elite and their cohorts. This shows the manipulative process that expresses the relationship between the means (design and content deficiency) and the end (corrupt enrichment and empowerment drive of the programme initiators and designers).

In addition, the journey toward the reduction and eradication of poverty before and after the Millennium Development Declaration of 2000 has been perilous and a tortuous one. The fact about the above assertion rest on the thinking that the journey has not only been a long history of wasted efforts and misadventure, the future is still very bleak. In fact, the attempt to achieve the modest goal of stopping the traumatic long and winding march along the poverty road has not only eluded many African countries, most of them will not be able to achieve the more ambitious Millennium Development Goal (MDGs) time framework of reducing poverty by half by 2015. In the case of Nigeria, it is already time bad and it will be tantamount to a mirage and an illusion to expect that poverty and hunger can be completely eradicated. From the journey so far, there have been macro-economic dislocations, policy discontinuity and political manipulation by the various governments in power.

CONCLUSION

The synopsis of the discussion is that, different Nigerian governments have formulated and adopted a multiplicity of poverty reduction policies and programmes and has embarked on a journey with the appropriate road map, but without genuine commitment so much so that journey is perilous, foggy and tortuous. For example, instead of a short-term, piecemeal approach to poverty reduction in Nigeria, the design, packaging execution, monitoring and evaluation of poverty should be transcendent the realm of short-term relief and the satisfaction of basic human needs and incorporate the development of strategies for increasing the long term productive capacity and potential and as a result the incomes of the rural poor. Thus, it is absolutely necessary to synthesize and integrate macroeconomic policies, sector planning, sound programmes and project interventions with an eye to achieve the long-term objectives.

RECOMMENDATIONS
In order to effectively reduce poverty as a preparatory stage to eventual poverty eradication in Nigeria, although the Millennium Development Declaration target of 2015, there should be structural and institutional reforms that will permeate all the sectors of the Nigerian society for effective conceptual, planning, coordination and appropriate delivery of pro-poor programmes and measures to the actual target groups, particularly the rather forsaken and abandoned rural poor. This will create a conducive environment that is genial for the reactivation, functionality, operationality and workability of the political structures and processes, which will engineer a new regime of a systemic, coherent and strategic approach to poverty reduction and subsequent eradication in Nigeria. At the heart of the expected environment is the sound political will and genuine commitment of the Nigerian government leaders.

To commit all, the government must adopt a pragmatic approach that will facilitate poverty reduction in rural and urban areas and this will require facilities that can enhance the people livelihood, productivity and incomes. Such inputs are equipment machines and input in different productive and entrepreneurial sectors, credit facilities, human and skill acquisition programmes and other significant social welfare schemes.

The need for encouraging, strengthening, harnessing and exploiting the community based development or organizations and associations through relevant sensitization and practical result oriented seminars and workshops are equally important.

REFERENCES


MANAGEMENT OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN NORTH EASTERN NIGERIA: THE NEED TO GO BEYOND MATERIAL SUPPORT

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Abstract

This paper underscores the relevance of the various kinds of support obtained by the Internally Displaced Persons that are either based in communities or in camps located in all the states of North Eastern Nigeria ravaged by the insurgency. As at the end of the year 2015, not less than 2,150,451 individuals (300,992 households) were identified as displaced in the region, following incessant attacks on communities by the Boko Haram insurgents. Most of these persons live in host communities of neighboring states (92%), and the remaining 8% live in the Internally Displaced Persons Camps distributed across states in the country. The unsettling aspect of the phenomena is the difficulty experienced by these persons as they were forced to migrate from their homes. It is the severity of the incidence in terms of physiological, psychological/emotional and socioeconomic damage which triggers the decision to move elsewhere. Again, the displacement exert some consequences on their physical and emotional health. Various social, physical and psychological disorders result from torture and exposure to some other forms of violence which is expressed in the exhibition of intense fear, stress, psychological trauma, helplessness and sorrow by the persons involved. Also, the discomfort, new interactions, and sudden lack of adequate essential needs for survival as they have to share the little available with their hosts. This is injurious to their social, physical and emotional well-being. Attempts were being made by government, international and domestic nongovernmental organizations to support the IDPs mostly materially. However, evidences show that mere material support is grossly inadequate in the palliation of the hydra-headed effects of displacement. The paper suggests that full adoption of Social Support measures which comprises of emotional, physical, social and material support is necessary for the adequate management and rehabilitation of the IDPs.
Introduction

Displacement of persons has become a major social problem around the globe in recent times. Everyday people are forced out of their homes to other destinations for many undesirable and unprecedented reasons. Presently, Europe and other Western countries are battling with the influx of refugees especially from the war torn Middle East. By the year 2000, there were about 40 million IDPs Worldwide, and in 2014 alone 38 million people were displaced, all of them by violent conflict (Ngigi, 2015). Most African countries also suffer from the consequences of incessant human displacement. The trend is prominent in countries such as Mali, Libya, Somalia, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda (since the case of genocide in 1994) to mention but a few (Cheruiyot, 2014).

Talking about the internally displaced persons, we are referring to people that have been forced out from their homes for many of the same reasons as refugees, but what differentiate IDPs from refugees is the fact that they did not crossed an international border. Often persecuted or under attack by their own governments, internal religious or ethnic conflict, inter-border crisis, insurgency from within or neighbouring countries, which make them to be frequently in a more desperate situation than refugees. No international agency has a formal mandate to aid them, but they are increasingly at the forefront of the humanitarian agenda. They are sometimes called ‘internal refugees’, but are more often known as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

The issue of the IDPs is a universal phenomenon, that cut across all human existing society. It has no boundary, race or religious affiliation. This is because since time immemorial, conflict has been part of the human race. It is not something new, the 20th century is characterized by different humanitarian across the globe, from Europe, Asia, Latin America to Africa. While some people are displaced by conflict especially those in Africa and the middle East, others most especially Europe, America and Asia are displaced as a result of natural disasters like flooding and tsunami. Africa has witnessed and still witnessing the humanitarian crisis most especially the sub-Saharan Africa. In recent times, the Nigerian society has witnessed it worst crisis ranging from ethnic, religious, political, and worst of it all, the Boko Haram and Rural Banditry which necessitate the citizens of the country to avoid strife and its attendant consequences leads to displacement of many
to where they view as safe zone (Dayo and Amina, 2015). In Nigeria generally, and in the North-East in particular, the problem of human displacement escalates with the persistent attacks of communities by Boko Haram insurgents in 2014. As at the end of the year 2015, not less than 2,150,451 individuals (300,992 households) were identified as displaced in the region. Most of these persons live in host communities of neighboring states (92%), and the remaining 8% live in the Internally Displaced Persons Camps (IDMC, 2015).

The international community had regulations which provide for people to be accommodated by others in time of need. For instance, the text of United Nations Convention for Refugees in 1951, portrayed refugees as exiles who flee across the borders of their country of origin. They are people who are deprived of their homes and communities and means of livelihood (Weis and Korn, 2006). However, this UN convention has not made any expression on the Internally Displaced Persons, but the acronym is used to describe people who have fled their homes for reasons similar to refugees, but who remain within their own national territory and are subject to the laws of that state (CIA, 2015).

Internal displacement of persons in Nigeria is usually caused by natural disasters, such as erosion and flood; communal and religious clashes; political violence; cattle rustling; forced evictions as a result of competition for resources. Cases of flood disaster have been one of the major causes of internal displacement in most parts of the country including the North-East. So many people have also been displaced as a result of communal clashes. For example, 2011 Post Election Violence in some parts of Nigeria has also displaced quite a number of Nigerians. In the North-Eastern States of Nigeria recently (Borno, Yobe, Gombe, Taraba and Bauchi), displacement of persons occurs as a result of insurgency by Boko Haram. Some movements occur as a result of counterattacks against insurgency (IDMC, 2015; CIA, 2015).

The most disturbing aspect of the phenomena is the difficulty experienced by these migrants (people shifting from one place to another) as they were forced to evict from their homes. First, the severity of the incidence in terms of physiological, emotional, social or economic damage, which triggers the decision to move elsewhere. Such people have lost their loved ones in gruesome experience. Yet, others have lost their valuable assets and property, among several other loses. Secondly, the displacement itself-an unprepared movement- which exert some consequences on their physical and emotional health. In fact, numerous social, physical and psychological disorders result from torture or exposure to some other forms of violence which is expressed in the exhibition
of intense fear, stress, helplessness and sorrow by the persons involved (Ingleby, 2005). Thirdly, the discomfort, new interactions, and sudden lack of adequate essential needs for survival (in the new abode), as they have to share the little available with their hosts, intense fear and fatigue. This is detrimental to their social, physical and emotional well-being. Many researchers have found that high levels of stress (as can be found in forced displacement) have been correlated with high levels of physical and mental illness (Stachour and Valerie, 1998).

Another dimension of the problem is the strain placed on the affected physical and social environments. The community which the IDPs left is as much adversely affected by emigration as the new communities are affected with immigration (Olukojalo, Ajayi and Ogungbenro, 2014). This also expresses the difficulties experienced by the host communities, as well as the managers of IDP Camps. The attempts made, especially by host communities and IDP Camp managers to provide a soft landing for the Internally Displaced Persons indicates a level of assistance which is desired and required by the individuals under these forms of psychological and social distress. This helping hand is also called Social Support.

From the foregoing, it is imperative to infer that persons who were suddenly forced by undesirable circumstances to flee their place of habitation will certainly need serious and urgent physical, social, emotional and economic assistance over time, if they are to recover and live a fairly normal life again. Nigerian government, International Donor Agencies, local Nongovernmental Organizations as well as the communities have immensely contributed to the welfare of Internally Displaced Persons. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) provides international protection and assistance for refugees, stateless persons and internally displaced persons, particularly in conflict-related emergencies. In particular, the Federal Government of Nigeria established National Emergency Management Agency, NEMA in 1996 to among other things provide emergency aid for victims of disasters. According to Public Relations Office of NEMA (2013), the agency was established via Act 12 as amended by Act 50 of 1999, to manage disasters in Nigeria. It has been tackling disaster related issues through the establishment of concrete structures. It was established to coordinate resources towards efficient and effective disaster prevention, preparation, mitigation and response in Nigeria. Also, to build a culture of preparedness, prevention, response and community resilience to disaster in Nigeria (NEMA Act, 1999).
The Nigerian state, donor agencies and even host communities have done tremendously well in providing support for the IDPs, but in most cases, the support is mostly in areas of material support, ignoring other important support needed by the IDPs. Therefore, this study intends to undertake a sociological examination of, and critically evaluate the need for all stakeholders to go beyond providing only material support to the IDPs. The paper intends to bring out the importance of providing other supports notably emotional and psychological support.

**Internally Displaced Persons: The Conceptual Framework**

Displacement of persons occur when people under disaster situations leave their place of habitual residence to another. It has been classified into two: Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons. Refugees were described as people who have been forced to flee from their homes to another place outside their own country. Refugees were covered by regional and international laws to benefit from shelter and security of their host Nation. They may have similar reasons for leaving their homes to those who are described as internally displaced (Tajudeen & Adebayo, 2013; UNHCR, 2016).

On the other hand, Internally Displaced Persons are people who have been forced to flee from their homes to seek refuge in another place within their own country. In this case they are still operating within the law of their own country. This study is concerned with Internally Displaced Persons also to be referred to as IDPs. Reference could only be made to refugees only by way of comparison or critical analysis as the case may be.

It is also important to note that both Refugees and the IDPs are considered as *migrants*. They can be termed as *emigrants* from their homes and *immigrants* in their host communities. Again, it can be reiterated that terms like IDPs and Migrants are applied for the victims of Boko Haram insurgency, and can be used interchangeably in this study.

Displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to have cause to leave their homes or place of habitual residence in particular as a result of, or in order to avoid the effect of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and they must have either remained within their own national borders (as internally displaced persons) or they may have crossed an internationally recognized state border as refugees, (Tajudeen & Adebayo, 2013). According to UNHCR (2016), while they may have fled for similar reasons (with refugees), IDPs stay within their own country.
and remain under the protection of their government even if that government is the reason for their displacement.

From the foregoing, it can be inferred that, Internally Displaced Persons are individuals, families or communities who have been forced by undesirable circumstances (either natural or manmade) to flee, mostly in austere circumstances from their place of birth or desired, habitual residence to another place for survival within the same country or nation state. Usually, such migration is temporary, so that the displaced people might return to their place when the condition that necessitated the movement is controlled.

An overview of the management of the IDPs: The Nigerian Experience

In Nigeria so far, NEMA is the official agency established to provide the required support for persons afflicted with disaster including the IDPs. Unfortunately, evidence from the literature of NEMA prove that social support in its real sense is practically inexplicit, because it placed more emphasis on material support as opposed to emotional or social. Also because, perhaps for NEMA priority remains around food, physical health and protection (OCHA Nigeria, 2014). Consequently, there is need to find out if the agency is capable of even doing that efficiently (providing food and shelter effectively for the IDPs). It is important therefore to carefully study and understand the condition of the IDPs, their host communities, and the role played by NEMA to alleviate their sufferings. On the other hand, there is also a need to examine the services of this organization (NEMA) to confirm if its services are not merely provision of material assistance

What is obtainable in Nigeria is that internally displaced people receive some degree of material support from the National Emergency Management Agency. This agency has been mandated by government to offer immediate material assistance to victims of any disaster including internal displacement for any reasons (NEMA Act, 2004). Nevertheless, one notes that material support is merely one of the many assistances these people may require. Due to the fact that, their loses are in many cases irreparable, therefore, application of the full components of social support that provides for social concern, emotional care and material assistance may replenish some succor to their intense hunger, fatigue, terror, agony and loss, (Ajiboye et al, 2015; Teghtegh & Adamu, 2015). Majority of the survivors among the displaced persons in North-Eastern Nigeria in 2014 are women (54%) and children (58%), having loss their husbands and fathers to the disaster which displaced them from their place of habitual residence (DTM Report, 2014).
It may therefore be emphasized that in Nigeria, internal displacement is managed since 1972 as a disaster until the establishment of NERA (National Emergency Relief Agency) in 1978 which metamorphosed to NEMA (National Emergency Management Agency) in 1996. NEMA aimed at providing an integrated and coordinated institutional capacity within the Federal, State, Local Government and community for effective disaster management.

Now, in the light of the law establishing NEMA, the practical provision by the government and the obvious predicament the IDPs, one is concerned if these people obtain the desired protection and assistance. It is questionable if these vulnerable populations get what they deserve. Particularly, it is really disconcerting to explore if any amount of psychosocial support is given to them (for instance there are only 2 nurses employed under NEMA in Gombe Zone which covers north east). Such support is actually desired especially on the basis of families who have experienced death, injury, or lost some valuable property like family business empire.

Contention also lies in the fact that Internally Displaced Persons are being covered under the laws and programmes of their governments. It is expected therefore that they get proper and total support from all the tiers of government. And whether their problems are solved physically, emotionally and socially by the government agency NEMA, is a subject of debate. Facts deduced from the NEMA literature tilt towards mere material support, despite the people’s diverse human needs. The question of the uncertainty that the IDPs obtain holistic support evoked a dire quest and need to critically evaluate the level of physical, emotional, economic and social suffering of the Internally Displaced Persons in relation to the level of support care given by NEMA as the agency of the government, so as to expatiate and emphasize the need to go beyond material support on the areas of need and the parts desiring improvement by all stake holders.

Transcending the Fixed Notion of Material Support: Emphasizing other Forms of Support

This paper considers any material assistance given to the internally displaced persons as support. Ideal support however, is viewed as Social Support, which encapsulates all forms of support a person in emergency situation needs. Social supports cover all aspects of assistance which include material, emotional, social and financial that could help boost the general wellbeing of a person or persons in need.

Internally Displaced Persons who are hosted in many communities in different parts of their country, require some high degree of social support. In the first place, they may need to be assisted with basic needs-food, shelter, clothing etc. Secondly, they should be fully absorbed in their host
communities in order to benefit from the emotional and social support obtained therein. This is considered as social support. According to Ryff et al (2004), Social Support refers to the various types of support or assistance that people receive from others and is shown to have some positive effect on physiological wellbeing. It involves giving emotional, social and economic support to a person or persons under physical, emotional or social distress. With five (5) basic elements (Engaging in friendship; Providing emotional support; Constructing meaning; Offering practical advice; Giving material assistance), Social Support is exceptionally important in maintaining physical and mental health of the IDPs (Leach, 2014; Ozbay et al, 2007). According to David, Danjuma and Manu (2016), the intervention of NEMA is still inadequate for the IDPs in North-Eastern Nigeria. They argued that the plight of the internally displaced persons need to be improved due to the inadequacy of relief materials and the outbreak of some diseases. The problem of inadequate materials also emphasizes the gap in coordination where NEMA hardly supervise or support SEMA in discharging their responsibilities. It also brings forth the issue of inadequate security for the IDPs based either in camps or even in host communities. Following the continued attacks in different parts of Borno and Adamawa states in which over 2,053 persons have been reportedly killed since January 2014, by the insurgent Boko Haram group, thousands of local people have fled their homes to neighbouring states of Gombe, Bauchi, Taraba and the southern parts of Adamawa and Borno states putting more stress on the already strained resources of the host states and communities (OCHA, 2014). The social consequences of witnessing conflict and subsequent displacement are enormous. For example, experiencing traumatic events could cause "over thinking" which in turn could lead to "madness" and physical ailments. Other social determinants included overcrowding which affected physical health and contributed to an emotional sense of loss of freedom; and poverty and loss of land which affected physical health from lack of food and income, and mental health because of worry and uncertainty (Roberts et al, 2009). Also, conflict and displacement and led to changes in social and cultural norms such as increased "adultery", "defilement", and "thieving". Response strategies included a combination of biopsychosocial health services, traditional practices, religion, family and friends, and isolating. This study supports work exploring the political, environmental, economic, and socio-cultural determinants of health of IDPs. Addressing these
Determinants is essential to fundamentally improving the overall physical and mental health of IDPs.

Another important problem which NEMA face in the management of IDPs is providing essentially mere material support. Emotional, Psychological and other forms of support are necessary if these people are to be duly managed and rehabilitated. In fact, here lies the major gap in the IDP care by NEMA: support is far more than just material. The needs, gaps and constraints of NEMA can be expressed as Based on interviews with partners, limited food aid has reached over 82,831 IDPs living in host communities in Yola North, Yola South, Girei, Gombi, Maiha, Yola North and Mubi as at September 26. Urgent food aid should be extended to IDPs living in host communities in these LGAs (David, et al 2016).

