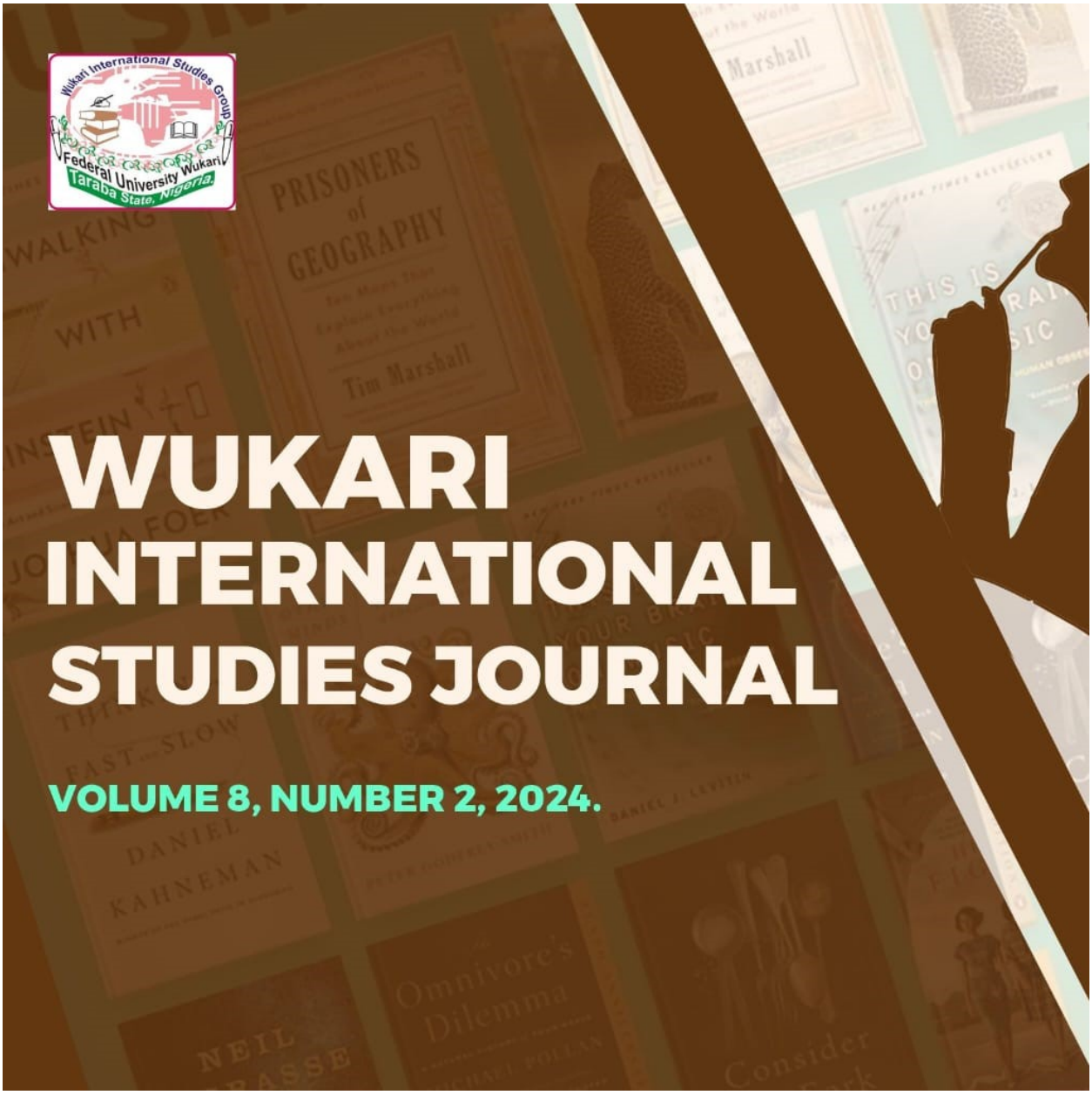
WUKARI INTERNATIONAL STUDIES JOURNAL

VOLUME 8, ISSUE 2, JUNE 2024



WUKARI INTERNATIONAL STUDIES JOURNAL

VOLUME 8, ISSUE 2, JUNE 2024

Domiciled in the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Federal University Wukari-Taraba State

ISSN: 2756-4649

Wukari International Studies Journal is an annual publication of Wukari International Studies Group (WISG), domiciled in the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies, Federal University Wukari-Taraba State. WISG follows the double blind peer review process. All manuscripts are reviewed by an editor and members of the Editorial Board or qualified outside reviewers. Decisions will be made as quickly as possible, and the WISG strives to return reviewers' comments to author (s) within 4 weeks for final corrections where necessary. Interested scholars are advised to contact the managing editor via wisjournal@gmail.com or/and 07037694253 for submission of papers for subsequent editions.

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INSECURITY IN NIGERIA, CAUSES, CONSEQUENCE AND SOLUTIONS

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KEYWORDS
Insecurity, Banditry, Fulani Herdsmen and Boko Haram

ABSTRACT
Nigeria is facing high rates of crime; banditry has become a harsh reality in today's Nigeria society. Hence, efforts of government have not yielded enough positive result. It is on this note that this study examines insecurity in Nigeria: causes, consequences and solutions. Data were collected using structured questionnaires to analyzed descriptive statistics such as Mean, standard deviation and rankings were used to determine the relationship between variables. Findings revealed that poverty, unemployment and illiteracy are the major causes of insecurity in Nigeria especially in the north east and south east of Nigeria. This was revealed with mean score of 4.26, 4.24 and 4.31 and standard deviation of 0.83, 0.82 and 0.87 respectively. In conclusion, eradication of poverty, provision of better job, free education at all levels will reduce insecurity to barest minimum. The study recommended that government should empower the youth with vocational training, free education, non interest loans should be given to artisans and allow the youth in politics.

Introduction

Insecurity which has come in different forms as Boko Haram, Fulani herdsmen, armed banditry and kidnapping are bruising more fears to the life of the common people. This is compounded by hunger, unemployment infrastructures and other vices too numerous to mention. The root cause of security challenges is crime which is used to be decided by people because it is opposed to both natural and divine laws. Regrettably, crime is in its highest peak now in Nigeria. It is no noveler, it is rather full time job of many a good Nigerians. Troubles, gruesome murders, robberies by violence, rape, cultism, ritual killings, bribery and official corruption, obtaining goods or money by false pretenses, Child and students kidnapping and abductions, religious and political violence

associated with bomb blast and use of other sophisticated offensive weapon to destroy lives and properties (Agboola, 2020). These endless unhuman attitudes are enough to say that Nigeria is a crime injected nation. It is a shame, a grossly unpardonable that our hands are hand cuffed to these sorts of crimes where human beings are treated like wolves and reptiles that are killed without mercy. This paper sets to highlights the root causes of security challenges in the country and suggest possible solution to this persisting phenomenon.