**Thinking outside the box: Policy option for NEMA and other donor Agencies in the Management of the IDPs**

A number of studies have shown that the IDPs’ needs are mostly in areas related to food security, housing, health care, education, income-generating sources, and security (TGD, 2001). These findings reconfirm that IDP needs are diverse within the following general needs categories:

- **Hunger and malnutrition.** A serious problem for the displaced, in particular for children (Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 1999). In Colombia, children, families headed by women, and families surviving in urban areas are particularly vulnerable to food insecurity (WFP, 2001b). Although IDPs receive ‘food supplement’ rations for extended periods of time, supplies can be sporadic and often insufficient for the changing location patterns of displaced population groups (UNHCHR, 1999).

- **Housing.** Primary needs are immediate temporary shelter for the newly displaced and long-term shelter for the growing IDP population in urban areas, since IDPs are subject to being evicted from these lands at any time (Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 1999).

- **Health risks.** Malnutrition, respiratory illnesses, diarrhoea, parasitic diseases and sexually transmitted diseases are indicators of the extreme fragility of IDP living conditions (Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 1999). In Colombia only about 50% of the total displaced population is covered by the national social security scheme. A primary obstacle to receiving health care services is the lack of an identity card. Colombia’s Ministry of Health and the Social Solidarity Network have yet to agree upon a mechanism of identification that will allow IDPs to be covered, thus health institutions are unwilling to provide free assistance to the displaced.
• **Psycho-social tensions.** Self-reliance and dignity erode as a result of long-term displacement, poor living conditions, insecurity and restricted movements. The mental health needs of conflict affected people suffering from severe malnutrition, loss and violence-induced trauma have until recently received scant attention, though the importance of psychosocial care during all three phases cannot be underestimated. Not only those still displaced, but even many resettled families, live in fear of both the past and the future.

• **Income.** Limited capacity-building or vocational training opportunities are available to adult IDPs. This is particularly serious for rural IDPs who have to create a means of livelihood in an urban environment where many displaced families do not earn enough to meet their minimum daily expenditures for food, water, transportation, fuel, and basic non-food items such as toilet paper, sanitary napkins, soap, detergent, and toothpaste (WFP, 2001). The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) in Colombia has criticised the government for not providing sufficient assistance to IDPs to cover their basic needs, as many governmental support activities are limited to handouts, lacking consistency and support to durable solutions. The Office condemned the failure to fully adhere to Act No. 387 covering the needs of displaced persons and to comply with the United Nations Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.

• **Exposure to violence and abuse.** IDPs face special difficulties related to violence and abuse, especially in areas of continuing conflict. There is growing recognition among agencies that assistance provision must be linked to protection of IDPs’ physical security and human rights before and during displacement and during return/resettlement. Displaced people are often denied a variety of rights, that can affect their livelihood opportunities. The loss of property rights and entitlements has a direct impact on food security, while denial of work, travel permits and identity documents can deny IDPs access to other entitlements including food (WFP, 2000).

**Conclusion**

It is the conclusion of this paper that neglects on the part of the government at different levels in ensuring better, effective and functional policies that are people oriented is responsible for the plight of the IDPs. Its magnitude is capable of threatening the social integration and corporate existence of the country, the end result of which brings about high number of internally displaced persons across the country. Given the magnitude and complexity of crises of internal displacement, these are inimical toward the discourse “Development”. This affects the country’s chances of
meeting the Sustainable Development Goals targets as well as the rights to safety of lives and properties as enshrined in Nigeria’s constitution and equally enshrined in other international treaties – choices to healthy, creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity and self-respect and the respect of others. This argument is adjudged valid, given the empirical instance of poverty, inequality, unprecedented levels of bomb blast across the country and above all displacement vis-à-vis what development connotes. What is more worrisome is the fact that, social support to the IDPs is reduced to only, material support that is not even adequate. The truth of the matter is that, the IDPs required more than just material support; psychological, psychosocial, spiritual and social support which are essential to overcoming their problems they encountered as a result of the insurgency.

**Recommendation**

It is the recommendation: of this paper that;

1. There should be mental health structures in certain locations in the IDPs camps for the management of mental and psychological trauma. Advocacy with the central government should be used to address this problem, when necessary.
2. Lack of specialized personnel in government agencies or in the aid community may result in non-specialized staff undertaking activities for which they have not been trained. In these cases, NEMA should organize the secondment of expertise to the operation.
3. IDPs that took shelter in the neighbouring communities should be identified and essential services inform of support should be extend to them.
4. Caring for the IDPs should not be seen as the sole responsibility of Government through its agencies, but as a collective responsibility that all well to do citizens should venture into.
5. There should be legislation and special endowment for the social support for the IDPs
6. There should a serious check on corruption especially as it affects the IDPs, in order to remedy cases of diversion of the funds and items meant for the IDPs.

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THE CRIMINOLOGY OF INSECURITY: CATTLE RUSTLING AND ITS EFFECTS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Cattle rustling are common among pastoral and agro-pastoral communities of northern Nigeria. Ethno-religious and political conflicts have emerged to be one of the biggest contributors to rampant insecurity witnessed in the region. This article demonstrate how cattle rustling emerges as a specific form of crime with the use of firearms in violent cattle rustling for both raiding and defense has led to loss of lives and commission of crimes such as murder, robbery, rape, defilement, grievous harm, assault, illegal possession of firearms, dislocation of population and livestock theft. Government efforts to quell the violence have not yielded significant fruit yet. The study is predicated on secondary sources of data. The main objective was to explore the changing context of cattle rustling and understand the effects of conflicts related to cattle raiding, the study established that there were significant changes in the conduct of cattle rustling, especially in the use of highly sophisticated small arms and light weapons, the scale of operations, and the increasingly active role played by politicians. The theoretical approaches that were utilized is human ecology theory, Based on the findings of this study it is recommended that; the government should conduct continuous disarmament and ensure the country's porous borders are properly manned to prevent entry of illegal firearms and guarantee the security of the entire nation.

Keywords: Criminology, Cattle Rustling, Insecurity, Northern Nigeria, Crime

Introduction

Cattle rustling are common among pastoralists worldwide. Traditionally, pastoralists engage in it as a means of expanding grazing lands, to replenish lost herds following harsh climatic conditions
and to obtain cattle for bride wealth, among other reasons Hendrickson, et al., (1996). Lately; the use of modem weaponry instead of traditional ones such as spears, bows and old rifles has introduced a worrying dimension to this phenomenon. To further compound this reality is the disrespect for the traditional conflict resolution and peace-building mechanisms, hence greatly increasing the adversity in terms of intensity, casualty and extent of these conflicts Mkutu, (2007). Crime and insecurity affect human welfare in many ways. There is the direct cost of crime on victims and the ricochet effect on their friends and relatives. There is also the sense of fear people experience even if they have not been victims of crime. In addition to the direct cost of crime, insecurity generates large economic losses: business and trade are diverted, investment and savings are reduced, and resources are wasted protecting property rights and ensuring personal safety. Insecurity also induces populations to vote for and support strong men who promise security, even at the expense of personal freedom and civil rights. Concerns for security are on the rise everywhere, and most countries experienced increases in crime rates in the 1990s (Newman 1999).

Crop-livestock systems are the most prevalent agricultural land use systems in northern Nigeria and the main livelihood strategy for the people living in the region. Livestock production constitutes one of the main pathways used by poor households as well as in many other areas of Sub-Saharan Africa, to accumulate capital and assets, which can be crucial in maintaining household survival in times of violence and changing social status of the poor rural families. However, the combined threat of food insecurity, under nutrition, poor health conditions and climate change act as additional stressors on these rural communities, further limiting their coping ability to those stressors, and adversely affecting poverty eradication efforts in Nigeria. Furthermore, it is widely acknowledged that since 1950s there has been considerable increase in human as well as livestock population in the coastal countries of West Africa. The result has been a growing pressure on natural resources between farmers and pastoralists (Adebayo, 1995).

The pastoralists generally follow their cattle across the region in search of green pastures and water. The Fulani movement is not confined to the north alone, but transcends international boundaries into Chad, Niger, Cameroun and Benin Republic. These inter-regional and cross-border movements oftentimes lead to conflicts over water and pasture. Consequently, a large number of households are frequently displaced from their original settlements due to conflicts arising from cattle rustling, ethno-religious and political conflicts especially in Adamawa, Borno, Benue, Kano, Kaduna. Nasarawa, Taraba, Plateau, Yobe, and Zanjara states.

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According to Fiki & Lee as the state cannot regulate the mutual coexistence of its citizens in the harmonious sharing of the competed resources, the parties may have to resolve to struggle among themselves with no retreat, no surrender and for the survival of the fittest. The failure of the state, for example to resolve the ‘settler/ ‘indigene’ identity and the inherent struggles over resources can be adduced to have brought dangerous dimensions of economic and political elements in the Fulani pastoralists and farmers’ conflicts (Fiki and Lee, 2004).

The prevailing conflict in the region is a menace that suffers high levels of human insecurity and poor infrastructure, which have affected the well-being of the people. There is acute food and physical insecurity, low levels of education; and low levels of gender development. School enrollment rates, access to health facilities and clean water are below the national levels. Child mortality rates are very high, and so are the poverty levels. Moreover, proper sanitation and education facilities are either inadequate or nonexistent which affects northern Nigeria by generating instability, tension, and threat the life of people.

Although Nigeria chiefly is known for its oil and gas production, agriculture employs about 70 per cent of its labour force. Small-holders in the country’s centre and south harvest most of the country’s tuber and vegetable crops while pastoralists in the north raise most of its grains and livestock (Roger Blench, 2010)

**Background to the Study Area**

Northern Nigeria was a British protectorate in the northern areas of modern day Nigeria formed in 1905 from the union of the Royal Niger Company above Lokoja on the River Niger. Today the region is a geographical region of Nigeria that is made up of nineteen (19) out of the thirty six (36) States that comprise the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The region covers about 60% of Nigeria’s land area of 923,800 square kilometers. It is more populated than the southern region and based on the 2006 population census, the States have a population of 73,599,965 representing 52.57% of the total population (African Masterweb, 2013). Since the year 2009, the security situation in northern Nigeria deteriorated with communal/ethnic classes in Plateau and Nasarawa States, Fulani herdsmen/farmers crisis in Plateau, Nasarawa and Benue States, suspected Fulani herdsmen battle with Tiv and Jukun in Benue and Taraba States, unknown gunmen attack in Katsina, Kaduna, Bauchi, Borno and Yobe States. These plus bombings linked to Boko Haram insurgency in Abuja, Kano, Kaduna, Suleja, Jos and other northern cities, the security situation went from bad to worse when over 200 school girls were abducted from their hostel at Government Girls’ College Chibok,
Borno state. It was later discovered that the girls are being kept in Sambisa forest (Bakare, 2014). This has brought to limelight how forests and even forest reserves are used by groups who cause insecurity in the northern region. Study on conflicts in the continent of Africa has observed that armed groups have taken shelter in forests areas and forest reserves in Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Southern Sudan and Nigeria (Ladan, 2014). A recent abduction of 110 schools girls on the 19th February, 2018 from Government Girls Science and Technical College Dapchi in Yobe State by suspected Boko Haram militants have clearly indicates that the war against terrorism has crumbled. It is against this background that this paper seeks to explore the changing context of cattle rustling and understand the effects of conflicts related to cattle raiding, in northern Nigeria.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF CATTLE-RUSTLING IN NIGERIA

The Fula people also known as Fulani in Hausa language, are a mass population widely dispersed and culturally diverse in all of Africa, but most predominate in West Africa. The Fulani’s generally speak the Fula language. A significant number of them are nomadic in nature, herding cattle, goats and sheep across the vast dry grass lands of their environment, keeping isolate from the local farming communities, making them the world’s largest pastoral nomadic group. They are massively spread over many countries, and are found mainly in West Africa and northern parts of Central Africa, but also in Sudan and Egypt. The main Fulani sub-groups in Nigeria are: Fulbe Adamawa, Fulbe Mbororo, Fulbe Sokoto, Fulbe Gombe, and the Fulbe Borgu. Herding livestock is not an exclusive preserve of Fulani; in northern Nigeria alone, 14 other ethnic groups, including the Shuwa, Kanuri, Kanembu, Arabs, and Touareg, are in some way involved in it (Blench 2010). Fulani own approximately 90 per cent of the livestock and contribute about 3.2 per cent of the country’s GDP. Fulani view cattle herding not necessarily as a delightful endeavour but as a profitable vocation that is taxing, strenuous, and exhausting. Thus, cattle serve multiple purposes for them, including the provision of milk and beef, the opportunity to breed cattle and beautify stock, and as carriers and sources of income. In addition to being working capital, the cattle represent a social-security guarantee and inheritable assets for the herder’s family, particularly for his offspring. So central is the herd as pastoral capital that, aside from functioning as a means of production, storage, and transport, and a way to transfer food and wealth to the Fulani, its size indicates the social status of the individual or family and evokes an unspoken dictum to strive to increase the herd (Olaniyan, & Yahaya, 2016).
Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (2011) report over 90 per cent of pastoralists reportedly are Fulani, a large ethnic group straddling several West and Central African countries. Pastoralists own approximately 90 per cent of the national herd, estimated at 19.5 million cattle, about 975,000 donkeys, 28,000 camels, 72.5 million goats and 41.3 million sheep. Livestock represents between 20 and 30 per cent of total agricultural production and about 6 to 8 per cent of overall Gross Domestic Production (GDP). About 30 per cent of live animals slaughtered in Nigeria are brought in by pastoralists from other countries. Historically, relations between herders and sedentary farming communities have been harmonious. By and large, they lived in a peaceful, symbiotic relationship: herders’ cattle would fertilize the farmers’ land in exchange for grazing rights. But tensions have grown over the past decade, with increasingly violent flare-ups spreading throughout northern and southern states; incidents have occurred in at least 22 of the country’s 36 states (FMARD, 2011).

**Human Ecology Theory**

To understand the complexity of cattle rustling in northern Nigeria; it is fitting to approach it from human ecology perspective. As a theory, human ecology has been utilized in identifying challenges experienced in places where insecurity has erupted.

> Over the last twenty years contemporary sociologists and criminologists have proposed a number of “grand theories” off deviance that attribute rule-breaking and misconduct to general principles and universal laws that arise in any social context (Salisu & Radda, 2015).

The theory has its unique focus on human beings as both biological and social organisms in interaction with their environment. It observes that human beings operate within a human-built and socio-cultural milieu. Emphasis is put on the creation, use and management of resources for creative adaptation, human development and sustainability of environments (Bubolz & Sontag, 1993). The individual was a product of cooperation with the environment. The word ecology has its Greek origin in oik for house or living place. Hence ecology is defined as the study of the interrelationships between the organisms or life and the environment. It rests on the assumption that social life and the environment are inseparable parts. Human ecology theory arises from diverse disciplinary explanations and past evolutionary theories. In a relationship between
pastoralism and the environment in which it thrives, overgrazing and environmental degradation were as a result of having herds beyond what is necessary for a livelihood (McCabe, 1990). Two views on this topic exist in the context of pastoralism. One is that pastoralism is inextricably caught in the cycle of cattle accumulation leading to overgrazing, environmental degradation and famine. The other is that pastoralism is environmentally sound (Swift, 1988). What is now observable in the context of ecology is that certain social institutions function to cope with the effects of environmental problems. In this context, given the frequency and ferocity of droughts in pastoral areas, it follows that there must be a suitable and culturally relevant redistributive mechanism among the inhabitant pastoralists. One of the redistributive mechanisms is cattle rustling. In the context, Cattle rustling are common among pastoral and agro-pastoral communities of northern Nigeria. Therefore human ecology theory is relevant in this study for it explains why cattle rustling occurs from a traditional perspective, and secondly its intensity. Human beings satisfy their wants by exploiting or taking advantage of what is available or abundant in their environment. However, this theory is limited in explaining the relationship between women and the cattle rustling environment. Closely related to ecology is ecofeminism or ecological feminism, a concept coined in 1974 by Francoise d’Eaubonne. It refers to a movement born out of feminism and ecological thinking. A key tenet in ecofeminism states that male ownership of cattle has led to the dominator (patriarchy) exploiting people and animals valued only as economic resources. That the degradation of nature equally leads to the degradation of women. Women have a special connection to the environment by their daily interactions and this has not received the attention it deserves. Women in subsistence economies produce wealth in partnership with nature and have wide ecological knowledge in nature’s processes (Vandana, 1988). Ecofeminists hold that there is a separation between nature and culture which is the root cause of our planet’s ills arising out of unsustainable forms of livelihood, and in the context of pastoralism leading to the tragedy of commons (Hardin, 1968). The relevance of ecofeminism is that those communities that lose or gain cattle arising from cattle rustling in the end contribute to the degradation of nature through overgrazing or recourse to alternative livelihood activities unsuitable for that environment. The end result of the degradation of the environment is the degradation of women. Hence ecofeminism is relevant in helping to understand how the strains arising from cattle rustling disproportionately fall more on women among the Pokot and Marakwet communities. Cattle rustling generate conflict between the communities.
Basically, this unified theoretical framework “approaches the explanation of human behavior in terms of a continuous interaction between cognitive, behavioral, and environmental determinants”.

**Causes of Cattle Rustling**

The key feature of rural dynamics in Nigeria in the twentieth century has been demographic expansion and consequent expansion of cultivation. Projecting back the census figure to the pre-colonial era suggests that the human population for the whole Nigerian region may have been as low as five million in the late nineteenth century. Comparison with the 1991 figure of 88.5 million makes it clear how pastoralists and cultivators could have co-existed in the earlier period and why the situation is now so fraught. The ramifications of human population increase underlie other key dynamics in rural Nigeria, particularly relations between herders and arable farmers. Increased competition of pastoralists for a dwindling 'stock' of grazing land as agriculture has expanded. The collapse of the system of burtali, or cattle tracks, intended to separate livestock from farms, movement of pastoralists into new terrain, where language, religion, culture and landholding patterns are unfamiliar and declining importance of the market for dairy products (Blench, 1990 & Awogbade, 1983).

The prevalence or massive use of guns in cattle raiding and persistent violence between the Fulani’s and the herdsmen is identified as the major cause of insecurity in the region. On the one hand, state institutions criminalize and condemn farmer’s herder’s conflict, cattle rustling and raiding, yet they are unable, both administratively and politically, to suppress violence in the country.

However, from 1980 to 2018 there has been an unprecedented acceleration in the frequency of violent incidents due to the following reasons:

a) Production systems; there is destruction of crops by cattle and other property such as reservoirs, irrigational facilities and infrastructure by the herdsmen themselves are the main direct causes for conflicts.

b) Religion; where neighboring a pastoral group and the agriculturalists do not have the same religion, ideological differences may over-ride mutual economic advantage. Religion divisions on a national scale are increasingly manipulated by politicians for local ends.

c) Politics; even under military government there was considerable decentralization to local level and the return to representative democracy has brought into focus both administrative units (states and local governments) and the requirement to find politicians to represent sectional interests.
Power in Local Government administrations has been increasingly taken by indigenous farming peoples who do not favour pastoralists' interests.

d) Desertification: has pushed the cattle drivers further south in search of land and water for their livestock, leading to accusations from farmers that herds have ruined their fields.

e) Cattle rustling and kidnapping for ransom have become a problem in states such as Adamawa, Benue, Kaduna, Nasarawa and Niger as a result of Nigeria's wider economic troubles that have forced some into criminality.

f) Migration: herders migrating into the savannah and rain forests of the central and southern states are moving into regions where high population growth over the last four decades has heightened pressure on farmland, increasing the frequency of disputes over crop damage, water pollution and cattle theft.

h) Anti-grazing law: these laws prohibit open rearing and grazing, while, due to lack of grazing ranches ethno-religious and political conflicts have emerged to be one of the biggest contributors to rampant insecurity witnessed in the region.

i) Proliferation of arms and ammunition in Africa has placed enormous weaponry in the arms of criminal elements some of whom perpetrate cattle rustling has led to loss of lives and commission of crimes such as murder, robbery, rape, defilement, grievous harm, assault, illegal possession of firearms, dislocation of population and livestock theft.

The large scale of the Nigerian economy has inevitably meant that farmers are increasingly integrated, both with financial systems, and through improved communications and infrastructure. By comparison, pastoralists, often lacking Western education, stay with increasingly inappropriate models of land tenure and are unable to manipulate the system to their advantage. Farmers with an astute appreciation of power dynamics in modern Nigeria can outmaneuver them at every step.

Violent conflicts between nomadic herders from northern Nigeria and sedentary agrarian communities in the central and southern zones have escalated in recent years and are spreading southward, threatening the country’s security and stability. With an estimated death toll of approximately 2,500 people in 2016, these clashes are becoming as potentially dangerous as the Boko Haram insurgency in the north east. Yet to date, response to the crisis at both the federal and state levels has been poor (Blench, 1990)

Reprisal attack is one of the major causes of cattle rustling in northern Nigeria, for instance A leader of Miyetti Allah cattle breeders in Benue State, Garus Gololo has revealed why Fulani
herdsmen attacked some communities in Benue State. He said their action was a reprisal for alleged theft of cows. The herdsmen had attacked communities in Gama and Logo Local Government Areas of the state between Monday 1\textsuperscript{st} and Tuesday 2\textsuperscript{nd} January, 2018. The incident left scores dead, including nearly a dozen livestock guards.

He claimed that over 1000 cows were stolen at Nangere, a community in the state when the

**Effects of conflicts related to cattle rustling**

For purposes of scientific criminology the nature of society controls the direction of its criminality, criminals are not social misfits but product of the society and its economic system. According to Cohen and Felson (1979), for a direct contact predatory crime to occur (e.g., cattle theft, robbery), three elements must converge at a particular time and place: 1) motivated offender with both criminal inclinations and the ability to carry out those inclinations, 2) suitable target, and 3) absence of capable guardians against a violation. If one of these components is missing, then a crime will not likely occur. The effect of conflicts related to cattle rustling includes the following:

**Breakdown of the social order** The targeting of non-combatants, especially women and children, seems to be a symptom of the breakdown of the entire social order. Another symptom is the way in which cattle are raided for selfish purposes. The pastoral communities have a lot of attachment to cattle due to their ritualistic and cultural importance. Thus, the loss of livestock is assumed to affect the entire social fabric.

**Loss of lives** Cattle rustling and banditry have led to the loss of many human lives and the displacement of various population groups. Women and children seem to bear the brunt in these new forms of violence, for instance More than 200 people have been killed with over 4,000 cattle were also killed in ongoing attacks on Fulani community in Sardauna Local Government Area of Taraba State (New Telegraph 22 June 2017), also over 180 Fulani villages in the Mambilla Plateau were completely burnt down while over 200 persons, including women and children, were butchered. On the other hand the January, 1\textsuperscript{st} 2018 suspected herdsmen rampage that left more than 70 villagers dead and the January 8 killings of police officers in Benue state.

**Food Insecurity** when food supply is unstable and unreliable for one reason or another, food insecurity is said to exist The escalation of farmers herders conflict in northern Nigeria has prevented many farmers from farming in the due season, and harvesting what was planted or attending the market for buying and selling of commodities.
Displacement the Naasarawa State Government said over 18,000 people in the state was displaced due to a spillover from the related killings in Benue State.

**Conclusion and Recommendations**

From the study, it was discovered that there are recurrent clashes of interests between the farmers and the cattle herders. While the key feature of rural dynamics in Nigeria in the twentieth century has been demographic and consequent expansion of cultivation that is why cattle rustling are common among pastoral and agro-pastoral communities of northern, the study established that cattle rustling and banditry have led to the loss of many human lives and the displacement of various population groups.

Governments need to work together, and take immediate steps to shore up security for herders and famers,

Strengthening conflict-resolution mechanisms and initiating longer-term efforts to reform livestock management practices,

Government should address negative environmental trends and curb cross-border movements of both cattle rustlers and armed herders.

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ASSESSMENT OF PROVISION, ACCESSIBILITY AND UTILIZATION OF MULTIMEDIA RESOURCES IN THE CONDUCT OF MICRO-TEACHING PRACTICUM IN FEDERAL COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, ZARIA

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Abstract

The study assessed the provision, accessibility and utilization of multimedia resources in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria. The specific objectives of the study are to determine the extent to which multimedia resources are provided, accessed and utilized in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria. Corresponding research questions and null hypotheses were stated. The design of the study was survey. The population of this study comprised of all Academic Staff in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Federal College of Education, Zaria numbering 34 out of which 22 are males while 12 are females as at October, 2017. The sample of the study consists of 31 Academic Staff based on the Research Advisors’ table for sample specification. Disproportional stratified sampling was used in selecting the number of respondents for the study in relation to gender. The data collection instrument was the structured questionnaire entitled “Provision, Accessibility and Utilization of Multimedia Resources Questionnaire” (PAUMREQ). The instrument was duly vetted by experts and has the reliability co-efficient of 0.78. The study used arithmetic mean and standard deviation to answer the questions posed by the study while independent samples t-test was used to validate the null hypotheses at 0.05 level of significance. The study among others discovered that multimedia resources for the conduct of micro-teaching practicum are available, partially accessible and highly un-utilized. In the light of findings made, it was recommended that among others that effort should be made by both the College management, the Heads of School of Education and the Department of Curriculum and Instruction in ensuring that these resources are not only available but also accessible and utilized by the Academic Staff in the Department for effective implementation of micro-teaching practicum.

Keywords: Accessibility, Micro-teaching, Multimedia, Provision & Utilization

Introduction
The introduction of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and its components like the multimedia resources in teaching remains one of the important dimensions of human technological advances in recent times. It is regarded as one of the main innovations in the education sector due to the fact that it has the potential to bring about substantial system-wide benefits in terms of improving the quality of teaching and learning process. In the light of this, Abdallah (2013) stated that there is of course a need to emphasize the added value that ICT can bring about to teaching and learning and that effort should be geared towards effective development of learning resources.

The term multimedia posits Muhammad (2017) means more than one media. Multimedia are instructional programmes that can be highly interactive and feature combinations of sound, animation, video, graphics, and text. Similarly, Hostetler (2001), asserts that “multimedia is the use of computer to present and combine text, graphics, audio and video with links and tools that let the user navigate, interact, create and communicate”. In other words, multimedia is the combination of various digital media, into an integrated multi-sensory interactive application or presentation to convey information to an audience, (Butcher and Powell 2005; Demodharan and Rengaranjan 2007). Therefore, multimedia is a learning tool that allows learners to organize, represent and construct knowledge in multiple modalities that include text, audios, graphics, animation and videos, (Wang 2006: 316). In addition, multimedia programmes do not necessarily require Internet access.

With multimedia technology becoming such an integral part of students’ lives, educators are incorporating it into projects to promote learning in their classrooms. The trend toward technology enhanced classrooms has escalated quickly at the turn of the millennium in Nigeria and students are increasingly becoming tech-savvy day by day. Students are using multimedia to connect with different cultures and societies that can broaden their learning experience, (Warschauer, 1999). Technology provides an innovative way to reach and collaborate with students and educators all over the world. However, not only is technology useful in communicating with others, it also provides unique ways to complete assignments. Additionally, students learn better and faster when they are actively engaged in their learning. Digital media can be a great vehicle for student engagement with classroom technology…”, (Quinones, 2010:28).

Despite the fact that Nigeria has accepted ICT as an innovation that should be incorporated, as an integral part into our instructional delivery system in all school subjects, it is lamentable that a
number of factors have beset the effective access and utilization of multimedia resources toward teaching and learning in Nigeria’s Colleges of Education. Nonetheless, it is quite disturbing that the fact that ICT facilities (multimedia resources) are in gross short supply particularly in some Colleges of Education and there is dearth of academic staff versed in the knowledge of the usage and application of multimedia resources. The few that have the knowledge do not often utilize it for teaching and learning purposes.

**Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of this study is to assess the provision and management of multimedia in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria. The study is guided by the following specific objectives which are to:

1. Determine the extent to which multimedia resources are provided in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria;
2. Examine the extent to which multimedia resources are accessed in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria;
3. Find out the extent to which multimedia resources are utilized in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria.

**Research Questions**

The study shall be guided by the following research questions:

1. To what extent are multimedia resources provided in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria?
2. How accessible are multimedia resources in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria?
3. What is the extent to which multimedia resources are utilized in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria?

**Null Hypotheses**

In the light of the research questions raised, the following hypotheses are hereby postulated and shall be tested at 0.05 level of significance:

H0: There is no significant difference in the opinions of male and female teachers on the extent to which multimedia resources are provided for the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria;
H02: There is no significant difference in the opinions of male and female teachers on the extent to which multimedia resources are accessible for the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria;

H03: There is no significant difference in the opinions of male and female teachers on the extent to which multimedia resources are utilized for the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria.

Methodology
The design of the study is survey. It is usually employed by collecting data and describing in systematic manner the characteristic features or facts about a given population from a few people or items considered to be representative of the entire group (Salihu and Adamu 2016). The population of this study comprised of all Academic Staff in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Federal College of Education, Zaria. The decision to use the Academic Staff from the Department of Curriculum and Instruction is informed by the fact that the course EDU223 “Micro-Teaching Practicum is domiciled in the department. There are 34 Academic Staff in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Federal College of Education, Zaria out of which 22 are males while 12 are females as at October, 2017.

The sample of this study consists of 31 Academic Staff in the department of curriculum and instruction, Federal College of Education, Zaria, Nigeria. The decision to use 31 respondents is based on the Research Advisors’ table for sample specification. It indicates that for population of 34 at 95 percent confidence level and margin error of 5 percent, the sample size of 31 is adequate. Disproportional stratified sampling was used in selecting the number of respondents for the study in relation to gender. Disproportional sampling is where the number of respondents in each stratum (in this case gender) does not reflect proportion in population. According to Garson (2012:13) “disproportionate stratified sampling occurs when disproportionate numbers of subjects are drawn from some strata compared to others.” This is necessitated by the fact that the number of male respondents by far outnumbered that of their female counterparts. The justification for the adoption of this technique is to ensure that, sufficient number of female respondents is selected from the sampled institutions.

The data collection instrument for this study is the structured questionnaire entitled “Provision, Accessibility and Utilization of Multimedia Resources Questionnaire” (PAUMREQ). Muhammad (2017:115) define questionnaire as “a method of gathering information from respondents about
attitudes, knowledge, beliefs and feelings”. The questionnaire is designed into four sections. Section ‘A’ deals with the bio-data variables of the respondents, section ‘B’ is on the Academic Staff’s opinions on the provision of multimedia resources. This section has seventeen items which are presented on a Likert-type four point scale ranging from Highly Available (HA), Partially Available (PA), Unavailable (UA) and Highly Unavailable (HU) with 4, 3, 2, 1 point value attached to them respectively. Section ‘C’ deals with Academic Staff’s access level to multimedia resources with which are also presented on a Likert-type four point scale ranging from Fully Accessible (FA), Moderately Accessible (MA), Inaccessible (IA) and Highly Inaccessible (HI) with 4, 3, 2, 1 point value attached to them respectively while section ‘D’ is on the utilization of multimedia resources presented on a Likert-type four point scale ranging from Fully Utilized (FU), Partially Utilized (PU), Un-utilized (U) and Highly Not-Utilized (HN). The instrument was duly vetted and its reliability co-efficient calculated using Cronbach alpha formular was 0.78 which is considered adequate for the main study based on the 0.64 threshold set by Danjuma and Muhammad (2011).

The study used percentage and frequency counts to present the bio-data variables of the respondents while arithmetic mean and standard deviation were used to answer the questions posed by the study. The independent samples t-test was used to validate the null hypotheses at 0.05 level of significance.

**Results**

Table 1: Opinions of Academic Staff on the provision of multimedia resources in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Multimedia Resources</th>
<th>HA</th>
<th>PA</th>
<th>UA</th>
<th>HA</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std Dev</th>
<th>Remark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>2.6250</td>
<td>1.21291</td>
<td>Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Multimedia projector</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>3.2250</td>
<td>1.36790</td>
<td>Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Close circuit camera</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>3.3500</td>
<td>1.12204</td>
<td>Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>TV sets</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3.1500</td>
<td>1.36907</td>
<td>Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Overhead projector</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.3750</td>
<td>1.53067</td>
<td>Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Slide projector</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.6750</td>
<td>1.24833</td>
<td>Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Opaque projector</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.2500</td>
<td>1.27601</td>
<td>Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Public address system</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>3.1000</td>
<td>1.21529</td>
<td>Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>DVD player</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3.1250</td>
<td>1.39940</td>
<td>Available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S/N</td>
<td>Multimedia Resources</td>
<td>FA</td>
<td>MA</td>
<td>IA</td>
<td>HI</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Std Dev</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Computers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>3.1000</td>
<td>1.21529</td>
<td>Accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Multimedia projector</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>3.4000</td>
<td>1.59808</td>
<td>Accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Close circuit camera</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>2.6750</td>
<td>1.24833</td>
<td>Accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>TV sets</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>3.2500</td>
<td>1.27601</td>
<td>Accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Overhead projector</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3.1000</td>
<td>1.21529</td>
<td>Accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Slide projector</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>2.1250</td>
<td>1.39940</td>
<td>Inaccessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Opaque projector</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>2.4000</td>
<td>1.59808</td>
<td>Inaccessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Public address system</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.4000</td>
<td>1.59808</td>
<td>Accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>DVD player</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>2.6750</td>
<td>1.24833</td>
<td>Accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Audio player</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>3.1250</td>
<td>1.39940</td>
<td>Accessible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Video machines</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>3.4000</td>
<td>1.59808</td>
<td>Accessible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Result from Table 1 shows the opinions of Academic Staff on the provision of multimedia resources in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria. Based on the 2.50 decision mean threshold, it can be seen that all (1-20), these multimedia resources are available in the College.

**Table 2: Opinions of Academic Staff on accessibility of multimedia resources in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria**
Result from Table 2 shows the opinions of Academic Staff on the level of access to multimedia resources in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria. Based on the 2.50 decision mean threshold, it is clear that computers, multimedia projector, close circuit camera, TV sets, overhead projector, public address system, DVD player, audio player, video machines, still cameras and scanners/digitizers are accessible by the Academic Staff for use during micro-teaching practicum in the College. On the other hand, Slide projector, Opaque projector, Video projector, Projection screen, Satellite, Internet, Transparency and Electronic smart board are inaccessible for use by the Academic Staff during micro-teaching practicum in the college.

Table 3: Opinions of Academic Staff on the utilization of multimedia resources in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Multimedia Resources</th>
<th>FU</th>
<th>PU</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>HN</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std Dev</th>
<th>Remark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>2.3750</td>
<td>1.53067</td>
<td>Not utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Multimedia projector</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>2.8750</td>
<td>1.15442</td>
<td>Utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Close circuit camera</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>2.2250</td>
<td>1.36790</td>
<td>Not utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>TV sets</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>2.3500</td>
<td>1.12204</td>
<td>Not utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Overhead projector</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.1500</td>
<td>1.36907</td>
<td>Not utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Slide projector</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.3750</td>
<td>1.53067</td>
<td>Not utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Opaque projector</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.2750</td>
<td>1.24833</td>
<td>Not utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Public address system</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>2.9750</td>
<td>1.15442</td>
<td>Utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>DVD player</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>2.1000</td>
<td>1.21529</td>
<td>Not utilized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Audio</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>2.1250</td>
<td>1.39940</td>
<td>Not utilized</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Result from Table 3 shows the opinions of Academic Staff on the utilization of multimedia resources in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria. Based on the 2.50 decision mean threshold, it is clear that only multimedia projector, public address system and Projection screen are utilized during micro-teaching by the Academic Staff.

\[ H_0 : \] There is no significant difference in the opinions of male and female teachers on the extent to which multimedia resources are provided for the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria;

Table 4: Independent t-test samples statistics on the difference in the opinions of lecturers on the availability of multimedia resources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std.dev</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>t Cal</th>
<th>t Crit</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>74.5636</td>
<td>13.1863</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.771</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>0.442</td>
<td>H0 Retained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>73.1364</td>
<td>6.623</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Calculated p > 0.05, calculated t < 1.96 at DF 29**

Results of the independent t-test samples statistics in Table 4 shows that there is no significant difference in the opinions of male and female teachers on the extent to which multimedia resources are provided for the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria. This is because the calculated p value of 0.442 is found to be higher than the 0.05 alpha level of significance and the computed t-value of 0.771 is found to be lower than the 1.96 t critical at Df 29. Their computed mean opinions regarding the availability of multimedia resources are
74.5636 and 73.1364 for males and females respectively. Therefore, the null hypothesis is hereby retained.