Since 1999, when the country returned to democratic rule, there has been an upsurge in violent activities in Nigeria with Boko Haram insurgency, Fulani Herdsmen being at the forefront these people have become a threat to both internal and international security as their activities have now stretched beyond Nigeria to her neighboring countries. With consistent violent attacks on security forces, civilians, churches and mosques, farms, media houses, schools as well as international bodies, it has further compounded several challenges already faced by the nation particularly in the North east. It can be argued that indices such as high rates of unemployment and poverty are factors that promote incidences of crime and insecurity.

Several attempts have been made to reduce the inflicts of these menace in the Nigerian society, Adagba, et al, (2012), the Nigeria government has tried using a counter insurgent force as policy deterrence, with the imposition of sanctions, to curb actual attempts by using appropriate measures in place to reduce the menaces of banditry in the country. Despite these, the level of insecurity in the country is still high, this has made Nigeria to consistently rank low in the Akanji, Badmus, and Kolade (2017), signifying a worsened state of insecurity in the country. Edeko (2011) and Titilope (2018) are of the view that the efforts of government have not yielded enough positive result. However, government efforts are being sabotage by some religious fanatics and foreign aids.

While the number of studies could be found in the literature on security on Nigeria: for instance, Achumba (2013) determined the security challenges in Nigeria and the implication for business activities and sustainable development. Effiong (2019) examined persistent insecurity in Nigeria: Need for respect for human life. In like manner Eme (2017) looked at the security threat in Nigeria: a thematic exposition. However, no study has been found to be comprehensively look into insecurity in Nigeria, causes, consequences, and solutions simultaneously. This is considered a serious academic gap which deserve to be filled because one-way approach of the security in Nigeria or security threat in Nigeria might result in spurious relationship. Thus, the resultant conclusion therefore will be baseless, and lack the research ingredient necessary for generalization. Hence, this research is not an exercise in futility but a serious academic need that is worth the salt in terms of filling the exposed gap explained above.

Conceptual Framework

Insecurity

Insecurity like security is often used in a number of ways. Many people would take it to mean lack of safety or the existence of danger; hazard; uncertainty; lack of trust; doubtful; inadequately guarded or protected; lack of stability; disturbed; lack of protection and unsafe (Achumba et al, 2013). Insecurity will make you lose trust, be frightened, unsettled, oppressed, lose focus, and be devastated and lose your humanity. Aliyu, (1998) opines that insecurity is the State of being subject in every respect to terror, threat, risk, molestation, bullying, harassment, etc. Insecurity, for example, can be conceived as a threat to the state that often accounted for the arms and nuclear weapons race to protect the state. For example, it has been stated that the fear of kidnappers in the Kaduna-Abuja road and other parts of the north is less common compared to the fear of Boko-Haram.

Nigeria and security challenges

Nigeria is facing security crisis because of inadequate, misplaced and misguided security agenda. Every country exists to give security to all human beings living in the county. Some of the security challenges facing Nigeria are food, finance, transport, health care, personal and national security issues. We also witness political and tribal/ethnic crises, political assassinations and kidnapping/abduction in different parts of the country. There are cases of armed robbery here and there, human trafficking, environmental degradation and

separatist agitations of the Niger Delta, desertification challenge in some parts of the Northern Nigeria, erosion problems in the Southern Eastern, Nigeria.

The conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and farmers came into existence as a result of encroachment of farmlands by the Fulani herders (Ajibefun, 2017). Furthermore, the killings recorded by Fulani herdsmen and farmers clash has rampaged most communities displacing them of their farmlands and loss of their major source of livelihood. This is becoming unbearable with Fulani herdsmen always having their ways leaving the farmers at their mercy. Herdsmen attribute the roots of the crisis to religious differences resulting in the killing of their cows while the farmers see the herdsmen as a threat to their crops and agricultural produce since the herdsmen allow their cows to feed on the farmer's crops (Ajibefun, 2017). The deadly crisis between herdsmen and crop farmers have become one of the major insecurity problems in Nigeria. It was stressed that it is second to Boko Haram imperil (Okoro, 2018). Based on Okoro (2018) submission, the herdsmen have sacked whole communities, abducted elder statesmen, burnt churches, killed church priests and other worshipers, killed police officers, raped, looted and perpetrated heinous crimes while the government has done less to arrest the situation, which is a serious threat to national security and national development. Farmer's displacement from the affected communities has drastically reduced agricultural production in

Nigeria. This has been amply demonstrated by relative shortage of farm produce in the rural and urban market of central Nigeria (Etannibi, Alemika, 2015). The socio-economic implications of the Fulani herdsmen are likened to the end consequences of Boko Haram insurgents because of its emergence terrorism activities. The Fulani herdsmen have adversely affected the economy of Nigeria generally (Abdullahi, 2019). Dauda (2019) stressed that the gains in the agricultural sector of the economy, especially in the area of food production suffered a serious setback as a result of the negative effect of the activities on farmers in area where Fulani herdsmen crises is pervasive.

In Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara states, estimates suggest than 50-75 percent of the land area is becoming desert. These environmental changes have wrecked agriculture and human livelihoods, forcing millions of pastoralist and others to migrate to the south, in search of productive land. Migration initially was seasonal, with herders spending December to May in the central zone before returning to the north.

Francis Idowu Akinsowon (2021) identifies some factors that may constitute comprehensive motion of security to be either:

- Political security: Freedom from domination and other arbitrary government.
- Economic and social security: Freedom from poverty and wants.
- Cultural security: Freedom from ethnic and religious domination.
- Environmental Security: Freedom from environmental destruction and resources security.
- Food Security: Access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active healthy life.

It seems these challenges have grown higher than what they were some years back. It seems Nigeria cannot boast that she has provided her citizen with all the above securities. With the lingering challenges and the inability of the security apparatus of the government to guarantee safety and security in the country, the question that borders everyone in Nigeria today is that "can there be security? Is security of lives and properties achievable?.

Causes of security challenges in Nigeria

Jaja & Odigbo (2013) have pointed out some causes of insecurity in Nigeria which the followings:

i. **The Menace of Unemployment and Poverty:** It is a fact that unemployment causes poverty and extreme poverty leads to a crime that gives rise to insecurity. Aliyu (1998) characterized poverty as a situation in which people live below a defined standard of living income so that

individuals and nations are classified and identified as poor.

ii. **Elite exploitation of ethnicity and religious differences**: It is worth bearing in mind that the country's diverse ethnic make-up is not itself a cause of insecurity in Nigeria; however, political and religious leaders across the nation sometimes use ethnic sentiments to achieve their selfish ambitions.

iii. **Corruption:** Nonetheless, corruption was largely responsible for government failure and systemic infrastructure collapse, resulting in large-scale insecurity in Nigeria. The state of insecurity in Nigeria is unquestionably a result of government failure, traceable to widespread corruption.

iv. **Weak security apparatus:** Nigeria's security system is seen as very poor in both personnel and equipment. Security officers are poorly trained and remunerated. As a result, the required expertise is not available to meet modern security challenges. The contribution of the security personnel to the Nigerian project of ensuring general safety is equally of serious concern. This weak security system can be due to a number of factors including corruption, insufficient personnel, lack of modern equipment, poor safety personnel health, and inadequate staff.

v. **Porous border:** The country's unstable frontiers, where human movements are essentially untracked, have led to Nigeria's level of insecurity. There is an unregulated inflow of Small Arms and Light Weapons into the country as a result of the porous borders which has enabled militancy and crime in Nigeria. Edeko (2011) has reported that Nigeria hosts over 70% of about 8million illegal weapons that have been used to create a security crisis. In addition, the porous condition of both the Nigerian borders has contributed the uncontrollable influx of migrants, predominantly young people, from nearby countries such as the Republic of Niger, Chad and the Republic of Benin accountable for some of the insecurity promoting criminal activities in Nigeria, (Adeola and Olayemi, 2012).

vi. **Marginalization and inequalities in the country:** Nigeria's current government has been strongly charged with ethnic disparity, and the marginalization of some sections of the country in the provision of basic infrastructure, and theses have significantly compounded Nigeria's security (Nwadialor, 2011). Currently, key political positions were given to people from Northern extraction while the South-East was left in the cold. That may explain the agitation for the Biafra and Shi'a strongly known as the Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) and several breaches of security this followed the agitation. Besides, it is quite clear that Nigeria's life chances are extremely disparate. Vast majorities of the public have a sense of deprivation, oppression, marginalization, and this has resulted in dissatisfaction and loss of hope, particularly among the youth. Such young people are now voicing their disillusionment with the state of affairs by any means possible, whether legal or illegal. The consequence of this is growing uncertainty (Onuoha, 2011).

vii. **Bad governance and poor leadership**: The primary duties of any government is to protect lives and properties of its citizenry. The absence of these basic amenities in Nigeria is embarrassingly not due to a shortage of funds but rather to corruption at the highest level of leadership structure. It is therefore an enormous task to take responsibility for giving leadership direction in such communities or societies in a multi-ethnic and religious society like Nigeria, given the current scenario of the democratic politics in which the nation has been located. To this end, believing that weak leadership, has added more challenges to the uncertainty and causes of insecurity not just in the north but also in Nigeria in general.

Effects of insecurity

The relationship between, security, growth, poverty reduction and development has received significant attention from researchers, international development assistance agencies and national governments. The security development nexus has largely been investigated within the context of civil war or intra/interstate conflicts (Stewart 2004).

However, the insecurity encountered in Nigerian cities has arisen more from criminality, especially armed robbery and ethno religious conflicts, often rooted in competition for the control of state power and economic resources. Jaja, and Odigbo (2013) stated that insecurity constitutes barriers "to political, economic and social development". Further, as an OECDDAC Report has argued, "security and development are linked. Insecurity, crime and violent conflicts are among the biggest obstacles to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals; they also destroy development".

The Report observed that security is important 'to the wellbeing of the poor' and 'supporting poor people's physical security is vital part of reducing poverty. Conflicts have diverse effect on the economy, including poverty reduction. Among such effects are decreased participation in productive economic activities; destruction of human and material resources; reduction in investment and diversion of resources for social services and infrastructural development to conflict mitigation (Stewart 2003, 2004). The World Bank (2011: 59) notes that the "costs of violence for citizens, communities, countries, and the world are enormous, both in terms of human suffering and social and economic consequences. The costs are both direct (loss of life, disability, and destruction) and indirect (prevention, instability, and displacement)" (p. 59)

Cities differ in terms of their dominant characteristic factors, especially determined by their evolution and economic substructure (Hazen and Horner 2007). Cities dominated by financial, commercial, industrial and state bureaucratic activities tend to differ from each other in the nature of the social interaction, social life, social solidarity and conflicts (Nasiru,2020). Cities differ in terms of population, economic and social composition; quality of social life and extent of insecurity and conflicts across neighbor hoods. According to Tella (2015) "particular places, neighborhoods, and even huge urban agglomerations have been given their character through discourse about them and through public dramas" that often involve "rhetoric of rights and controls, belonging and exclusion". Cities exhibit absence of dominant cultural values and social control that engender anomie and feelings of instability and insecurity (Weber 1961; Wirth 1938).

Solutions to insecurity in Nigeria

Joseph (2019) observes some ways by which the company can get out of insecurity.

i. There is a need to establishment Community Policing within each divisional police headquarters for effective management of insecurity.

ii. There is a need to created an economy with appropriate social, economic, and physical infrastructure for business and industrial growth.

iii. There is a need for our security apparatus to ultimately improve the training of security officers, sufficient training in modern security methodologies, the provision of state-of-the-art equipment and appropriate remuneration, good service conditions, and convenient after-service arrangements.

iv. The government should boost people's living standards by establishing more centers of entrepreneurship across the nation, most notably in the.

v. The government should create more job opportunities for the youth; this will make them abstain from committing all such crimes.

vi. Politicians who use thugs should be barred from politics for life.

vii. Governments should promote good governance, openness, accountability through the use of print and digital media, and inform the public through conferences, seminars, and NGOs.