H0: There is no significant difference in the opinions of male and female teachers on the extent to which multimedia resources are accessible in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria;

Table 5: Independent t-test samples statistics on the difference in the opinions of teachers on the accessibility of multimedia resources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>t-Cal</th>
<th>t-Crit</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>73.1091</td>
<td>14.968</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.366</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>H0 Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>83.1667</td>
<td>2.605</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Calculated p < 0.05, calculated t > 1.96 at DF 29

Details of the independent t-test samples statistics in Table 5 shows that, there is significant difference in the opinions of male and female teachers on the extent to which multimedia resources are accessible in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria. This is because the calculated p value of 0.00 is found to be lower than the 0.05 alpha level of significance and the computed t value of 5.366 is found to be higher than the 1.96 t critical at Df 29. Their computed mean opinions are 74.5636 and 73.1364 for male and female respondents respectively. Therefore the null hypothesis is hereby rejected.

H0: There is no significant difference in the opinions of male and female teachers on the extent to which multimedia resources are utilized for the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria.

Table 6: Independent t-test samples statistics on the difference in the opinions of teachers on the utilization of multimedia resources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Dev</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>t-cal</th>
<th>t-Crit</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>71.6182</td>
<td>17.703</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.431</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>0.017</td>
<td>H0 Rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>77.6667</td>
<td>8.915</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Calculated p < 0.05, calculated t > 1.96 at DF 29

Results of the independent t-test samples statistics in Table 6 shows that there is significant difference in the opinions of male and female teachers on the extent to which multimedia resources
are utilized in the conduct of micro-teaching practicum in Federal College of Education, Zaria-Nigeria. This is because the calculated p value of 0.017 is found to be lower than the 0.05 alpha level of significance and the computed t value of 2.431 is found to be higher than the 1.96 t critical at Df 29. Their computed mean opinions regarding the utilization of multimedia resources are 71.8182 and 77.6667 for male and female respondents respectively. Therefore the null hypothesis is hereby rejected.

**Discussions**

The study discovered that multimedia resources for the conduct of micro-teaching practicum are available. It is also revealed that substantial number of these multimedia resources are not accessible despite being available. In addition, almost all the multimedia resources identified in the questionnaire with the exception of multimedia projector, public address system and Projection screen were not utilized during micro-teaching session by the teachers in the department under study.

Some of the observable reasons advanced for the inaccessibility and under-utilization of these multimedia resources during the conduct of micro-teaching practicum include, teachers’ ignorance, lack of operational skills, lack of commitment on the part of the college management to train and retrain teachers on the application of these multimedia resources, low internet connectivity and poor attitude of teachers towards new technologies among others. The findings of this study corroborates that of Muhammad (2017) which revealed the availability of multimedia resources for the effective teaching of Social Studies in colleges of education in north-central Nigeria but also found that these are not effectively organised and utilized by teachers. In sharp contrast, Bostan (2015) discovered that although digital technologies are fully integrated into the way people interact at work when they are engaged in business and doing trade, ICT are not yet fully exploited into the education system and training in Romania. The study shows that the vast majority of teachers (87%) use digital resources in the didactic process. Of these, 70% use modern resources during the assessment process of students through the elaboration of projects, essays, portfolios.

It was concluded that the interactive whiteboard is used in the educational process at a rate of 89% due to the small number of existing interactive whiteboards in the schools, on the one hand, and on the other hand, teachers do not know how to use it. Using the computer and multimedia tools in teaching is considered beneficial by 56% of teachers that using it effective (87%) of the
participants in this study. A significant percentage (44%) points out that an excessive use of the computer may induce students a passive attitude. From the research result that implementation of the AEL system in schools does not have expected performance because it is used in a proportion of 11%. The implications of inclusion the computer in physics classes are considered positive, especially in data processing in laboratory work, plotting or observing physical phenomena which cannot be reproduced in the laboratory school. 90% of focus group participants have recognized that they give as homework realization of projects through the computer. 22% of teachers surveyed are skeptical regarding the evolution of formal learning via computer. Their skepticism was justified by the huge costs that are imposed, the development of digital resources for teachers and students, tablets for students and teachers.

Conclusions
In the light of the findings made, it concluded that multimedia resources needed for effective implementation of students’ micro-teaching practicum in Federal College Education, Zaria. It is also concluded that, these resources are partially accessible for use by the Academic Staff in the College. However, it is the conclusion of this study substantial number of these resources are un-utilized during micro-teaching practicum.

Recommendations
In the light of the findings and conclusions made, the following recommendations are put forth:

1. That procurement of adequate multimedia resources necessary for effective implementation of micro-teaching practicum is sustained by the college management and other intervening agencies;
2. That effort should be made by both the College management, the Heads of School of Education and the Department of Curriculum and Instruction in ensuring that these resources are not only available but also accessible by the Academic Staff in the Department for effective implementation of micro-teaching practicum;
3. That all the needed infrastructures necessary for effective utilization of multimedia resources are put in place to enable hitch-free usage by the Academic Staff in the Department.

References
EFFECT OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION AGAINST EMPLOYABLE WOMEN AND WOMEN IN POLITICS

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faizataiye@gmail.com Nile University of Nigeria

Abstract

This paper is based on gender discrimination against employable women. Gender Discrimination in the workplace may occur in different ways. Although every country admits that gender inequity must be removed, it still is a big issue, especially for women. In most of the gender discrimination cases, the attitude of higher authorities was biased against victims (male, female, transgender). Discrimination is one of the most controversial phenomena to challenge the Human Resources (HR) function in the work place. It has been discussed in depth by sociologists, politicians and lawyers and remains a topical issue. Despite advances gender discrimination still persists, and continues to be experienced by women in the contemporary work space and political space. This attitude makes a hostile working environment for victims resulting in stress and lack of motivation in victims. We mentioned some of the famous incidents of gender discrimination of big organizations against their employees and fight back of those employees. We discussed current laws and possible future strategies to prevent such cases.

Keywords: Gender, Discrimination, Women, Equality, Politics

Introduction.

Globally, women remain sidelined from the structures of governance that determine political and legislative priorities. In the world’s parliaments, women hold 19 percent of the seats – up from 16 percent in 2005 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in Parliaments 2011). The proportion of women ministers is lower, averaging 16 percent. (Inter-Parliamentary Union, Beijing 3 March
The proportion of women heads of state and government is lower still and has declined in recent years, standing at less than 5 percent in 2011. (United Nations Protocol and Liaison Service 9 August 2011).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the right of every individual to take part in the government of his or her country (United Nations, 1996 Article 21). Equal access to power, decision making and leadership at all levels is a necessary condition for the proper functioning of democracy. Ensuring women’s freedom to participate in politics both as voters and as elected representatives has been central to international, regional and national efforts aimed at more inclusive and democratic governance. These freedoms and rights are not limited to politics but extend to participation and leadership in public life, the private sector and civil society in general. The Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women commits state/parties to act appropriately to ensure that women and men have equal rights in regards to voting, participation in the formulation of government policies, participation in non-governmental organization and representation of their governments at the international level (United Nations, 1976 Article 7 & 8). The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action further states that the empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of women’s social, economic and political status are essential for the achievement of transparent and accountable government that works for the benefit of both women and men. It recognizes that women’s empowerment and full participation on an equal basis with men in all spheres of life, including participation in the decision making process and access to power are fundamental to the achievement of equality, development and peace.

In Nigeria, about 51 percent of women are involved in voting during elections. Despite these, women are still under represented in both elective and appointive positions. Available statistics revealed that overall political representation in government of Nigeria is less than 7 percent (Agbalajobi, 2010).

However, About half of the population of Nigeria are women with right to vote and hold public offices in almost all states of the federation. However, women continued to be under-represented at the national, state and local government levels. At the national parliament in 2015, 94.3 percent of seats were occupied by men compared to 5.7 percent occupied by women. At the state and local government levels, women seem not to appear in the power equation. However, men dominate the judiciary at the state level. Among high-ranking govern. (NBS Nov, 2016).
Background of the study

Under international standards, both men and women should have equal rights and opportunities to everything worldwide, most especially to participate fully in all aspects and at all levels of political processes.

However, politics in Nigeria is capital intensive and not many women can cope with their male-counterparts in gaining political power. Even when a woman wants a sponsor, she will ultimately look unto men, and not many men would want to stake their money for a woman to fight for political positions. This is as a result of both skepticism and stereotype on the part of men with respect to women participation in politics. It will even take a large-hearted man to allow his spouse to fight for a position of authority or look for men to sponsor her without putting her marriage on the line, according to Badmus (2007:1).

These are some potent inhibitions and the male counterparts would only patiently wait on the wings to cash in on such loopholes with a view to getting to power usually at the expense of the womenfolk.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Pre-colonial era

Politically, in the pre-colonial era, Nigerian women were an integral part of the political set up of their communities. For instance, in pre-colonial Bornu, women played active roles in the administration of the state, complementing the roles played by male counterparts. Also, Women also played a very significant role in the political history of ancient Zaria. The modern city of Zaria was founded in the first half of the 16th century by a woman called Queen Bakwa Turuku. She had a daughter called Amina who later succeeded her as Queen. Queen Amina was a great and powerful warrior. She built a high wall around Zaria in order to protect the city from invasion and extended the boundaries of her territory beyond Bauchi and she made Zaria prominent Commercial Centre. The story was not different in ancient Yorubaland, where Oba ruled with the assistance of a number of women referred to as female traditional chiefs. They consisted of eight titled ladies of the highest rank. The significant role played by prominent women such as Moremi of Ife, Emotan of Benin and Omu Okwei of Ossomari, cannot be ignored. Moremi and Emotan were great amazons who displayed wonderful bravery and strength in the politics of Ife and Benin respectively, while Omu Okwei dominated the commercial scene of Ossomari in present day Delta.
The table below shows the statistics of women traditional rulers in the Pre-colonial days in Nigeria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/N</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Town/Village</th>
<th>LGA</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Type of Rule</th>
<th>Date</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lawo (Gbadiya)</td>
<td>Ife</td>
<td>Ife Central L.G.</td>
<td>Osun</td>
<td>Ooni of Ife</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Iyayan</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Oyo L.G.</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Alaafin</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Orompoto</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Oyo L.G.</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Alaafin</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jomijomi</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Oyo L.G.</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Alaafin</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jepojejo</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Oyo L.G.</td>
<td>Oyo</td>
<td>Alaafin</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Zauzau</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Queen</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Daura</td>
<td>Daara</td>
<td>Daara Emirate</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
</tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Kofono</td>
<td>Daara</td>
<td>Daara Emirate</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Eye-moi</td>
<td>Akure</td>
<td>Akure</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Regent-Monarch</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days 1705-1735 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ayo-Ero</td>
<td>Akure</td>
<td>Akure</td>
<td>Ondo</td>
<td>Regent-Monarch</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days 1850-51 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gufano</td>
<td>Daara</td>
<td>Daara Emirate</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Katsina</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Yakania</td>
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<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Walsam</td>
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<td>Daara Emirate</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Cadar</td>
<td>Daara</td>
<td>Daara Emirate</td>
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<td>Queen</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Daara Emirate</td>
<td>Katsina</td>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Queen Kanbasa</td>
<td>Bony</td>
<td>Bony L.G.</td>
<td>Rivers</td>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>Pre-colonial days</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kolawale, Adeigbe, Adebayo & Abubakar (2013)

**Colonial Period**

Colonialism affected Nigerian women adversely as they were denied the franchise. It was also only in the 1950s that women in Southern Nigeria were given the franchise. Three women were appointed into the House of Chiefs, namely Chief (Mrs) Olufunmilayo RansomeKuti (appointed into the Western Nigeria House of Chiefs); Chiefs (Mrs) Margaret Ekpo and Janet Mokelu (both appointed into the Eastern Nigeria House of Chiefs). The women's wings of political parties possessed very little functional relevance. (Kolawale et al, 2013).
The Post-Colonial Period.

During this period, Nigerian women began to play very active roles. In 1960, Mrs. Wuraola Esan from Western Nigeria became the first female member of the Federal Parliament. In 1961, Chief (Mrs) Margaret Ekpo contested and won the election, becoming a member of the Eastern Nigeria House of Assembly till 1966, Mrs. Janet N. Mokelu and Miss Ekpo A. Young also contested elections and won, they became members of the Eastern House of Assembly. In northern Nigeria, however, women were still denied the franchise even after independence until 1979 that is, the return of civilian government. As a result of this denial, prominent female politicians like Hajia Gambo Sawaba in the North could not vote and be voted for. Second Republic (1979-1983), saw a little more participation of women in politics. A few Nigerian women won elections into the House of Representatives at the national level and also few women won elections into the State Houses of Assembly respectively. However, During the same period, only two women were appointed Federal Ministers. They were Chief (Mrs) Janet Akinrinade and Mrs Adenike Ebun Oyagbola, Minister for Internal Affairs and Minister for National Planning respectively. Mrs. Francesca Yetunde Emmanuel was the only female Permanent Secretary (first in the Federal Ministry of Establishment and later Federal Ministry of Health). A number of women were appointed Commissioners in the states also. In 1983, Ms Franca Afegbua became the only woman to be elected into the Senate. Also, very few women contested and won elections into the Local Government Councils during this period.

Return of Military rule in December 1983

With the advent of Buhari led military rule, the first formal quota system was introduced by the Federal Government as regards the appointment of women into governance. He directed that at least one female must be appointed as a member of the Executive Council in every state. All the states complied with this directive; some states even had two or three female members. In the early 1990s, two women were appointed Deputy Governors. These were Alhaja Latifat Okunu of Lagos State and Mrs Pamela Sadauki of Kaduna State. There was, however, no female minister, as well as no female member of the defunct Supreme Military Council or the later Armed Forces Ruling Council.

Third Republic

The 1990 transition elections into local governments heralding the Third Republic saw few women emerge as councilors and only one woman emerged as Chairperson of a Local Government.
Council in the Western part of the country. During the gubernatorial elections, no female governor emerged in any of the states. Only two female Deputy Governors emerged, namely: Alhaja Sinatu Ojikutu of Lagos State and Mrs. Cecilia Ekpenyong of Cross River State. In the Senatorial election held in 1992, Mrs. Kofo Bucknor Akerele was the only woman who won a seat in the Senate. Very few women won election into the House of Representatives. One of these few was Chief (Mrs) Florence Ita Giwa who won in the Calabar Constituency. President Babangida’s Transitional Council appointed two women in January 1993, namely Mrs. Emily Aıklmhokuede and Mrs. Laraba Dagash. In the Interim National Government of Chief Ernest Shonekan, two female ministers were appointed into the cabinet. General Abacha administration also had a number of female ministers at various times in his cabinet, including Chief (Mrs) Onikepo Akande and Ambassador Judith Attah. During the military regime of General Abdulsalami Abubakar (June 9, 1998 - May 29, 1999), there were two women in the Federal Executive Council: Chief (Mrs) Onikepo Akande (Minister for Commerce) and Dr. Laraba Gambo Abdullahi (Minister of Women Affairs), (Kolawale et al, 2013).

**Some Prominent Nigerian Women that Have Blazed the Trail**

We do not have to go too far to get an example of an impeached female Deputy Governor for one flimsy reason or the other. For instance, Mrs. Kofoworola Akerele-Bucknor, the impeached Deputy Governor of Lagos State under Bola Ahmed Tinubu, Madam Virginia Etiaba, the so-called first female Governor in Nigeria, became a Governor by default and by the grace of the usual political bickering amongst her kinsmen of the Anambra extraction, the court eventually put paid to her Governorship ascendance; she was demoted back to her position of Deputy Governor. Mrs. Eucharia Azodo, also in Anambra, lost her speakership in the Anambra State House under such rancorous and unwholesome power play by her male counterparts. One can rightly or wrongly say that she was a party to the “dance of shame” which, in turn, consumed her. It appears that, more often than not, women are always there as ‘spare tyres’ to their male counterparts. The truth is that it has not been heard of any of the Governors who have women as their Deputies proceeding on a leave and making their Deputies Acting Governors. These Governors (the men) probably do not want these ‘nosy’ women (who are their Deputies) to know what is happening in their offices. We must not forget that there are no constitutional duties prescribed for Deputy Governors except as Governors may deem fit to assign to them. This is a typical political setting in Nigeria. Events have not always been and are not always like that in the developed countries like India that is reputed
to have an old history of independence where a woman held sway as the Prime Minister. Reference is made to the enigmatic Indira Ghandi that made waves in India before she gave in to the assassin’s bullets. In the Great Britain, Margaret Thatcher was the Prime Minister and she called the shots among the menfolk. Her word was the law as she never wavered in asserting her presence even among the commonwealth nations of which Nigeria is a member. She (Margaret Thatcher) was a former Minister for Education when students found it convenient to call her ‘Thatcher the milk snatcher’ as a result of her stopping some soothing benefits in the education sector she headed. In Nigeria, she is known as the ‘Iron Lady’.

We cannot lose sight of the fact that Maria Corazon Cojuangco Aquino (Mrs.) ruled in Philippines. Benazir Bhutto, the daughter of Ali Bhutto, a one-time Prime Minister of Pakistan, also became the Prime Minister of Pakistan like her father. Mrs. Hilary Clinton, a Senator and presently one of the presidential candidates for the Democratic Party in the United States of America (USA) is more popular than her husband who ruled the USA for eight years. Bill Clinton is always referred to as the husband of Senator Hilary Clinton as if one cannot know the man except by reference to his wife.

Before the mid-term election in the United States of America which saw to the ascendancy in the Democratic Party’s fortune, there had been verbal bashing in the media between President George Bush and the congress henchwoman, Nancy Pelosi; but as soon as the result tilted in favour of the Democrats (a fall-out from the unpopular Iraqi invasion), President W. George Bush quickly invited Nancy for a breakfast. Who says men do not and should not revere women in power? There is, at the helm of affairs in Germany, Angela Merkel. The wind of change in favour of women seems to be blowing to the West African sub-region by the emergence of a female president in Liberia in the person of Mrs. Ellen Sir Leaf Johnson who defeated, through a coalition of other contestants, a one-time footballer, George Weah. In the South American continent, women are not left out in the governing process of that continent. In Chile, for example, there is Veronica Michelle Bachelet Jeria as the president; there is also the 52nd president of Argentina in the name of Cristina Elizabeth Fernández de Kirchner; and, Dilma VanaRousseff, an economist and politician, has been the President of Brazil, the 36th President of the country, from 2011 until her impeachment and removal from the office on 31st August, 2016.