Another steps suggested by Nwagboso (2012) are:

i. **The Role of the Government**: The main responsibility of any government is to ensure the security and safety of her citizens, who willingly surrender their rights to be overseen by them. Government can ensure the security and safety of her citizenry through good governance.

ii. **The Role of Religious Houses**: The real essence of all religious is to ensure peace and tranquility. Christians and Muslims are expected to be examples of peace. When we maintain a relationship with God, out common language of expression and altar of service becomes commitment to quality service delivery.

iii. **Corporate and Individual Roles**: Corporate governance and corporate organizations can ensure the effective functioning of their organisations. Organisations that ensure good governance give back to the community by ensuring that the interest of all stakeholders is taken care of. To corroborate the above, Eme, Nwachukwu & Olise (2017) postulates the following as the solution to the Nigeria security threat thus: leadership development, good governance, socio-economic development, elimination of corruption and entrenchment of social justice, radical change in values and development of a more balanced security strategy to counter violence crimes and local terrorism (Boko Haram).

Research questions

1. To what extent does Unemployment, Illiterates, Bad governance affect Security in Nigeria.
2. Does Insecurity lead to Economic recession and poor Social Life.
3. To what extent does Local Policing curbs insecurity in Nigeria.

Methodology

The survey design was adopted for the study. The population of study was made up of 120 Security men in the State (Military officers, The Nigeria Police, Local Vigilante Amotekun and civil defense from South West Nigeria. Using random sampling technique, questionnaire was the major instrument used for the study and was validated by experts for both face structures. The questionnaire items were structured in a five point like rating scale of strongly agreed-SA (5 points), Agree-A (4 points), Disagree-D (3 points), strongly disagree-SD (2 points) Undecided-U (1 point). A mean score of 3.00 and above was considered as agreed while a mean score below it was considered as disagree.

Data analysis

Results:

Table 1.

1. **Research Question 1:** To what extent does Unemployment, Illiterates, Bad governance affect Security in Nigeria.

S/N	Item Statements	SA	A	MA	SD	U	X	SD	Ranking	Decision
1.	Unemployment and poverty aids insecurity in Nigeria.	77	27	08	08	-	4.33	0.91	1st	Accepted
2.	Ethnicity and religious belief contributes to Nigeria insecurity	68	30	19	2	1	4.2	0.81	5th	Accepted
3.	Bad governance or leadership coupled with corruption propel Nigeria insecurity.	85	25	08	1	1	4.3	0.88	2nd	Accepted
4.	Illiterate in most of our society aids Nigeria insecurity.	70	35	11	4	-	4.26	0.83	3rd	Accepted
5.	Marginalization, inequalities and porous boarder have significant	66	32	20	02	-	4.3	0.82	4th	Accepted

	effect on insecurity									

Researcher's computation (2024)

Table 1 shows the responses by the security agents from the data analyzed, most of the respondents accepted that unemployment, illiterates, bad governance, ethnicity, porous bordered, marginalization and inequality affect security in Nigeria. This shows from the standard deviation that are positive and mean square of 4.33, 4.2, 4.3, 4.26 and 4. respectively. It is an indication that causes of insecurity in Nigeria is as a result of unemployment, illiterates, bad governance, ethnicity, porous border, marginalization and inequality which requires quick interventions from the government as well as mini Nigerians.

Table 2.

2. **Research question 2 :** Does Insecurity leads to Economic recession and poor Social Life.

S/N	Item Statements	SA	A	MA	SD	U	X	SD	Ranking	Decision
1.	High cost of living is as a result of insecurity in Nigeria	75	31	10	4	-	4.24	0.83	3rd	Accepted
2.	Low production of local food is as a result of insecurity in Nigeria.	69	29	18	3	1	4.13	0.81	5th	Accepted
3.	Boko Haram and Banditary are the major factors of economic recession in Nigeria.	85	28	07	-	-	4.25	0.88	2nd	Accepted
4.	Insecurity of life and property in Nigeria is as a result of poor security.	72	35	08	05	-	4.23	0.90	1st	Accepted
5.	Insecurity paralyses businesses in the country	68	30	20	02	-	4.24	0.82	4th	Accepted

Researcher's computation (2024)

From table 2, the result revealed that bad economic and poor social life contributed immensely to insecurity in Nigeria. The standard deviation shows positive response to poor security, Boko Haram insurgence, high cost of living, low production of local foods, bad businesses with means score of 4.24, 4.13, 4.25, 4.23 and 4.24 respectively. Hence, insecurity is the major constraint to economic recession and poor social life.

Table 3. Research question 3. To what extent does Local Policing curbs insecurity in Nigeria.

S/N	Item Statements	SA	A	MA	SD	U	X	SD	Ranking	Decision
1.	Local policing can improve Nigeria	70	30	08	08	4	4.31	0.87	1st	Accepted

	security									
2.	Improvement on security apparatus can reduce insecurity	68	28	21	2	1	4.15	0.82	4th	Accepted
3.	Political thugs should be barred from Nigeria political office holders	80	30	06	3	1	4.22	0.85	2nd	Accepted
4.	Peace preaching by religious leader can improve security in Nigeria.	65	35	10	04	06	4.26	0.83	1st	Accepted
5.	Sponsored of Boko Haram, Banditary and Herdsmen should be prosecuted.	68	30	18	04	-	4.27	0.81	5th	Accepted

Researcher's computation (2024)

Table 3 shows that inauguration of Local police by each state would curbs the operations of perpetrators of insecurity in Nigeria. From the results, the mean square shows a high positive results which is an indication that Local policing will have a significant positive effect to security in Nigeria.

Discussion of findings

The Nigeria security is getting more and more insecure as more people are getting into crimes and they are getting more ruthless, desperate with sophisticated weapons to attack the people. Security influences a country's developmental process. Insecurity disrupts countries and prevents the achievement of development programmes. A country that experiences no economic and social development cannot claim good welfare. In Nigeria, since the advent of democratic government, diverts of violent crimes have become the order of the day; these include – armed robbery, rape (especially the female kids). Boko Haram bombings scandal, kidnapping (adult and privileged people's napping) for armed robbery, pipeline vandalization, political violence and more. Many lives and properties had been claimed for these reasons.

Finding reveals that unemployment, illiterates, bad governance, ethnicity, porous bordered, marginalization and inequality affect security in Nigeria. Also, high cost of living, economic recession and poor social life is as a result of insecurity in the country. The government had been trying to buy sophisticated equipment to tackle these insurgence but some military officers involved in odd deals. Predictors such as unemployment, illiterates, bad governance, ethnicity, porous bordered, religious fanatics, marginalization and inequality has a great impact on insecurity in Nigeria with values of standard deviation that are positive and mean square of 4.26, 4.15, 4.29, 4.33 and 4.27 respectively. Hence, the three questionnaires have good fit.

Conclusion

Combating insecurity goes beyond guns and drones, but rather spreading good education, good governance and creating employment for the teeming youth who are awfully tough and restive because the future appears black. The solution involves concerted efforts from all and sundry to build a nation where peace and justice shall reign.

Recommendations

1. Government should improve on information technology by installing CCTVs to monitor illegal immigrants, arms and ammunition into the country.

2. Youth unemployment should be directly tackled by all levels of government.

3. The Nigerian security agencies should be counseled to sum bribery and other corrupt acts.

4. The Nigerian security agencies should be well remunerated to sum bribery and corruption.

5. There is need for civil societies to raise public awareness as well as in lobbying for concrete change or in helping to initiate and carry out a process of reforming national integrity.

6. Government need to modernize the security agencies with training, intelligence sharing, advanced technology, logistics, motivations and changes of orientations.

7. Each State and Local government should take over the security of their Community to protect life and properties.

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FINANCIAL ACCOUNTING INFORMATION AS AN AID IN MANAGEMENT DECISION MAKING OF FIRST BANK NIGERIA PLC

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KEYWORDS

Aid, financial, accounting information, decision making, first bank

ABSTRACT

Institutions and organizations have the responsibility of disclosing issues regarding their operations so as to aid managers in making decisions since management decision makers depend and count on information gained from financial accounting information to forecast future rates of return. There will always be a problem of how to determine the profit of a company, and evaluation of performance of a company without. This study therefore investigates the financial accounting information as an aid to management decision making of first bank Nigeria PLC. The general objective is to ascertain the role of financial accounting information on management decision making. To achieve the objective of this research work, A correlational survey research design was employed for the study and purposive and accidental sampling technique was used to obtain a sample of 400 First bank staff in South-South Geographical Zone of Nigeria. Data for analysis was collected using instrument designed by the researchers. The reliability coefficient value of sub-scales of the instruments range from .78 to .85. The research hypotheses were subsequently tested using Pearson Product Moment Correlation at .05 level of Significance. We discovered from the test of hypotheses that financial accounting information was relied upon in management decision making and financial accounting information is useful for forecasting company's performance. Conclusions were drawn based on the findings that financial accounting information plays a vital role on management decision making and it was recommended that no management decision should be taken without the consideration of a company's financial accounting information.

Introduction

Corporate bodies and financial institutions have obligation to completely reveal matters concerning their tasks to help financial backers in pursuing venture choices. Both enormous and little associations as well as fulfilling the enacting prerequisite will quite often hold existing financial backers and to draw in expected ones through the distribution of their budget reports where the capital load of a partnership is broadly held and its undertakings are important to overall population relations. (Akinsoyime, A. B. 2020) The conversations and outlines of the review will be focused on the fiscal report introduced to investors and furthermore accessible for likely financial backers, investors and exchange lenders as a device of data for speculation choice. Financial statement in light of result on past exercises are examined and deciphered as a reason for anticipating future pace of profits and evaluation of chance (Ezeamama, M. C. 2015)

Financial accounting information gives significant data to a wide assortment of choice, financial backers draw data from the assertion of the firm in whose security they mull over money management (Adebiyi, K. A. et al. 2016). Chiefs who examine procuring aggregate or fractional responsibility for big business hope to get profits from their speculation, for example, profits and expansion in the worth of their venture. The two profits and expansion in the worth of portions of organization relies upon the future productivity of the venture. In this way, financial backers are keen on future productivity. Past pay profit information are utilized to figure gets back from profit and expansion in share costs.

Statement of the problem

It is observed that the role of financial accounting informationas an aid to management decision making in First Bank, Nigeria has some problems to both investors and managers of business organizations who are either not aware of the importance of interdependence relationship that exist between investors and business organizations. Such problems include;

i. How analytical tools are set to aid prospective managers in accessing the financial position of the corporate organization.

ii. Evaluation of performance of a company in management decision making.

iii. How to determine the profitability of a company?

The aforementioned issues are the problems to look into in this research work. The issues examined will quite often drive off both existing and expected financial backers. The explanation of this study is to enough investigate the above issues and recommend conceivable answer for any of them. By this examination will find conceivable key elements to tackling these issues on the grounds that budget summary in venture dynamic in Nigeria is the existence blood of each and every association to the possible financial backer.

Purpose of the study

The general objective is to ascertain the role of financial accounting in management decision making. The specific objective is as follows;

i. To examine how a set of analytical tools will aid prospective investors in assessing the financial p osition of the corporate organization.

ii. To evaluate the performance of a co mpany for management decision making.

iii. To determine the profitability of the company.

iv. To appraise the fundamental use of f inancial accounting information, this is to provide information for management decision making.

Research hypothesis

Hypothesis as per the English word reference is an unproved hypothesis, suggestion sent forward as a clarification of something, frequently as the reason for additional examination. Speculation is the aides for the agents in the whole course of examination try and they keep the analyst on the fundamental

line of the review, in this exploration, the accompanying speculation are figured out for the review; Ho; budget summaries are not used to be depended upon in venture dynamic in an organization.

1. Financial accounting information are used to be depended upon in inv estment decision making in a company.

2. Financial accounting information are useful for forecasting company's performance.

3. Financial accounting information does not determine the profitability of a company.

4. Financial accounting information determines the profitability of a company.

Research Questions

According to Uzoagulu (2018), research questions guide the researcher in constructing the questionnaires. Therefore, the researcher raised the following research questions to guide her in constructing her questionnaire which are instruments in the study. The questions are as follows;

i. To what extent is financial statements used in the investment decision making in a company?

ii. Is financial accounting information useful for forecasting company's performance?

iii. Does financial accounting information determine the profitability of an organization?

iv. Do financial statement projects new investors?

Significance of the study

This study will be of immense benefit to banks by improving the banking performance financial analysts, managers, companies and financial organizations. This is on the grounds that the review expects to help these managers in navigation. The review will help in augmenting information fiscal summary in speculation direction, it will likewise make the association to see the value in the significance of sound budget report in the arrangement of data fundamental for navigation. It will survey the improvement in the association taking care of the budget report and show similarly the routes through which improvement could be achieved at long last this examination will similarly act as a kind of perspective to understudies in this respectable organization and other school who might be intrigued to set out on a further examination investigation of this nature or more all, report of this review will add to existing information in research technique.

Scope of the Study

This study will be limited to a geographical entity known as Nigeria and specifically first bank plc.