In spite of the giant strides and good record of history that Nigeria is trying to make, for quite some-time now, in her political landscape, it is sad that no woman is calling the shots at the presidency. As earlier stated in this paper, the one that tasted it at the state level (Anambra State)
did so by default. Dr. (Mrs.) Sarah Jibril has severally tried in different parties but has not succeeded in becoming the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This is what she, Jibril (2007) said: “… Nigeria signed as a member of the United Nations on 30% Affirmative Action for women but the party is still talking about 15%”. She was talking about the People’s Democratic Party (PDP), her party policies of allotting position to women based on 15% of existing positions at all tiers and the various consequences of the policy. She, like some women and men, strongly believes that women can make a big difference in the governance of Nigeria. To corroborate that, Ayansina (2014) remarks that:

The Special Adviser to the President on Ethics and Values, Dr. Sarah Jibril has called on state government and political parties in the country to emulate Jonathan’s administration on 35 percent affirmative action for women in public offices. Mrs. Jibril made the call during a public presentation of a book ‘President’s Diary: Nigeria’s ethical Revolution’, organized by the Initiative for Advancement of Ethical Standard, in Abuja, while expressing confidence that if women were given chance to lead, it would fast rack the country’s developmental process. She maintained that Nigeria was signatory to the United Nations affirmative action, but it was unfortunate that this was only fulfilled by the Executive at the Federal level. The SA explained that unlike other countries with more women on the floor of their parliaments, Nigeria, instead of increasing on the number of women parliamentarians, is decreasing.

Women can indeed sanitize Nigeria if given the chance; but she laments that when the chips are down, women can be held responsible for their being sidelined in the political set-up. Jibril (2007:18) asked why she was not voted for by her fellow women. Furthermore, this is what Shuaib (2011) says concerning that assertion:

Though there were allegations of manipulation of the electoral processes and the intimidation of some delegates to the convention, the insolent solitary (one) vote for Mrs. Jibril out of about 4000 delegates comprising males and females, means that Sarah Jibril was the only person that voted for the womenfolk in Nigeria; invariably she was the only person that voted for herself. To further validate that, the same author goes on to report that:

Sarah Jibril herself asked a rhetoric question that she put forward to womenfolk when she said: “What offence have I committed against the women of Nigeria?
They should tell me so that I will know? They should check my records right from when I was a commissioner right from when I was chairman governing council and all other positions I have held in the past.” She added that: “Nigerian women should tell me what I have done wrong and how I have misrepresented them that made them afraid to vote for me.”

We have arrays of Nigerian women who have proved their mettle in their different spheres in our political space and who could be entrusted to paddle the great nation to safety. Professor Dora Nkem Akunyili, for instance, made waves fighting against fake or adulterated drugs in National Agency for Food, Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC); Professor Jadesola Akande, an author and a former Vice Chancellor of Lagos State University (LASU) has shown, in no unmistakable terms, that she is able and capable of leading this country out of the woods if given the opportunity. Her track record as a former Vice Chancellor was intimidating. Professor Grace Alele Williams who was an iron cast former Vice Chancellor that never gave in to men’s manoeuvres as she piloted the affairs of the University of Benin as its Vice Chancellor at a very tumultuous period should also be mentioned; OkonjoIweala who came and worked hard to give meaning to the Nigerian economy as the Minister of Finance, though made waves, is unfortunately more valued abroad than in Nigeria, her country; Obiageli Ezekwesili is a force to be reckoned with in the political realm. She, at the helm of affairs at the due process office, made sure that there was sanity in the award of contracts. She was then referred to as “Madam Due Process”. No wonder she was later appointed by the World Bank as its Vice President. She is being honoured, not in her own country but abroad.

Are these aforementioned women not capable of piloting the affairs of our country? It is, therefore, important to ask: Why can’t they be urged and encouraged by the menfolk to go in for Presidency or Gubernatorial posts? The Aba riot of 1929, according to Adigwe (1974:182), was spear-headed by women that were protesting against the colonial policy that was to make them liable to be paying taxes. The Aba riot has its own equivalence in the ‘war’ waged in Abeokuta, led by the late Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti. In the private university sphere in Nigeria, the one-time past Vice Chancellor of the Covenant University in the person of Professor Aize Obayan who was saddled with the administration of the noble citadel of learning, a woman at the uppermost echelon calling the shots among males, is worth mentioning. It is possible that women-in-politics advocate may be confronted with the issues concerning Patricia Olubunmi Etteh’s debacle at the National
Assembly – the graft; she was eventually shown the way out. Before being taken up, we, the authors of this paper, would want to quickly say that they are aware of Professor Adenike Grange’s debacle at the Federal Ministry of Health. She was charged to court with others for sharing the unspent vote for the year 2007. While not giving excuses for her, we are sure that she must have been misled by the male workers surrounding her. She was never a civil servant; she was not a politician before being made a Minister for Health. Consequently, she crashed. People said she was a decent woman. The little hiccups from these few women above are just too inconsequential when one sees men being daily accused and charged to court for graft. The above scenario should not be an obstacle to women; rather, one should learn from their downfall so as not to fall into men’s traps.

Gender Disparities in Political Participation

Virtually all segments of human development are characterized by an absence of gender equality. Despite the fact that women form approximately one half of the Nigerian populace, their involvement in democratic structures and procedures remain insignificant as a result of gender inequalities in the political arena. Governance has always been about power. It is the power or personality to dominate a group. Males have been in control of power and leadership in the world and rooted labels about females have barred females from occupying their lawful positions as equivalent companions. Nation building requires the effective and efficient mobilization of available human (irrespective of gender) and material resources. The male gender controls government thus holding the reins of power relations and exerting sole authority over resource allocation and control. Melander (2005) contends that worldwide practice campaigns that better female governmental involvement is related to reduced degrees of intrastate and local wars and violence. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) (2002) states that “……. If all people were allowed to share the opportunities available, development will be achieved at the most rapid rate possible. Women constitute the mass of persons on the electoral rolls during voting, exhibit considerable attendance at political campaigns, and meetings as enthusiasts and performers, but they are seldom duly registered members of political parties and they hold minority party posts or political positions. in Nigeria, women’s involvement in politics are limited by quite a few dynamics including: discriminatory socio-cultural practices; economic or financial factors: the violent nature of Nigerian politics; the part of socialization in the relegation of females; lack of educational opportunities which also constitutes a major hindrance to effective
political participation by females. Badmus (2015) attests to the fact that in Nigeria’s 2015 General Elections, among the 52 million qualified enumerated voters, females made up about 32 million nonetheless only a mere 2.34% of them won elections. Women membership of political parties as shown in party registers in 2015 was 5%, party executives who were female was 7% while females who made it to party representatives were 8%. In this current and 8th National Assembly, there are only 7 females out of 109 Senators, 12 females out of the 360 House of Representative Members, 18 females out of the 990 State House of Assembly members, 143 females out of the 8810 Local government Councillors, and 11 females out of the 774 Local Government Chairmen. A similarly low drift is continual in appointive posts. Just 5 females were among the ministers and presidential advice-givers signed up in 2015; and of the 52 ambassadors merely 4 females made the list. The federal government again engaged 750 people in 137 federal boards just 68 of whom were females. Only 11.3 per cent of cabinet members are women, there is only one elected female governor, 1.1 per cent women councillors, 1.2 per cent local government chairperson, 2.8 per cent senators and 3.3 per cent representation at the House of Representatives. While some modest improvement has been recorded, the percentage of women representation is far below the anticipated 30% representation of the Affirmation Action principles and the principles contained in the national policy for women. Okpara (2004) contends that a quick investigation of the pattern of women who contest elections expose that the greatest numbers of these women, either by objects of biological or marital indices enjoy dominant political connections with influential politicians. While some level of progress has been achieved so far in improving the social, cultural and material well-being of women, not much has been achieved in the area of political leadership. Consequently, politics is still a male dominated area and very few women have ventured to play active roles in politics.

Understanding the issues: why women’s participation in governance matters.

Women’s participation in politics is of strategic importance, not only for women’s empowerment but because it has wider benefits and impacts. The literature on representation derives from Philips’s seminal work on the Politics of Presence (1995), which suggests that disadvantaged groups can obtain fair representation only if they are present in elected assemblies. Women as well as men should be represented at decision-making levels – locally, regionally and nationally – particularly in areas where crucial resources are allocated. The evidence suggests that allocation is more effective and efficient, and ultimately produces superior human development outcomes, in
countries where women are more broadly represented. It is argued that men and women allocate resources differently, and that women tend to favour a redistributive agenda, and to spend more on children’s education, social services and health (Clots-Figuera (2011); Miller (2008); Bolzendahl and Brooks (2007); Alesina and La Ferrara (2005). This is not a simple issue of causality; but much of the welfare state theory in capitalist democracies suggests an association between gender representation and social spending (Bolzendahl and Brooks, 2007). Once elected, for example, women can participate in decision-making by chairing influential committees that oversee key areas of resource allocation.

Some analysts find that intra-state conflict is less likely to occur in states that achieve gender equality in political representation (Caprioli (2005); and Spike (1998: 41-49). The reason for this is that ethnic mobilisation is more likely to develop where there are severe gender inequalities, since gender relations contribute crucially to the shaping of group identities, in ways that influence the dynamics of inter-group conflict. In other words, ethnic nationalism is essentially patriarchal and operates more effectively where gender inequality is greatest. Studies indicate that ethnic identity is particularly important for Nigerians., Stewart (2007).

Ethnographic studies emphasise the malleable nature of ethnicity in Nigeria and show how it is used to legitimate access to or exclusion from resources (Porter et al., 2010). The existence of strong social networks, trade unions and civic associations, that cut across ethnic divisions, has been associated in other contexts with conflict resolution. Porter et al. (2010) describe how market associations in Nigeria play this role. They involve women as well as men from different ethnic and religious groups in mediating and resolving disputes, and interact with ethnic organisations and state agencies in the process (Porter et al., 2010).

Women’s participation in politics and governance in Nigeria

Nigeria ratified the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) on 13 June 1985, although efforts to operationalise its thirty articles locally have faltered. The country also adopted the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action and signed up to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights and, crucially, the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa (The Maputo Protocol). However, local implementation of these has remained weak, although the
The essence of these important global and regional declarations was captured in the NGP, launched in 2007. The latter document is unequivocal in its assertion that “Nigeria is a highly patriarchal society, where men dominate all spheres of women’s lives” (Federal Ministry of Women’s Affairs and Social Development, 2006: 6). One area where this is reflected very aptly is in women’s representation. It is in fact a key area in which women’s empowerment has faltered since democratisation. The April 2011 elections saw women lose some of the ground they had begun to claw back after 1999. Although the NGP set a target of 35% as a benchmark towards gender parity in Nigeria, much work is still required. Table 28 shows the number of women elected to public office at national level. We focus on national and sub-national representation because these are the main cogs of governance and representation in Nigeria.

**Resent trend in the participation of women and men in position of Poower, Politics and Governance across the country. Four main areas are covered, which include politics and governance; the judiciary and civil service.**

The inequality between men and women is highly visible in public governance. An albatross, which often impacts negatively on women’s political, economic and social opportunities is the limited number of female participation in the structures of governance, especially, where key policy decisions are made and resource allocation decided.

1. **Representation in National Parliament.**

Women, assumed to be about half of the electorate with right to vote and hold public office, continued to be under-represented as members of the National Parliament. Even after the recognition of the importance of women’s political empowerment within the framework of the MDGs, with one of the indicators for monitoring Goal 3, that is, to promote gender equality and empower women currently measured as the proportion of seats held by women in the lower- and upper-houses of the National Assembly.

In 2015, being the last election year in Nigeria, out of the 469 honourable members of both Houses, 92.5 percent are men and only 7.5 percent are women. Further, of all the men in both houses of the parliament, 23.0 percent are in the Senate and 77.0 percent in the House of Representative (see Table 10 and Figure 20).
2. **Representation at State Houses of Assembly**

Table 11 and Figure 21 vividly illustrate the representation of women and men in states’ houses of assemblies. Like in the National Parliament, the number of men in the State Houses of Assembly, far outweighs that of women. There is, no doubt, that men still and will continue to dominate politics in Nigeria.

3.. **Representation at the Local Government**

Table 12 and Figure 22, shows representation at the local government level. Of a total of 6,681 representatives, made up of 768 Chairpersons and 5,913 Counsellors; male chairpersons and counsellors again far out-numbered their female counterparts especially in 2015. The results further
illustrate the gender inequality in representation even at this lowest level of governance. Again, of all the Local Government Chairpersons, men are 95.6 percent and women 4.4 percent; and of all the Counsellors, men are 90.2 percent and women 9.8 percent in the reference period

4. Representation in the Judiciary

i. Judges and Lawyers

Representation in the Judiciary at both federal and state levels is predominantly male in all the 36 states and FCT, Abuja. Male judges and lawyers out-numbered female (Table 13). The number of both women judges and lawyers increased from 25.7 percent and 34.3 percent respectively in 2010 to 26.2 percent and 37.4 percent respectively in 2015. Figure 23 gives a clearer picture of the representation of men and women in the Judiciary.
Figure 23: Percentage of Judges and Lawyers by Year and Sex

Table 13: Judges and Lawyers in Nigeria by Year and Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>%F</td>
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<td>618</td>
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<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: State’s Ministry of Justice/State Judicial Service
5. Representation in Civil Service

In the Civil Service, women’s representation in decision-making position is among the concerns raised in Beijing Platform for Action. However, the limited information to assess levels and trends, poses challenges to addressing gender disparities in these areas of global concerns.

**Senior Administrators**

Women are under represented among high-ranking government administrators with decision making powers as shown in Table 14.

![Table 14: High-Ranking Government Administrators](image)
The highest representation of women among high-ranking government administrators with decision making powers was 17.1 percent in 2011 for the position of Directors-General. Women,
who served as Commissioners, Special Advisers, Board Chairpersons, and in few cases elected as Deputy Governors constitute the most improved representations in a male dominated landscape between 2010 and 2015. Figure 24 gives a better picture of women and men representation in various administrative positions.

Factors inhibiting women participation in politics in Nigeria.

1. Economic factor.
2. Discriminatory Culture and Norms.
3. Political factors and rule of Law.
4. Educational factor.

1. Economic factor:
Economic Factors: lack of economic incentives is one of the factors preventing women from participating to active politics in Nigeria. Historically, women experiences discrimination that put them at a disadvantage economically. Agbalajobi (2009) emphasis that lack of finance brings hindrance to effective female participation in Nigerian Politics. Similarly, large portion of the Nigerian female population is not as financially strong as their male counterparts. Political campaigns are expensive and require solid financial backing for success. Only a few affluent women have the financial economic power to enroll in political campaigns. Consequently, political financiers or sponsors of politicians prefer male candidate to female one, Anifowose (2004). Life for women is on the average not only hard and poorly compensated, it is dangerous due to sexual division of labour and job opportunities offered on sex basis has given men productive gender roles enabling them to possess more purchasing power over their female counterparts. Discrimination plays out in the preferential treatment within the job economy. Presently, economic system, which is based on acute competition everywhere in the world, is always a very expensive project, while men are willing to take risks, including taking loans or selling their properties to finance their electoral campaign. Women are verse to taking risks, or lack tangible properties to take off. Women political aspirations have been grossly incapacitated by lack of financial bedrock to subsist their endeavors.

2. Discriminatory Culture and Norms:
Agbalajobi 2010 postulates that the cultures of many societies are based by subjugating women to men, and undermining their self-esteem. Women are typically associated with domesticity according to Abiola in Lanre (2003), Gender inequality remain pervasive in many dimensions of life, the nature and extent of the discrimination very considerably across countries and regions. In Nigeria, the female are discriminate, even in the families. Consistently, men were trained not to partake in most domestic chores such as cooking, sweeping, fetching water and firewood, which are exclusively left for women. In favor of this, Ihimodu (1995) agree that women were relegated
to the domestic sphere that were not renovated or valued. In line with these, Ogwu (1992) observed
the implementation of gender differences are created and sustained by society through its
traditional customs, conventions, norms and regulations. Obikeze (2006) posits that family
responsibilities and child bearing to women makes women not to feature in public matters as they
are likely to be away on maternity leave and other household matters and that are likely to take
them away from the scene of politics. Anya (2003) believes that the basis of societal norms regulate
women to the background when he explains that the greatest dangers to the practice is the
internationalization of these belief system which make women see politics as something out of
their spheres. As Anya (2003) wrote that the society sees women who go to politics as rebels and
prostitutes, this attitude differs women from participating in politics. Actually, the tradition or
cultural beliefs in Nigeria as a typical patriarchal society see women as property of her husband
who has moral right to decide the actions which the woman will take, whether she will come out
to join the active politics is a matter which the man will decide since the tradition has ascribed the
headship of the family to the man. In the concept of inequality and subordination of women to
men, there is no relationship, and women are like slaves working to enrich their husbands and
masters, who the tradition has ascribed the pillar of the family and the key to continuation and
retention of the family name. Ogunabayo (2011) added that Marriage institutions are still in the
hands of the males, many sons after the death of their fathers try to push away their matters from
the property and a also a woman have no custody of the children from her marriage in the events
of divorce, making the women in question an object of caricature and of unimportance to the
society.

Vividly, in the cultural and marriage institution choice of life partner, young girls are denied the
right to choose their husbands, or even forced into early marriage, into the life of a man whether
love is there or not. More so, in marriage institution, some practice polygamy while some cases
resulted to progeny syndrome; families without a male child are deprived some rights and
privilege. In some society, this enhances involvement in polygamous families and the concept of
inequality and subordination of women to men. Furthermore, women are being restricted from
access to sources of power both economically, politically, socially and otherwise. Conversely, the
women in Igbo land are forbidden from being where men are discussing issues concerning landed
property. Moreover, in Nigerian society, the role of men and women are socially constructed in
such a way that the women occupy an inferior position in the scheme of things. There are many
obstacles and prejudices that prevents women from participating in the social activities or even 
owing properties, the society regards women as things to be possessed, as objects of rights rather 
than regards them fit. Take for instance, women are not allowed to bail somebody out of the police 
cell or to stand as a surety for somebody. Decades ago in Igbo land, women are equally forbidden 
from going to the section of the market were they are selling meat since they are culturally 
forbidden to eat meat and egg which men thought will motivate women to steal. Therefore, cultural 
norms are unfavorable to the women folk. So, women need to embark on education as the only 
inspiration to redress their flight.