Limitation of the study

i. There are some limitations encountered by the researcher in the process of this research which limited the scope to only first bank plc. Some of the limitations are as follows; Time constraints; despite the time provided, it was not still enough for the researcher to go all the relevant places like banks and company etc to get relevant information and due to the combination of project and academics work.

ii. Uncooperative attitudes of the respondents; the researcher could not get some necessary information from the respondents because of their negative attitude in their response to the oral interview with the bank officials and the questionnaires.

Conceptual review

Financial information: planning analysis and decision making is the financial information. Financial information is expected to foresee, look at and assess a company's procuring skill. It is additionally expected to support monetary dynamic speculation and funding direction. The monetary data of an endeavor is contained in the budget summaries.

Financial statement as per Gavtam (2015) is characterized as financial which is the information connecting with monetary place of any firm in a case structure. For Ohison (2019), financial is defined as a written report that sums up the monetary or financial status of an establishment or organization for an expressed timeframe. It incorporates a pay articulation and asset report or explanation of the monetary position depicting the progression of assets, benefit and misfortune and the conveyance or maintenance of benefit. Financial statement is a document which sets out the assets, income, expenses and debts of a company to allow a third person to assess that company's health.

Financial statements according to Nigeria accounting standard Board (NABS) are the areas of communicating to interested parties information on the resource obligations and performances of the reporting entity.

Financial statement can also be defined as the process whereby information relating to the organization as a whole is reported to the outside world. They are reports on management and not to management. It deals with most external financial transactions of the organization.

Financial statements are source documents of accounting information. They are referred to as the final accounts.

Features of Financial Accounting Information

The basic features of financial accounting information are;

i. Financial accounting information always relate to past period and hence there are called historical document.

ii. Financial accounting informationis expressed in monetary terms.

iii. Financial accounting information indicate profitability of the business through income statement and financial position through the statement of financial position.

Functions of financial accounting information

i. Financial accounting information provide various facts of a business organization. The accounting department in an organization plays important and vital role in the business management. As the primary aim of a business is maximization of profit, such profit can only be determined through accurate records of income and expenses which is shown in the financial statement.

ii. Accounting for the scare resources of our society, under any form of economics arrangement, decisions as to where capital should

iii. be invested are made on the basis of information contained in the financial statement.

iv. Financial accounting information helps the management to make decisions that are necessary for the continuity of the business. It also provides information about the financial strength, performance and changes in information position of an enterprise that is useful to wide range of users in making economic decisions.

Objectives of Financial Accounting Information

The basic objective of financial accounting information is to assist in decision making. The other objectives are;

i. To provide reliable financial information about economic resources and obligations of a business enterprise.

ii. To provide reliable information about changes in the net reserves (resource obligation) of the business.

iii. To provide information that assist in estimating the earning potential of enterprise.

iv. To disclose to the extent possible, other information related to the financial statements that are relevant to the statement users.

Analysis of Financial Accounting Information

Users of financial statements can get further insight about financial strength and weakness of a company if they properly analyze information reported in these statements.

Therefore, financial analysis is the process of identifying financial strength and weakness of a company by properly establishing relationships between the items in the balance sheet or statement of financial position and income statement.

Financial analysis can be undertaken by the management of the company or by parties outside the company e.g. shareholders, creditors, investors and others. The nature of the analysis will differ depending on the purpose of the analyst.

Definition and Nature of Management

decisions

According to Pandey (2015) management decisions or analysis has to do with an efficient allocation of capital. It involves decision to commit the firm's funds to the long-term assets. Such decisions are of considerable importance to the firm since they tend to determine its value size by influencing its growths, profitability and risk

Investment decision of a firm is one which is expected to produce benefits to the firm over a long period of time and it can pass both tangible and intangible assets.

The management decisions of a firm are generally known as the capital budgeting decision may be defined as the firm's decision to invest its current funds most efficiently in the long-term assets in anticipated of an expected flow of benefits over a series of years. Situation where capital expenditure decisions are made or taken, they are based primary with measurement of capital productivity which provides an objective means of measuring the economic worth of individual investment proposals in order to have a realistic basis for choosing among the firm's long run property. (Pandey 2015). The long-term asset is those which affect the firm's operation beyond the year period. The firm's investment decision would generally include expansion acquisition, modernization and replacements of the long-term assets. Sales of division or business divestment are also analyzed as an investment decision. Activities such as change in the methods of sales distribution or undertaking an advertisement campaign or a research and development programmes have long-term implications for the firms expenditures and benefits, and therefore, they may also be evaluated as investment decisions. It is important to note that investment in long-term assets invariably requires funds to be tied up in the current assets such as inventories and receivables, some of the features of investment decisions are as follows;

i. The exchange of current funds for future benefits

ii. The funds are invested in long-term assets

iii. The benefits will occur to the firm over a series of years

The two importance aspects of investment decisions are;

i. The evaluation of the prospective profitability of new investments.

ii. The measurement of a cut-off rate against that the prospective return of new investment could be compared.

Future benefits of investment are difficult to measure and cannot be predicted with certainty. Risk in investment arises because of the uncertain returns. Investment proposals should therefore, be evaluated in terms of expected return and risk. Beside the decision to commit funds in new investment proposals, capital budgeting also involves replacement decisions that are decision of recommitting funds when an asset becomes less productive or non-profitable. The correct cut-off rate in investments is the opportunity cost of capital which is the expected rate of return that an investor could earn by investing in financial assets of equivalent risk.

It is significant to emphasize that expenditures and benefits or an investment should be measured in cash. In an investment analysis, it is cash flow which is important, not the accounting profit. It may also be pointed out that investment decisions affect the firm's value. The firm's value will increase if investments are profitable and add to the shareholder's wealth. These increases are reflected in the financial statement of the firm, which invariably are used as tool for investment decisions owing to certain analysis inherent in them.

Importance of Management Decision

Investment decisions require special attention because of the following reasons;

i. They influence the firm's growth in the long-term

ii. They affect the disk of the firm

iii. They involve commitment large amount of funds

iv. They are irreversible or reversible at substantial loss

v. They are among the most difficult decisions to make. (Quirin, 2017)

Growth: the effects of investment decisions extend into the future and have to be endured for a longer period than the consequences of the current operating expenditures. A firm's decision to invest in longterm assets has a decisive influence on the rate and directions of its growth. A wrong decision can prove disastrous for the firm. On the other hand, inadequate investment in assets would make it difficult for the firm to complete successfully and maintain its market share.

Risk: A long-term commitment of funds may also change the risk complexity of the firm. Risk arises in investment clue to the inability to anticipate the occurrence of the possible future events with certainty and consequently, cannot make any adoption of an investment increase average gain but causes frequent fluctuations in its earnings, the firm will become riskier. Thus, investment decisions shape the basic character of a firm.

Funding: Investment decision generally involve large amount of funds which make it imperative for the firm to plan investment programmes very carefully and make an advance arrangement for procuring financial internally or externally.

Irreversibility: Most investment decision is irreversible. It is difficult to find a market for such capital items once they have been acquired. The firm will incur heavy losses if such assets are scrapped.

Complexity: Investment decisions are among the firms most difficult decisions. They are an assessment of future event which are difficult to predict. It is really a complex problem to correctly estimate the future cash flow of an investment. The uncertainty in cash flow is caused by economic, political, social and technological forces.

Methodology

The design that was adopted for this study is the correlational survey research design. Correlation design is an approach that attempts to discover the nature of relationship between a set of variables. The rationale for adopting this design is based on the fact that this study is geared towards collecting data to describe and summarize events being studied, and to establish the link between variables and make predictions about the study population based on the data derived from the sample

The population of the study comprised of all First banks in Nigeria but using South-South Geographical Zone, Nigeria as a case study. Purposive and accidental technique was adopted for the study. The researchers use their judgment and empirical knowledge to select First bank staff as the sample who would best serve the purpose of the study. Accidental sampling technique was also applied by choosing the nearest First bank staff as respondents to supplement the process to get the desired sample size. The sample for the study consisted of 400 First bank staff South-South Geographical Zone, Nigeria. The 400 staff were drawn from South-South Geographical Zone, Nigeria. The sample represents twenty-two (23.84%) of the study population which was derived from Taro Yamane's formular. The researchers used questionnaire as instrument for collection of data for the study. The questionnaire for staff consisted of three sections; A, B and C. Section A focused on the personal data of the bank staff such as the name of bank, and religious affiliation, sex, academic qualification, age while section B had twenty-four items designed to measure investment decision making, forecasting company's performance, company's profitability and new investment projection, and Section C elicited responses on social adjustment. All the items in section B and C were arranged on the 4 points Likert-type scale ranging from Strongly Agree (SA=4points), Agree (A=3 points), Disagree (D=2 points), and Strongly Disagree (SD=1point). The instrument was subjected to face validity by one expert in Business Education and two experts in

measurement and evaluation in the Department of Educational Foundations, Faculty of Education, University of Calabar, Calabar who made necessary suggestions. Their suggestions were used in producing the final copies of the instrument. The instrument was judged to have good face validity. The reliability of the instrument was established using Cronbach alpha reliability technique. In achieving this, a pilot study was conducted using 50 bank staff from the banks that were not part of the main study.

Result

Hypothesis One

Financial accounting information no significant relationship with investment decision making. The independent variable in this hypothesis is investment decision making and dependent variable is financial statement

Table 1 shows that management decision making has an average positive relationship with financial accounting information in First bank as r = .573. Also, when this was tested at 0.05 significance, (r = .573, p = .001<.050), it shows that this has an average positive significant relationship. The null hypothesis of no significant relationship between financial investment and investment decision of making of First Bank Nigeria especially in South-South Zone of Nigeria is therefore rejected. This means that as the financial statement plays a vital role in decision making.

Table 1

Pearson Product Moment Correlation analysis of the relationship between financial accounting information and accounting information decision making in First bank PLC (N= 400)

Variables	N	X	Sd	R	Df	p-value
Investment decision making	400	19.11	2.37			
				.573*	398	.001
Financial statement	400	32.49	3.27			

**Significant at .05, df = 398.*

Hypothesis two

Forecasting company's performance has significant relationship with financial accounting information. The independent variable in this hypothesis is forecasting company's performance and the dependent variable is financial statement.

Table 2 shows that forecasting company's performance has an average positive relationship with financial statement as r = .581. Also, when this was tested at 0.05 significance, (r = .581, P= .000<.050), it shows that this has an average positive significant relationship. The null hypothesis of no significant relationship between forecasting company's performance and financial statement. This implies that the role of financial statement on forecasting company's performance increases. On the other hand, if there is deficiency in financial statement, there will be deficiency in forecasting in company's performance and vice visa.

Table 2

Pearson Product Moment Correlation analysis of the relationship between forecasting company's performance and financial accounting information of First bank Nigeria (N= 400)

Variables	N	X	Sd	R	df	p-value
Forecasting company's performance	400	18.43	2.30			
				.581*	398	.000
Financial accounting informationt	400	32.49	3.27			

**Significant at .05, df = 398.*

Hypothesis Three

Proficiency of a company has significant relationship with financial statement of Frist bank. The independent variable in this hypothesis is Proficiency of a company and financial accounting information of First bank.

Table 3 shows that proficiency of a company has a low positive relationship with financial statement of First bank as r = .488. Also, when this was tested at 0.05 significance, (r = .488, p = .000<.050), it shows that this has a low positive significant relationship. The null hypothesis of no significant relationship between proficiency of a company and financial accounting information of First bank is therefore rejected. This means when the rate of proficiency of a company is increasing, something is wrong with the financial statement.

Table 3

Pearson Product Moment Correlation analysis of the proficiency of a company and financial accounting information of First bank Nigeria (N= 400)

Variables	N	x	Sd	r	df	p-value
Proficiency of a company	400	19.50	2.37			
				.488*	398	.000
Financial accounting information	400	32.49	3.27			

**Significant at .05, df = 398.*

Hypothesis four

Projection of new investors has no significant relationship with financial statementof First bank PLC. The independent variable in this hypothesis is projection of new investors and dependent variable is financial statement.

Table 4 shows that projection of new investors has a high positive relationship with financial statement of First bank PLC as r = .619. Also, when this was tested at 0.05 significance, (r = .619 P =0.000< .050), it shows that there is a significant relationship. The null hypothesis of projection of new investors has no significant relationship with financial accounting information of First bank is therefore rejected. This implies that there is always a role played by financial statement on the projection of new managers.

Table 4

Pearson Product Moment Correlation analysis of the relationship between projection of new investors and financial accounting information of First bank Nigeria (N= 400)

Variables	N	x	Sd	R	df	p-value
Projection of new investment	400	19.32	1.93			
				.619*	398	.000
financial statement	400	32.49	3.27			

**Significant at .05; df = 398.*

Findings of the study

It is quite imperative to still maintain that this work set to manager the role of financial accounting informationin management decision making with a particular attention in First Bank of Nigeria PLC.