3. Political factors and rule of Law:
According to Anifowose (2004), the perception that democracy would automatically boast gender 
equality in political participation has not been vindicated after years of return to civilian rule in 
Nigeria. Specifically Kira (2003) infers that women are unjustifiably discriminated against 
irrespective of the fact that world over today; democracy has become a vital tool for attaining 
sustainable development. The impact of democracy remains elusive for women. Political 
participation, which is a sine-quanon of democracy allows for diversity of opinion and 
participation of both men and women into political gathering. The constitution of Federal Republic 
of Nigeria states that human beings are equal and women possess the same rights as men to 
participate in governance and public life. In Nigeria, women are to inherit their late husband’s 
property. Often, these rights are being violated due to one reason or the other. In the same bid, 
Ogwu (1996) states that statutory and Islamic law provides for women’s capacity to inherit assets 
following the husband’s death. In practices, this is often overridden by local customary laws on 
succession. Uche (2008) opines that women are the chattels of men who are the head of the family 
saddled with the responsibilities to provide for the cross-check. Therefore, there is a mutup. 
Hitherto, the statutory laws in some African countries do not give recognition to women as equal 
to men. Until 1988, a married Nigerian woman was given discriminating leave and housing 
allowance which her husband obtained rebate in taxation on her behalf and her four children. 
Earlier in 1948, when declaration of human rights was being worked out, an earlier draft which 
stated “All men are equal” was changed to “All human beings are equal” female members of the 
drafting committee insisted on the change of the language. The United Nations chapter also 
pledges equal opportunity for men and women.
The 1995 Beijing declaration demanded for 30 percent women representation in government. Thus, in 2000, the United Nations also proclaimed eight points Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), one of the objectives targeted for the year 2015 is the goal of women empowerment and gender equality. Similarly, some African countries have made progress in giving better access to women in political representation. Uganda, Cameroon and Mozambique have achieved measurable result. According to the United Nations human development index, women in Mozambique and Cameroon have 16 and 14 percent quota respectively, reserved for them in Parliament. Currently, Gabon has actively promoted gender parity to the level that the countries now boast of women generals in its army. Presently, Uganda’s vice president is a woman. However, in recent times, successive Nigerian government, in reaction to the various international conventions and covenants on women have undertaken legislative and administrative reforms that would give women full access to economic and productive resources. The constitution of Nigeria takes cognizance of the disadvantaged position of women and has no provision for gender equality. There is nothing in the constitution redressing the disparities existing along gender lines. In other words, the Federal character principle which is meant to ensure equitable representation of states and ethnic groups in National appointments, actually places women at additional disadvantage by implying that they can only represent their states of origin. In the same vein, the political parties have so far not demonstrated any inclination to introduce mechanisms for equal representation within the party executives as required by the creation of post of the women leader, most political parties in Nigeria fail to adopt any system to increase the number of women holding party offices. The injustice behind some oblique references to the women’s lifestyle, which shows that Nigeria electorate are still largely based against women, clearly float section 191 of the Beijing declaration and platform of action which require political parties to remove all barriers that clearly discriminate against women participation in politics.

4. Educational Factors:
Another constraint that hampers women from equal access to politics or encounter restricting their quest to participate in active politics. Afolabi (2003) specifiable sates that most women in Nigeria are illiterate despite the facts that they constitute half of the country’s population. Regardless, of the vital key roles they perform in the society; mother, producer, home manager, community organizer, social-cultural and political activities. Anifowose (2004) postulates that most families
prefer to send their male child to school, irrespective of the fact that female children are more important to attend school. In the words of Jonathan (2011) “Train a boy, you have trained a nation” in the same vein, Alita (2011) emphasis that parents prefers to send their son to school instead of their daughters whom they feel will after, get married and thus get incorporated into another family. Therefore, the girls’ education is not pertinent as they are expected to marry, bear children and stay at home to nurture their children and the young girls are to nurture their siblings and to be married off at tender age. To Makinnen (1989) it is not. Gaub (2004) analyses the report of the United Nations that women constitute 70% of the world’s illiterate.

Gender gaps are spread in access to educational opportunities. Achieving literacy education is the most crucial step to enabling literate women to take control over their lives to participate as equals in society. Education gives women a sense of belonging in the society, as it will encourage them to make a positive impact in their chosen carrier. Though the discrimination that makes women less likely to have access to paid employment has a negative impact, economic disparity favors men to the disadvantage of women. Green (2006) noted that when a woman is professionally empowered, she will make use of her endowment in a way that her entire family will benefit from it. Surprisingly, the women constitute the majority of illiterate population; larger percentage of the girls remains uneducated and unexposed. Makinnen (1989) affirms that this marginally increases illiteracy in women and stiffen their competition with their male counterparts in politics. Invariably, lack of education makes women ineligible for either elective or appointment position. Professionally empowered, she will make use of her endowment in a positive way.

**EFFORT MADE TOWARDS FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS IN NIGERIA.**

Several efforts have been made to address the low representation of women in elective and appointive positions in Nigeria; among such efforts are the establishment of Women Political empowerment office and Nigeria Women Trust Funds, Women Lobby Group. Other efforts include the institution of an INEC gender policy, the national multi stakeholder dialogue; the initiation of several interventions to actualize affirmative action and the convening of the Nigeria Women Strategy Conference. National Center for Women Development in collaboration with National Bureau of Statistics are making efforts to have evidenced based data about this issue. Presently the available data are not harmonized. The data collation covers the period 1999 –2015.
One of the objectives of the data collection is to provide a baseline for the implementation of the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The data collation exercise is ongoing. Hopes are high that the result will show the progress steadily made to achieving the affirmative declaration and determine how the gap that erstwhile existed has been closed as well as measure the variation between where we are and the affirmative action of 35 percent. Also, it will improve evidence-based planning and programming involving women in decision making; increase the support of key stakeholders on measures to increase representation of women in decision-making and further improved awareness of new advocacy tools among stakeholders to support the campaign for increased representation of women in decision making in Nigeria. It will also erase the un-harmonized data at present. (Daniel and Faith, 2013).

Recommendation:

- Equal access to power, decision making and leadership at all levels is a necessary condition for the proper functioning of democracy in Nigeria.

- women’s freedom to participate in politics both as voters and as elected representatives at Local, State and Federal should be encouraged.

- The commitments expressed by participating Governments In the 1995 Beijing Declaration adopted at the fourth World Conference on Women, “to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women everywhere in the interest of humanity” should be religiously adhered to.

- Nigerians at all levels should learn on how to enhance or upgrade the developmental and advancement opportunities for women and take responsibility for removing barriers.

- Develop a program to help citizens acknowledge the capabilities and the benefits that women can bring to the country.

- Provide various training that emphasize on equality, values and their importance and the consequences of gender discrimination against women in politics.

- Evaluation of candidates must not be rated based on gender, but it must be evaluated by their performance with political parties.

- civil society organisations in Nigeria should lead and promote gender training and orientation for political parties.

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THE THREE DIMENSIONS OF THE SYRIAN CONFLICT, NATURE AND DYNAMICS

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Abstract

A bloody conflict has been raging in Syria over the past seven years, putting the regime of Bashar al-Assad and his international supporters against the different actors that make up the domestic and international anti-regime opposition. This paper assessed the conflict in Syria focusing on the events and the political drivers behind the dynamics of the struggle. The dynamics of the conflict is three dimensional in nature. Firstly, it is between the regime of Bashar Al-Assad and the Rebels which represent the internal dimension, Secondly, the regional dimension is accentuated by the struggle for hegemonic status within the region between Saudi Arabia and Iran, and lastly, the global dimension is represented by the balance of power struggle between United State of America and Russia. This paper adopted Realist Theory of International Relation to analyze the conflict which argues that the international arena is anarchic and implies that there is no central authority to regulate the international affairs, and therefore, state embark on continuous enhancement of its powers to guarantee their existence and dominance in the International arena. Relevant information and data were elicited through secondary sources such as journals, articles, magazines and newspapers etc. The paper found out that the conflict has highlighted the increasingly antagonistic relations between the regime of president Bashar Al-Assad and the rebels, the Sunni-Shiite sectarian crisis which has become entangled in a broader proxy war between the main regional powers; Saudi Arabia and Iran, and lastly between America that backs the rebel and Russia that is motivated by the foreign policy doctrine of multi-polarity and the wish to maintain influence and reputation in the region. Millions of lives and properties have been destroyed since the conflict started. This paper concludes that these international actors are willing to fight until the last drop
of Syrian blood, these actors have also decided that the victory of any side on the proxy battlefield will improve their regional and global power and weaken their opponents. This paper recommends that in order for the crisis to end and Syria to witness lasting peace, Syrian citizens must understand the interest of the international actors involved in their affairs. Al-Asaad, should step aside and hand over power to a democratically elected government under the purview of the United Nation.

**Keywords:** Conflict, Power Struggle, Hegemony, International Actors, Rebels, Sunni-Shiite

**INTRODUCTION**

The civil war that started in Syria as a peaceful protest in 2011 quickly turned into web of civil war that attracted local and international players. The civil war does not attract attention from European countries until when the influx of refugee into Europe reached an unprecedented level. The internal displacement in Syria represent the largest displacement in the world. Nearly seven years of civil war, more than 500,000 people, out of a Syrian population of approximately 22 million, have died in the civil war, 6.5 million Syrians have fled the country and 6.3 million people are displaced internally as of December 2017. By the end of 2017, more than half of the populations are living as refugees, such a situation conducive to future terrorism.

Government forces and its foreign allies against several anti-government forces, some of whom also are fighting amongst themselves. Government forces are fighting on multiple fronts and recently regained control over large areas of the country recently through concerted effort of international actors. The Assad’s government continues to receive support from Russia and Iran. There is no indication of the regime to collapse or an intention to leave power.

The rebel force has grown to more than 100,000, this reflect the divisions of the broader Muslim world fragmented and at war with itself. Anti-Assad forces are formidable but lack unity of purpose, of command, and unified international support. Various opposition groups have, depending on the circumstances, cooperated and competed. At present, significant elements of the opposition are engaged in outright civil war against one another. Much of the armed opposition seeks to replace the Assad’s government with a state ruled according to some form of Sunni Islamic law, which non-Sunni minority groups oppose. Kurdish groups control some areas of northeastern Syria and may seek autonomy or independence in the future.
Recently, the Syrian government with support of the United State, Russia, Turkey and Iran achieved a big success by regaining some important large part of the country that were previously held under the control of the opposition forces.

Theoretical Framework

Realist theory was adopted to assess the dimension of the Syrian civil war. According to the Realist, the international system is defined by anarchy, the absence of a central authority (Waltz). Realist sees States as sovereign and autonomous of each other. They are bound only by forcible coercion or their own consent. The leading realist in the field of international relation includes Hans. J. Morgenthau, Edward Carr. Earliest realists are Thucydides, Thomas Hobbes, and Niccolò Machiavelli

In such an anarchic system, State power is the key. Indeed, the only variable of interest, because only through power can States defend herself and hope to survive. Realist understands power in
a variety of ways e.g. militarily, economically, diplomatically but ultimately emphasizes the distribution of coercive material capacity as the determinant of international politics.

Realist argued that the vision of the world rests on four assumptions. First, survival is the principal goal of every State. Foreign invasion and occupation are thus the most pressing threats that any State faces. Secondly, States is seen as a rational actors. States will act as best they can in order to maximize their likelihood of continuing to exist. Thirdly, possession of some military strength by states, and no State have no knowledge what its neighbor is planning. In other word, uncertain and cruelty rule the world. Lastly, the States with greatest military wins.

Thus States may create international law and international institutions, and may enforce the rules they codify. But, the rules and institution does not determine the behaviour of the state, rather, it is the political and economic strength that determines it. International law is thus a symptom of State behaviour, not a cause.

**Application of the Theory**

This theory seems to give better explanation to the three dimensions of the civil war in Syrian. The refusal of Assad to step down from office and maintain state power at all cost is the first dimension. Despite interventions and series of dialogue from international bodies such as United Nations and other countries, the government continue to hold on power. The fight for recognition and strengthening of influence between the regional actors (Saudi Arabia vs. Iran) is the second dimension and also the power tussle between Russia who tries to weaken U.S hegemony in the world by reestablishing itself as a global actor and balance the power configuration in the international political arena against the United State who has been long enemy of Iran that supports the rebels against the Assad’s regime. All the external actors in this civil war are more interested in the establishing their ideology beyond their home through the instrument of economic power but more importantly military power using the internal actors to further their aim. These regional actors are fighting to protect their interest at all cost to the detriment of the other.

**CAUSES OF SYRIAN CIVIL WAR**

The genesis of Syrian are complex, it is combination of several factors and cannot be understood by looking solely at pre-existing sectarian identities and the Sunni-Shiite dimension. These are other explanations for the explosion in Syria

1. Long grown of frustration over dictatorship of Assad family’s in Syria since the 1970s
2. Seventy-four percent of Syrian practiced Sunni version of Islam. Assad family is from minority sect i.e. Alawite
3. High unemployment, limited opportunities for upward mobility, few political freedoms within country
4. Contagious effect of protest from Tunisia to Egypt, and other neighboring states.
5. Initial government crackdown against protesters backfired.

The Three dimension of Syrian civil war
There are three dimensions to the civil war in Syria. Each dimension is determined by the level of players involved and their interest in the civil war.
1. Internal dimension i.e. Asaad’s regime vs. Opposition forces.
2. Regional dimension and Geopolitics in the Middle East. This dimension mirrored the hegemony civil war between conservative or status quo monarch led by Saudi Arabia against the axis of resistance led by Iran.
3. International dimension i.e. USA vs. Russia. This dimension try to challenge USA hegemonic status in the world and desire to achieve multi polarity in the world i.e balance of power aspiration in the world

The internal dimension or local players
The root of Syrian civil war could be traced to growing sense of frustration that the citizen has for the regime. The frustration resulted from unequal development, corruption, and center-periphery inequality, couple with the contagious effect Arab Awakening that started in Tunisia and the initial cycle of protest in Syria. Though, sectarian dynamic also contributed to the fight, but it is an additional factor that heighten the internal tensions spurred by this combination of structural, political, and economic factors. Sectarian and ethnic boundaries often overlapped with the geographic map of poverty and exclusion. Assad allowed individual and community access to power and privileges has become correlated with sectarian identities.

Historically, the Assad regime and his father relied on a combination of repression and co-optation to ensure its permanence in power, maintaining a strong grip on all institutions of government and on Syria’s coercive apparatus. Assad regime awarded the minorities like the Druze, Ismailis, and mostly, the Alawite that accounts for ten percent of the Syrian population with disproportionate access to power and privileges in
Bashar’s government used economic liberalization to preserve his base, he expanded the Sunni urban upper middle class, Sunni and Christian business elites in capital, Aleppo. Also, new generation of officers loyal to Bashar and committed to his political and economic plan were appointed and promoted. His marriage to British-Syrian Asma al-Akhras, the daughter of a well-to-do Sunni family originally from Homs, further symbolizes this alliance between the Alawite military and political elite and the Sunni business elite.

The uprising started in peaceful and slow manner, but quickly, the confrontation shifted from peaceful to violent, spread like wildfire to other part of the country, and swiftly, from political to sectarian and proxy war. These political forces mobilized pre-existing sectarian fault line civil war to fight the war.

The violent escalation also allowed the regime to preserve its bases of support. The strategy of fear called for fanning the flames of sectarianism to rally the country’s main minorities, with the notable exception of the Kurds. The local players sees the battle as an existential battle to any side that win the battle. Assad regime’s employed number of strategy to melt violent crackdown on the protests, a campaign accusing the opposition of takfiri extremism and terrorism. He emphasized the Sunni nature of the opposition forces as a “terrorists.” group in a September 2013 interview while responding to question from French newspaper, Le Figaro, he emphasized “We are fighting terrorists…80-90% belong to al-Qaeda. They are not interested in reform or in politics. The only way to deal with them is to annihilate them.”
Regional Players (Saudi Arabia Vs Iran)

The civil war in Syria today is an extension of regional cold war between “conservative monarch” led Saudi Arabia against the “axis of resistance” led by Iran. Riyadh sees support for the anti-Assad opposition and regime change in Syria as crucial tools for weaken Iranian influence in the region by depriving Tehran of its main Arab ally and cutting off Iranian supply lines to Hezbollah in Lebanon. Saudi also fear an unstoppable shift in favor of Iran and its regional allies, particularly Syria and Hezbollah. The combination of growing instability in the region and Iran’s nuclear ambition pushes Saudi Arabia toward a more assertive policy that uses sectarianism to galvanize Sunni Arabs against the Iran-led Asaad shite. David Gardner statement stressed in the Financial Times, “The great game against Iran…is at the heart of the Sunni-Shia civil war.”
Furthermore, Saudi Arabia opposed the Assad regime to weaken Iran influence in the region, diplomatically, Riyadh worked to undermine the pan-Arab and pro-Iranian positions. Riyadh sees the defeat of the Assad regime as a central pillar of its strategy to cut back Iranian influence and power in the region by breaking the territorial contiguity of a “Shi’a kingdom” loyal to Iran stretching through Iraq and Syria.

Iran is the Syrian regime’s most vested international ally, providing military role on the ground, substantial financial and military aid. Iran assisted Asaad’s regime with billions of dollars in credit. The elite Iranian Revolutionary Guard-Quds Force militia fight alongside the Syrian Armed Forces in combat, train Syrian pro-regime supporters. Iranian involvement in strategic decision-making at the middle and upper levels of Syria’s own armed forces increased. Iran obstructed international efforts to curb the actions of the Assad regime diplomatically.

Aside sectarian nature of Iranian-Syrian relations, geopolitical interests of Iran is another important reason for supporting Asaad’s, Iran aim to project her regional influence and undermine US and Gulf Arab influence in the Middle East. Syria recognize the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979, Syria is the only country that supported for Iran-Iraq’s invasion in 1980 (conversely, several influential Iranian clerics helped legitimate the Alawite ruling elite put in place by the Ba’thist coup of Hafez al-Assad, by issuing fatwas declaring the Alawites to be Muslims). This created a strong strategic relationship among the two countries.

Moreover, Syria serves as channel for transporting funds, weapons, and technical assistance to Iranian backed non-state actors (Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad) in Lebanon and the occupied Palestinian Territories. The two states, along with Iran’s non-state proxies and — more recently — Iraqi allies, have formed what its proponents refer to as the “axis of resistance” against the influence in the Middle East of both the US and its regional allies, particularly Israel and Saudi Arabia. In a statement made in 2012, In a statement by head of Iran’s Supreme National Security Council, Sa’id Jalili, he reiterated that Iran does not sees the Syria civil war as an internal civil war, rather as a civil war between the axis of resistance and its enemies in the region and the world. Iran will not tolerate, in any form, the breaking of the axis of resistance, of which Syria is an intrinsic part’’(Stephen).

Also, the geo-economics consideration of Syria to Iran is another factor, particularly given its maritime access to the Mediterranean Sea and, thereby, Europe. Syria’s access to the Mediterranean Sea is a geo-economics and geopolitical interest for Iran and all the countries that
are directly involved in the war. Iran and Syria’s economic relations increased tremendously since outbreak of the civil war in 2011. Iranian companies increased exports to Syria (Salam, 2015). Tehran announced plans to establish a direct shipping line between Iran and Syria in April 2015 (Press TV 2015). In 2011 $10 billion “Friendship Pipeline” agreement were signed by Iran, Iraq, and Syria, it aimed at transporting Iranian gas to Iraq, Syria, and possibly Lebanon and Europe upon the expected lifting of Iranian sanctions. This is a Preliminary agreement and 2013 framework (Wall Street Journal 2011).

Turkey

Turkey is the country mostly affected by the Syrian. Turkey shares border with Syria’s north for over 800 km, Turkey intervened directly through support for the Syrian opposition. Turkey’s leadership had since 2004 established improved relations with Syria. Initially, when the uprising started in 2011, Erdogan persuade Al-Assad to honour the demands of the protester and allow a transition of power. Al-Asaad failure to step down prompted turkey to participate directly and aimed at removing Asaad from power.

Furthermore, Turkey desire to be recognized and perform the hegemonic role in the Middle East through projecting itself as a more accommodating neighbour is an important consideration - politically and economically is another consideration for its direct participation in the war. Turkey has always presented itself as a successful and moderate alternative to Iranian and Saudi regional hegemony in the region. Since the ascension of King Salman to the Saudi throne in January 2015, competition over Sunni leadership significantly marked the Ankara relations with Riyadh since the beginning of Arab uprising, the two powers have cooperated, albeit inconsistently, in bolstering the opposition to the Assad regime. This has been most visible through direct support for the opposition camp and fighting to eliminate the presence of IS from middle-east

Economic and energy considerations also constrained Turkey’s willingness to take unilateral action even though it has disagreement with Russia, Iran, and China. While the United States and Saudi Arabia have worked towards limiting Russia and Iran’s regional influence and have been prepared to confront them through proxies, Russia, China, and Iran remain three of Turkey’s main trading partners, which has likely influenced the Turkish balancing act on Syria (European Commission's).

Another consideration important to the calculus of Turkey is the multiple, also contradictory threats emanating from Syria. The civil war in Syria has brought about significant challenges to
turkey. Political stability within Turkey is critical consideration in Syria civil war calculus because violence drove large numbers of Syrian refugees into Turkey, which threatened to bring instability. Potential for state collapse may lead to the establishment of an autonomous Kurdish entity in northern Syria. As Syria’s Kurdish regions have come under the rule of PYD, an off-shoot of the separatist PKK (a Turkey-based Maoist Kurdish nationalist group), Turkish interventions have been motivated to limit the spillover effect of it into southern Turkey of Kurdish momentum towards autonomous self-rule.

Above all, soft and porous border policies of turkey facilitate easy movement of IS from Syria to Turkey. Possible IS expansion into Turkey threatened Turkey’s territory and its interests in Syria (and Iraq). The leniency of turkey towards IS’s since its split from An-Nusra Front in 2013 offers further explanation towards the group’s hostility to the Kurds.

Turkey allowed foreign powerful countries to use its air bases on its territory to conduct air strikes against IS because of the incessant attack of IS in southern Turkey, like the October 10, 2015 suicide bombing in Ankara that killed over 100 peace activists, increased frequency of IS attack against the Turkish government through targeted Turkish-language propaganda, pushed Turkey into a more categorical stance against IS.

**Hezbollah**

Iran has been supporting Hezbollah through funds, weapons, training, and fighters. The success of Iran’s investment in Hezbollah and the group in Lebanon strengthened their relationship. Shared ideology with between and Hezbollah revolutionary leaders prompted them to overtly intervened in Syria, sometimes at the expense of its local interests in Lebanon.

It does not want regime change in Syria because it may represent threat to their organization. Regime change in Syria will not guarantee channel for Iran to provide strategic depth for Hezbollah as it has under Assad. The control of some airborne and maritime transportation hubs in Lebanon notwithstanding are under the control of Hezbollah, but regime change Syria may likely create challenges for Hezbollah’s capacity to remain a powerful non-state military presence in Lebanon.

Also, the strategic location of Syria, is another consideration for Hezbollah, regime change would be a threat to Hezbollah to be surrounded in Lebanon by two hostile opponents (Israel and a non-Assad Syria). Iran and Hezbollah have invested heavily in strengthen their presence inside Syria and setting up Syrian militias capable of maintaining the influence of the “axis of resistance” in a
post-Assad world. Hezbollah Secretary-General Hassan Nasrallah, noted that they are fighting in all major cities in Syria like Damascus, Aleppo etc. and all the places in Syria that is necessary. Also, Hezbollah sees Sunni extremist groups like IS and ANF as a threat to Shi’a crescent in Lebanon. However, Hezbollah’s consideration goes beyond the presence of extremist elements but either propping up the Assad regime or ensuring its continued strategic relevance in a post-Assad environment.

**Gulf Cooperation Council internal politics**

A brief digress into the middle east politics vividly illustrated the geopolitics of the Middle East. It showed that bi-polar Sunni-Shiite prism is not adequately enough to explaining the current event in Syria civil war. The role played by the six Arab countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in Syria’s seven years’ war is influential, but not decisive. Arab countries were strongly hostile to the regime in Syria, Al-Assad and its Iranian allies. Syria was removed from GCC soon after the civil war erupted because of Asaad refusal to yield to the advice of GCC leaders to relinquish power. The Gulf States, particularly Qatar and Saudi Arabia sought to build a credible, alternative opposition coalition that will cutoff Asaad’s family from access to power. This motive by these countries fragmented the middle-east into three political camps. The fragmentation does not reflect sectarian dimension, rather, it involve the geostrategic dynamics of the middle-east and contribute to the re-drawing of alliances as well as the regional balance of power. Three main camps have emerged in the region involved in the Syrian civil war. The line of distinction between these camps are determined more by geopolitical interests.

The first camp is popular referred to as the “axis of resistance,” comprises some political force - Iran, Syria, and movement - Hezbolah. After losing the support of Sunni Hamas over few year ago, this Shiite axis has increasing sectarian overtones. Though, Syria Alawites are not Shiite in a religious sense, and only became politically recognized as Shiite in the context of the Lebanese and the rise of the Iran of Ayatollah Khomeini in the 1980s. The Syrian civil war has also galvanized a Sunni awakening that began in Tunis in late 2010.

The second camp is called the “pro-Muslim Brotherhood revolutionary”. This camp was energized in the early months of the Arab Awakening, this alliance initially included Morsi’s Egypt, Erdogan’s Turkey, Qatar under former Emir Hamad bin Khalifa, and Hamas in Gaza. At the moment, however, this camp is very much in flux (witnessing transition of power) and, thus
affect their foreign policy. There current state does not made them most of this country to be actively involved in the Syria civil war.

Lastly, the “anti-Muslim Brotherhood status quo” camp alliance, also referred to as “no Muslim Brotherhood in my backyard”. This camp focus on preserving the status quo at home while supporting regime change to remove the Muslim Brotherhood from power elsewhere, such as in Egypt. This camp comprises monarchies led by Saudi Arabia, along with the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and in a different capacity, Jordan, Palestinian Authority.

Both the revolutionary and the status quo Sunni camps are interested in removing Assad from power, they fund and support different segments of the opposition, this made the opposition not to be strong and viable because there is disunity among their rank. Riyadh supports both the National Coalition and the Free Syrian Army, and also their rival Salafist factions. This revealed that the Saudi strategic interest is in removing Assad from power by supporting any and all fighters other than al-Qaeda-affiliated groups and the Muslim Brotherhood, Saudi sees the war as an existential battle where its victory mean that Asaad will go down the HISTORY. The fragmentation within the opposition aggravated the rise of fourth camp representing transnational pro Al-Qaeda jihadist fighters inside Syria. These groups contribute to the fault lines within the rebel ranks, further dividing the opposition.

Syria today is complex, increasingly fragmented regional proxy war and essentially existential, where the main blocs have decided that their victory on the proxy battlefield will improve their regional power and weaken their opponents. These regional kingmakers are willing to fight “until the last drop of Syrian blood,” while also putting their own non-Syrian allies (like Hezbollah) on the line to achieve this result.

**Balance of Power: The International Players (U.S.A vs Russia).**

**U.S Hegemony**

Ideological consideration is the main reason while USA is involved in Syrian civil war. With the exception of North Korea and Cuba, Washington sees Syria as the last totalitarian regime in the world. The outcome in Syria is seen as a major geopolitical prize for the United States, as the collapse of the Assad regime will automatically limit Iran influence in the region and undermine Russian efforts to maintain a foothold on the Mediterranean.

Also, in the US calculus and consideration, the regime change in Syria would terminate as site for exchanging illicit weapon between North Korea, Hezbollah and Iran (Bolton 2012). Change
of regime in Syria will alter the geopolitical landscape in the middle east in favour of USA and its allies.

The United States proceeded very cautiously in supporting the rebels. This caution reflects concerns about advanced weapons might fall into wrong hands - jihadists who would use them in terrorist attacks directed against the West. Even, there is growing concern that fund provided by United State might fall into the wrong hand - jihad terrorist group like IS, thus, Fear of terrorism became a major factor in all war planning for Washington. Washington authorized non-lethal and humanitarian assistance early on, but only slowly and cloaked in secrecy has it moved to provide weapons.

The United State provides “military support” to moderate elements among Syria’s opposition forces. They trained selected vetted element of Syrian. The major tactics adopted by US in providing assistance to Syrian opposition is through the train, advice, and equip programme. U.S. and coalition forces in Syria have trained more than 12,500 members of vetted Syrian opposition groups, among them more than 11,000 members of the SDF. Since the war began, about 2,000 U.S. military personnel were deployed in Syria in support of counter-Islamic State operations, costing whooping sum of $18.5 billion to fight IS in Iraq and Syria.

**Russia Strategic Consideration**

The major consideration of Russia’s strategic interests can be distinguished in explaining Russia’s support for the Syrian regime. Firstly, re-establishing itself as a global actor, balancing of U.S. world hegemony, primarily in the form of resistance to attempts to utilize or bypass the Security Council, where Russia exercises power beyond its means. Furthermore, Russia aversion for the model of regime change preached by USA, Second, Russia expansion and preserving its influence in the Middle East. What is potentially at stake in Syria and, relatedly, Iran, is the elimination of Russia’s last remaining footholds in this geopolitically vital region. Moreover, Russia security reason is another factor because instability and sectarian politics in the Middle East could also spread closer to Russia.

Russia took strong position in support of the Assad regime since the beginning of the Syrian revolution. Their relationship could be traced back to the era of Soviet Union. Russian affiliation for Assad is driven by its desire to project power and challenge American dominance in regions beyond Russia’s near abroad and stop USA from spreading its influence in the middle-east. This consideration likely ties into Russian view that the United States and the European Union have
attempted to gain influence in the Russian its traditional spheres of influence. A regime change in Syria would also sever a big blow to Russia because it is the only and last foothold of Russia in the Middle East.

Russia desire to re-establish itself as an indispensable, major player in the international arena. Russia’s actions in Syria are aimed at protecting its strategic interests and influence in the region, its military role in the civil war as a way of guaranteeing that it not only maintains influence over but becomes indispensable to decision-making on Syria’s future. Russia is against a unipolar world dominated by the US, rather, it want multipolar world where Russia is also seen as rule setter. This is evident in the recent success of its military in eliminating the IS, regaining the control of cities previously held under the IS through a concerted effort by USA, Russia, Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Russia’s involved through the direct attacks on IS positions for the first time on September 30, 2015⁹, the airstrike was done at the invitation of the Syrian government. Russia also provide military training and assistance to pro-regime militias. Military support provided by Russia to Syria includes jets, bombers, helicopters and tanks, as well as pilots from the Russian Air Force, technical advisers and specialists, members of the Russian special forces and tank drivers. Because of its disappointment in Iranian and Syrian forces, Russia also sent additional adviser to Syria to provide technical support (Moscow 2016). Russia suspended its military assistance temporarily to Syria in march 2016 (Denis and Sulaimon 2016). Russia has signed a deal in August 2015 that guarantees it unlimited and unrestricted use of the Khmeimim airbase.

Ideological consideration is another important factor for Moscow involvement in the war. Russia counter the Western-led approach of supporting regime change in a destabilised Middle Eastern country, and avoid a situation developing in Syria that is similar to that in Iraq and Libya. Russia want a political settlement in resolving civil war, and ensure that state institutions remain intact. From this angle, Russia want to avoid a repeat of the Libya situation in 2011, Russia did not veto the UN Security Council Resolution (1973) which authorized member states to take ‘all necessary measures’ to protect civilians in Libya, only to see the Western-led military intervention lead to the downfall of Muammar Qadhafi’s regime and subsequently to and instability in Libya.

Economic factors also played a role in maintaining strong relations between Russia and the Syrian regime. Syria is host to Russia’s only foothold in the Mediterranean Sea, a naval installation at the port city of Tartus and Khmeimim airbase. Syria is also strategically important for Russia in light
of its position in the eastern Mediterranean, an area that connects three continents and provides Russia maritime access from the Black Sea to East Asian markets via the Suez Canal and the Indian Ocean. Additionally, Syria also bought military arms from Russia especially the beginning of the war (The Moscow Times).

Russian support for the Assad regime is also, in part, linked to Russia’s nominal alliance with Iran. This alliance has held strong in recent years, Syrian civil war allowed the alliance to be tested as sanctions on Iran are lifted in the wake of the six-party nuclear agreement and as Iran attempts to export gas to the European market and challenge Russian dominance in the gas market. In addition, Turkish-Russian relations and Russian relations with Arab opponents of the Assad regime have, over the past decade, improved as Turkey and Gulf Arab states pursued large-scale economic cooperation initiatives and pursue strategies of hedging vis-à-vis international powers. As has been witnessed since Turkey’s November 2015 downing of a Russian fighter jet in response to alleged airspace breaches, these relations will be tested by Russia’s direct intervention in Syria; they will also test the Russian-Iranian alliance as Russian interests in the Levant increasingly begin to diverge from those of a post-sanctions Iran.

NB: Image 1 illustrates the complexity of the situation in Syria, the objectives of the actors in the war. All the actors (USA, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Iran Hezbollah, Israel and Qatar) in the area fighting to eliminate the foothold of IS terrorist group from Syria. They regarded IS are common enemy to all of them.

Image 2 illustrate the relationships between 13 governments and organizations conflicting in Syria. The relationship between shape the war and will continue to shape Syria future.

**CHEMICAL WEAPON**

A major policy concern has been the use of chemical weapons in Syria since the eruption of the war. Chemical weapon have been used on citizen several time by Asaad’s regime in the war over the past several years. The largest-scale use of chemical weapons in Syria was the August 21, 2013, nerve gas attack, the U.S. government estimated it killed over 1,400 people. The report of sarin gas usage prompted USA threatened military action against the Asaad’s regime, but diplomatic solution, jointly brokered by USA - Russia was adopted to resolve the civil war, this made USA to withdrew it military threat, and Asaad’s agreed to give up his chemical weapon (BBC News, 2014). Asaad declared that he possess 1,308 metric tons of chemical warfare, and was destroyed under the supervision of Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW).

According to State Department press statement on February 5, 2018 said that chlorine gas had been used up to six times by the Syrian regime against civilians in the past 30 days (State Department Press Statement, 2018), the recent incident was conducted by the Syrian military on April 4, 2017. It was estimated that 80 to 100 people in the town of Khan Sheikhoun in rebel-held Idlib province were killed. This raised the issue of chemical weapon in Syria returned to the center stage. The United States struck Al-Shayrat air base which Pentagon believed that is used to store chemical weapons with missile (DoD News 2017). The United State said it is in the vital national interest of United to prevent the use and spread of chemical weapon (BBC News. 2017)

According to the October 2016 report

1. bombs with toxic chemicals (such as chlorine) were dropped in Talmenes in April 2014 by the Syrian Air Force;

2. bombs with toxic chemicals (such as chlorine) were used in Qmenas in March 2015 by the Syrian Armed Forces;
3. bombs with toxic chemicals (such as chlorine) were used in Sarmin in March 2015 by the Syrian Air Force; and
4. mortar shells filled with sulfur mustard were used by the Islamic State in Marea in August 2015. (congressional research services, 2018)

There is still verification of the destruction of chemical weapons facilities. The OPCW had verified that 25 of the 27 declared chemical weapons production facilities (CWPFs) had been destroyed as at September 2017.

**Nature of Syrian civil war**

The Syrian uprising is rooted in the Sunni rural periphery’s perception because it started from the rural peripheral. Unlike the Arab revolution that started from the cities. The civil war expanded later with jihadists fighting against the regime’s heretical Allawite nature, and its alliance with Shiite Iran and Hezbollah. Syria civil war is unique from the Arab Spring because of two unique nature:

First, it has three levels of confrontation:

a. The internal battle between the opposition and the regime;

b. It has become a regional proxy war, in which a group of countries and movements (like the Hezbollah and other political forces around the region - Iran) confront another group of countries, a more conservative one, led by Saudi Arabia. These groups are very heterogeneous. Some are Islamic, some are Leftist, some Nationalist, being impossible to make a clear division among them.

c. Confrontation between global super powers (Russia Vs. USA), revival of the Cold War though it not comparable to it, still is a clash between worldviews, resulting in competition for global hegemony. These three levels are superimposed, explains the intensity, the determination, and the violence of the civil war. The war is intense because the local players consider the as existential, or zero-sum game, any side that win, the other side will go down the history (Assad family versus the Opposition).

Second, the civil war reflects every major war that happened in the middle-east in the last fifty years, i.e. the Arab-Israeli civil war is mirrored (although not directly), the Syrian government resistance against the Israel expansion in the region, the Iranian-Arab civil war, Sunni-Shia confrontation, reflecting also Iran's influence in Syria. Lastly, the historical confrontation in the Arab world between some political forces- Iran and movement- Hezbollah against status quo Arab
monarchies and the Republics (i.e. socialist, nationalist, revolutionary) Saudi, Qatar, Jodan. Finally, the government use air power to strike the local force because the local forces trying to maintain order; historically, this symbolizes (Vietnam to the US and Afghanistan to the USSR).

All the dramatist personale in all the event in the last fifty years are players in syria civil war.

Recent De-Escalation Event

Israel Strike in Syria

Israel carried out largest strike in Syria since 1982 Lebanon war on February 10 2018. Trespass of Iranian drone into Israel caused the strike initially. Eight Syrians and four Iranian military site and a base outside Damascus were attacked. Surface-to-air missile was launched by Syria in response to Israel strike after second Israel strike, this was the first time Syrian will launched a response attack against Israel since 2012. Israel didn’t claim responsibility for the strike.

Clearing and Stabilization Operations, U.S. Strikes on Pro-Syrian Forces in Eastern Syria

Operations against IS remnants is being conducted by U.S. and Coalition-backed force in the Middle Euphrates River valley (MERV), focusing on eastern province of Deir ez Zor. It was observed by the coalition-backed force that the IS can till launch attack and take over another location.

Idlib

The struggle for last rebel held is Ilib, located in Syria’s northwest, it is the only province that remains fully under the control of armed opposition forces. Varieties of armed forces currently operate in Idlib province, including Haya’t Tahrir al Sham;the successor to the Al Qaeda-affiliated Nusra Front (ANF)

Stabilization Operarations in Raqqah

Effort are put in place by Raqqah Internal Security Forces (RISF) to provide security and prevent IS fighters from returning to cleared neighborhoods. It works together with the Raqqah civilian council, it provides food and supplies to returning residents. RISF comprises majorly Arab local forces, it has about 3,000 trained volunteers,

Striking of Pro-Syrian Forces near Deir ez Zor On February 7, 2018

Airstrikes was launched on pro-Syrian government forces near the town of Khusham by U.S force. The strikes were conducted in self-defense following an “unprovoked attack” against SDF headquarters near Khusham, which had been contested by Syrian government forces, the SDF,
and the Islamic State in 2017. Khusham is located near one of Deir ez Zor’s largest oilfields, it is being contested by various forces throughout the civil war.

**Recommendation on how to achieve Peace**

Peace processes that have held since the civil war started in Syria mostly
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tittle</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Lead/Key players</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arab League Peace Plans for Syria</td>
<td>November 2011 to January 2012</td>
<td>Arab League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian Peace Initiatives for Syria</td>
<td>January 2012 and November 2013</td>
<td>Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends of Syria Group</td>
<td>February 2012</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kofi Annan Peace Plan</td>
<td>March 2012</td>
<td>Kofi Annan – UN</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geneva I Conference on Syria</td>
<td>June 2012</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>16th Summit of The Non-Aligned Movement</td>
<td>August 2012</td>
<td>Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eid Al-Adha Cease Fire Attempt</td>
<td>September 2012</td>
<td>Lakhdar Brahimi – UN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geneva II Conference on Syria</td>
<td>January 2014</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Four Committees Initiative</td>
<td>July 2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zabadani Ceasefire Agreement</td>
<td>September 2015</td>
<td>Hezbollah &amp; Iran</td>
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<td>Vienna Process</td>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td>United States, Russia, Saudi Arabia and Turkey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Riyadh Conference</td>
<td>December 2015</td>
<td>Syrian opposition groups</td>
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<td>Geneva II Conference on Syria</td>
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<td>Syrian Women’s Advisory Board</td>
<td>February 2016</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>Cessation of Hostilities</td>
<td>February 2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cease Fire Deal</td>
<td>September 2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lausanne Talks</td>
<td>October 2016</td>
<td>U.S., Russia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Qatar and I</td>
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<td>Aleppo Ceasefire</td>
<td>October 2016</td>
<td>Russia and Syria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Astana Process</td>
<td>January 2017</td>
<td>Russia, Iran and Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astana De-escalation Areas</td>
<td>July 2017</td>
<td>USA, Russia and Jordan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Several attempts have been made to resolve the civil war in Syria since 2011 by USA, Russia, Arab league and neighbouring countries. All major players have been afforded the chance to table their demand to end the civil war. But, these numerous peace plan have failed despite the concerted effort. Individual interest of various players involved in Syria civil war is main setback to find lasting solution to the civil war in the region and country (Al-Fattal 2016). The shortest ceasefire agreement lasted for ten hours (Reuters, 2016). Mistrust, counter-accusations between the various players breaching ceasefire agreements are causing more civilian casualties in the process (Crilley 2016). Long term consideration of different actors and depending on the side they are fighting also accounted for failed peace negotiation deal. This is evident in Russia desire to achieve political solution to the civil war, USA want negotiated settlement but Asaad in power will be in power for a short period, Gulf countries want Assad to leave the throne and transition to another government, while Iran supported political settlement in resolving the civil war base on four conditions because it has invested billions of dollar in the war (Tehran Times, 2016).

1. Establishment of ceasefire immediately by all players;
2. Embark on constitutional reform process to safeguard Syrian minorities;
3. Organize and conduct neutral elections under the supervision of international community;
4. Forming new national unity government following the new constitutional institution.

However, USA recognize Vienna process in achieving lasting solution to Syria civil war, rejecting all other peace process deal that have especially by Russia aside Vienna process to resolve the war. Peace process is cinematic, involves cooperation, compromise, and does not guarantee for any party. Achieving long lasting solution to Syria civil war involve compromise, that hinge upon the political will and commitment of the various players to implement some key agreement of the Vienna process of October 30, 2015.

1. A ceasefire that establishes a credible, inclusive non-sectarian governance within six months.
2. Drafting of a new constitution
3. Holding credible, transparent, free and fair elections within 18 months in pursuant of the new constitution
4. The elections must be under United Nation supervision and allow all qualified Syrians to participate.

**Conclusion**

Civil war is devastating, both sides destroys infrastructure and wage economic warfare, causing devastation and dislocation. The cause of Syria civil is the result of long internal bad governance, economic mismanagement, growing frustration of dictatorial regime. The external actors adopted the pre-existing sectarian fault line to galvanized the internal players to fight the war. The internal parties involved in the Syria civil war sees it as an existential civil war, where any side that emerge victorious, the looser will go down the history, but outright victory is far from seeing, the most visible solution to Syria civil war is political settlement. The Syria displacement represent the largest displacement in the world, US, Russia and Iran are conflict entrepreneurs, making money from every single bullet arm to prosecute the war at the expense of syria lives, this a slap on humanity. the October 10, Vienna process agreement should be implemented, non-sectarian transitional government should be fomed and comprises the minorities, they organized and conduct election under the watch of United Nation to ensure free and non-biased election

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THE ROLE OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY IN THE ENHANCEMENT OF AFRICAN KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

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Abstract

Africa had its own indigenous knowledge systems before European contact. This fact is evident in the impressive nature majority of African societies were organized. Communities operated certain morels, norms and value systems embedded in traditional codification, based on consensus. Some of these were channeled and transferred to local curriculums based largely upon communal structures. For example, in Egypt, the huge pyramids were and still remain an architectural wonder. In the old Benin Empire, art and craft was and remains a culture which is passed on from generation to generation. These few examples highlight the rich knowledge base of ancient African societies. However, in contemporary times, knowledge has been transformed from the old style to a more sophisticated system. One of the areas where this change of transformation has taken place is in the area of information, science and technology. This paper argues that newer ways of acquiring and transferring knowledge has been a factor in the enhancement of knowledge production in Africa. The major question this paper wishes to investigate however is the role of information technology in the enhancement of indigenous knowledge production in Africa.

Introduction

Knowledge means to know something. This in turn means an edge in a competitive environment. In order words, whatever practical idea in one’s possession can lead to having an edge over others in any society. In Western (Euro/American) societies, knowledge played a part in their development and subsequent colonization and occupation of other societies, including the African society. It is often said that knowledge is power (full) and applied knowledge is most powerful. In traditional African societies, knowledge is acquired through kindred affiliations. This begins with family traditional skill acquisition and passed on from generation to generation. Historically, oral knowledge is passed on through Folk law and generational linkages which bridges the gap between the young and the old alike. This perhaps is the secret in the ability of younger Africans to acquire the vocational skills of their older members of society. These skills include; art and craft making, weaving, farming, hunting, song and dance. Indigenous knowledge is peculiar to particular societies. The purpose of knowledge acquisition is to possess the ability to do things differently from those who do not possess such knowledge or skill. This process is achieved through critical thinking. The African society known for its high level of illiteracy is a good example of the effect
of the lack of adequate conventional knowledge. Traditionally, Africans performed many wonders which required a high level of brainwork and sound knowledge. For example, the pyramids in Egypt, city walls in old empires, traditional war tools and ornaments, herbal medicine, navigation equipment for travel in riverine or coastal areas, just to mention a few. Knowledge can be sustained and retained through its transfer from one generation to another. Some contending philosophical arguments on knowledge, reason and enlightenment believe that knowledge, education, reason and enlightenment are all a function of the mental state of being. According to the classical school of thought, human thought is distinctively mental rather than material, organic rather than mechanical and free rather than determined. The Greeks did not deny other aspects of what it is to be human, such as our biological functions. Thus, for Aristotle and Plato, rationality is the distinguishing defining feature, the essence or sine qua non of human existence (Rasmussen D.B et al, 2011). In Aristotle’s view, education and knowledge promotes morality and encourages the pursuit of excellence. Aristotle believes that knowledge involves discovering the nature of things; which means discovering what functions or properties which distinguishes it from other forms of knowledge. According to Oakeshott (1962), “every science, every art, every practical activity whatsoever, involves knowledge”. From the above philosophical postulations, it becomes clear that the indigenous African knowledge had traditional African philosophical groundings before Aristotle, Plato and Oakeshott. For instance, morality, rationality, reason and excellence have always been part of African thinking and action. The above is evident in the recorded and document successes of traditional African culture, Art and Science. Information technology provides the basis for problem-solving strategies for local communities especially the poor. According to a 1998/99 World Bank Report, “knowledge not capital is the key to sustainable social and economic development”. This means that building on local knowledge is the surest way of accomplishing social economic and political development. It also, to a larger extent mean that IT driven indigenous knowledge production is (and can be) an integral part or component of any country’s knowledge system.

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of information technology (IT) in enhancing African knowledge production. **Information technology (IT)** is the application of computers to store, retrieve, transmit and manipulate data, or information, often in the context of a business or other enterprise. IT is considered to be a subset of information and communications technology (ICT). In 2012, Zuppo proposed an ICT hierarchy where each hierarchy level "contain[s] some degree of commonality in that they are related to technologies that facilitate the transfer of information and various types of electronically mediated communications".

The term IT is commonly used as a synonym for computers and computer networks, but it also encompasses other information distribution technologies such as television and telephones. Several industries are associated with information technology, including computer hardware, software, electronics, semiconductors, internet, telecom equipment, and e-commerce.

Humans have been storing, retrieving, manipulating, and communicating information since the Sumerians in Mesopotamia developed writing in about 3000 BC, but the term **information technology** in its modern sense first appeared in a 1958 article published in the *Harvard Business Review*; authors Harold J. Leavitt and Thomas L. Whisler commented that "the new technology does not yet have a single established name. We shall call it information technology (IT)." Their definition consists of three categories: techniques for processing, the application of statistical and
mathematical methods to decision-making, and the simulation of higher-order thinking through computer programs.

Communities and organisations around the world are realising the value and significance of African Knowledge Production and the importance of preserving it for future generations. Indigenous Knowledge Centres (IKCs) are being established globally, but particularly in Australia, Africa, Latin America and Asia. The capture and preservation of Indigenous Knowledge is being used to revitalise endangered cultures, improve the economic independence and sustainability of Indigenous communities and to increase community based involvement in planning and development. In parallel with the increasing recognition of the value and relevance of Indigenous Knowledge to today’s world and the need to preserve it, is recognition of the role that Information Technologies (IT) can play in its capture, management and dissemination.

African Indigenous Knowledge

African Indigenous knowledge also referred to as traditional or local knowledge refers to the large body of knowledge and skills that has been developed outside the formal educational system. Indigenous Knowledge is embedded in culture and is unique to a given location or society. It is the basis for decision-making of communities in food, security, human and animal health, education and natural resource management (World Bank, 1998).

African Indigenous knowledge encompasses many forms. It includes cultural heritage in the form of traditional stories, songs, dances and ceremonies that reflect beliefs related to spirituality, family, land and social justice. It also includes potentially patentable knowledge about traditional medicines, foods, farm practices, architecture and construction, handicrafts, artwork and folk music. It includes knowledge about people, places, plants, animals, historical events associated with a particular community.

The first steps in many Indigenous Knowledge projects involve identifying the material to be preserved and then capturing it in a digital form so that it can be systematically documented, shared, and re-used by permitted groups or individuals. Determining the optimum and most culturally appropriate approach to selecting, eliciting, recording, describing and disseminating this knowledge without insensitivity, intrusion, constraints, degradation or misrepresentation of the content, is a challenge that is often underestimated.

Appropriate consultative processes need to be established to identify and prioritise the material to be captured. Alternative digital technologies and environments for recording and storing the data need to be compared and evaluated. Because of the oral tradition of Indigenous knowledge, audiovisual digital recording devices such as digital video cameras and audio recorders are a primary tool for capturing techniques, practices, stories, language, songs and dances. Scanners are being used to digitise photographs, manuscripts, maps and historic documents. Increasingly, 3D scanners are used to generate 3D digital surrogates of physical artifacts in museums and cultural institutions, such as tools, shields, carvings, clothing and baskets.

Information technology plays a major role in the preservation and sharing of this various knowledge. IT helps to captured and archive Knowledge which can last for decades or even
centuries. This knowledge will be accessible to as many as those who have the means of connecting to them.

Internet Connections

Electronic networking is a technique to link information users using computers and communication channels. The role of computers in cutting the time needed for processing and exchange of information is fundamental. Communication channels reduce the distance between users. Advantages of the role of computer include the following:
- Users can connect to networks without limitation of distance, time, age, political or racial orientation. Institutions can access a wide variety of African knowledge on demand.
- Any brand of computers can be used to access data on networks. The solutions to standard and compatibility problems take place at technical levels.
- Private and public communications including wider discussions can be undertaken at convenience. Encryption makes private communications (in voice, text or graphics) safe.
- One interface is sufficient to browse and exchange information in various format. The World Wide Web (WWW) tools make this a near possibility. It is possible to cruise and browse through endless African Knowledge resources from a single software. There are various indexing tools that can help users to use global data bases and libraries regardless of format.
- Users can make real time communications both in the form of voice communication (chatting over the Internet) and synchronised messaging (where users at distance interact using their computer screens)
- Users can publish on the network. Networking promises a two way highway where the users become not only passive recipients or consumers of information but also information providers. This allows lifelong learning through interaction. Networking will become more than access. It will become an empowering tool.

There are many issues that arise from Arowosegbe’s (2016) important disquisition about knowledge production on and in Africa. It has been a problem for years on how endogenous knowledge on Africa and the world is (re)produced in Africa, and how such knowledge can be globally validated. But with the aid of IT, this problem has become a thing of the past.

IT Challenges in African Countries

The challenges for most African countries is finding better ways to learn about indigenous institutions to practice indigenous knowledge, using IT; and where necessary, adapt to modern techniques i.e. (global best practices) to the local practice. This is perhaps one of the ways global knowledge can be relevant to local communities; primarily for the enhancement of indigenous knowledge.

African countries are now aware of the benefits derived through adoption and use of ICTs but there are many other serious challenges which must be addressed. Chief among them are:

- Inadequate communications and power infrastructure
- Shortage of ITs facilities and ITs skills
• Inadequate institutional arrangements
• Limited financial resources
• Inadequate public private partnership (PPP)
• Limited data management capacity
• Inadequate horizontal and vertical communication
• Inadequate bandwidth nationally and on the Gateway

Some of the above challenges can be addressed through public-private smart partnerships.

Call for Paradigm Shift in Government

In Africa, governments are now faced with the challenge of transformation, a paradigm shift, necessitated by the age of network intelligence. Governments must undergo internal and external transformation in order to move in unison with the private sector and respond swiftly to IT developments and its dictates. Internally, Governments are called to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of internal functions and processes within government departments and institutions through internetworking while externally, governments are called to be more transparent and give citizens access to government information.

Conclusion

Modern Technology driven by information has demonstrated the ability to enhance knowledge in several societies. Even though it took Africa quite some time to catch up with this trend, Africa has demonstrated some appreciable level of achievement in this regard. Work that otherwise would have taken more time to process can now be done in lesser time with the help of technology. Information gathering and sharing with the use of modern IT gadgets comes handy in this process, Africans lost a huge amount of time and financial resources in the past, due to the over reliance on basic and traditional mode of doing things. The discovery of information technology (IT) has changed or turned things around for the better.

IT enhances African Knowledge Production because of their crosscutting nature thus making it possible to capture, archive and share Africa knowledge. Adoption and proper utilisation of IT will lead, among others, to increased African Knowledge Production and quality production of goods and services. IT industry can be resourced, properly managed and mainstreamed into a significant contributor to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of African countries.

Recommendations

(a). Government should research on citizens with traditional knowledge and encourage them to mentor others, for the sake of documentation and use.
(b). Government should appreciate its overall responsibility of creating a conducive environment that allows for the development of ITs for national benefits.
(c). Modern information technology should be utilized to enhance traditional indigenous African knowledge.

References