From the test of hypotheses above, the following findings were made. Financial accounting information is used to be relied upon in management decision making, it is useful for forecasting company's performance. The study revealed that there is a positive and significant relationship between financial accounting information and accounting information decision making. Financial accounting information provide various facts of a business such as, accurate records of its income and expenses and also its assets and liabilities. Jenfa, B. L. (2020). The respondents agree that the financial statement plays an important role in management decision making.

At last, the main aim of this study is to determine the role of financial accounting information in investment decision making. This is because prospective investor's uses financial statement of concerns as a major parameter for assessing the profitability and the risk of managing in such ventures and the aim of financial accounting information is to provide financial information about an entity to interested parties.

The information can become meaningful through financial interpretations and decisions unveil the essence of financial accounting information as the major custodian of financial information necessary for any accounting information decision. Investment is not made on a vacuum hence, there are bedrocks on which they will stand.

Conclusion

This work concludes that financial accounting information plays a vital role in investment decision making; for instance, where companies invest hundreds of billions of naira annually in fixed assets. By their nature, these investment decisions have the potential to affect the firm's fortunes over many years. For a good decision can boost earning sharply and dramatically increase the value of the firm. This financial information can be subjected to various scrutiny and analysis depending on the investors before making their investment decisions. This is quickly appreciated in the banking sector as one of the major criteria's the demand from their borrowers at the financial accounting information of the concern for various years. This is subjected to their analysis and interpretations before they can go ahead in the loan negotiation concerning any company. Hence it is opined that companies should try as much as possible to posit financial accounting information that reflects a true and fair view of what is propose to represent as a way of appreciating their companies the more.

Recommendations

From the findings of this research, the researchers therefore recommended that:

1. Every company should adhere to the demand of subjecting their financial statements to statutory audit as a way of authenticating their contents

2. Every company should ensure that all material fact is reflected in their financial accounting information.

3. These should be prompt provision of the financial accounting information at the end of each financial year.

4. No investment decisions on a company should be taken without the consideration of a company's financial accounting information.

5. Investment decision should not be on a vacuum or rule of thumb rather, the financial accounting information should be used as bedrock.

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HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORANYAN CULTURAL FESTIVAL IN NEW OYO: A STRATEGIC MEASURE TO PRESERVE YORÙBÁ ANTIQUITIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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KEYWORDS
Oranyan festival, Cultural Heritage, Oyo-Yorùbá, artifact and Transformation

ABSTRACT
This study investigated the different ways in which Yorùbá cultural indigenous identities are presented to the world in contemporary times through the Oranyan festivals. The Oranyan festival in New Oyo is a traditional celebration of Yorùbá heritage, with roots dating back to the late 14th century. The cultural festivals of Oyo Yorùbá are diverse, but the Oranyan festival is unique in New Oyo because of its global acceptance orchestrated by His Royal Highness, the Alaafin of Oyo, the late Oba Lamidi Adeyemi Olayiwola III. The festival is one of the special annuals that attracts people from different parts of the universe. The event, since its commencement, has uniquely portrayed Yorùbá cultural values, mainly to present Yorùbá cultural values from a historical perspective against Eurocentric views, and characterised by handmade attire, sculptures, liturgical objects and other traditional instruments. This paper gave an in-depth analysis of the historical development of the Oranyan festival among the Yorùbá and its impact on global assessment in the African past. The study used primary and secondary data to elicit information. Primary sources involved archival materials, structured questionnaires, and in-depth interviews with rural and urban dwellers. Secondary sources included texts, articles, and newspapers to complement data from primary sources. The finding shows that the Oranyan festival plays a critical role in the affirmation of African pantheon and preserving Yorùbá antiquities in the 21st century. The paper concludes that the continued practice and celebration of the festival are essential for preserving Yorùbá antiquities and promoting a sense of identity and cultural heritage.

Introduction

The Yorùbá culture is fundamentally based on ancestral worship. Cultural festival connects the Yorùbá social realm to the invisible world for worshipers of deities such as Oranyan and other Yorùbá gods know generally as the Orisa.[1]The hundreds of gods who make up the Yorùbá pantheon are revered for a wide range of reasons, with each one symbolising a different aspect of nature, spirituality, or human emotion. A few gods predated the earth's creation while other are historical heroes or heroines who attained godhood after their deaths. Some gods are natural objects found in their environment, such as mountains, hills, and rivers,that have shaped people's lives and cultural history.[2]

These gods are honoured, venerated, and worshipped in Oyo, especially during cultural festivities that frequently start with a Yorùbá narrative being told. This is made clear at the Oranyan festival, which examines Oyo history to elucidate the Oyo empire's founding and eventual faith.[3]The Oranyan festival establishes a body of relationships and transformations with the adherents. With its followers, the Oranyan festival create a corpus of relationship and changes. These include preserving the bond between a person and the ancestors; mastering and passing down, incantation, traditional dances, songs and ontology; and ensuring the cultural heritage of Oyo town is perpetuated. In New Oyo, customary celebrations dated back as far as the locals themselves, and they are observed throughout the year in the various ways.

The essence of traditional celebration in Yorùbá land is further established by a brief classification of the festival into three categories. First, Agricultural items like new yam are celebrated at the festivals. Another event was held in honour of some notable historical; people who had made history triumphed for their community, and produce history. So each year festivals are planned to honour them. In New Oyo, few instances of these kinds of celebrations are Oranyan, Ogun, and Sango festivals among others. Historical festivals, whether positive or negative, are organised to commemorate a specific event that occurred in a community and fall under third categories.[4]As a result, ceremonies are held to honour individual who have departed.

However, this study is about historical development of the Oranyan cultural festival and its importance in the affirmation and preservation of Yorùbá antiquities in the 21st century. For clarity and understanding, the paper is structured into six segments: introduction, history of Oranyan and geographical location of New Oyo, tourist sites and historical development of the Oranyan festival sin Oyo, traditional practice and program of the festival, the myth surrounding Oranyan staff, and conclusion of the paper.

History of Oranyanand Geographical Location of New Oyo

Oranyan, also called Oranmiyan, was the final ruler of the Yorùbá Kingdom of Ile-Ife.And is credited with founding the Oyo empire.[5]After offending their father, Oduduwa, the first Ooni of Ife, Oranyan his brothers decided to conduct a retaliatory assault on their neighbours.[6] The brother argued On the way toward the fight, and the army dispersed. Too tiny to mount a successful counterattack, ambled down the southern shore till he came to Bussa. There, the chief of the village gave him a show and gave him a big snake with a charm around its throat. Oranyan given instructionsby the chief to pursue the snake until it halted and vanished

[1]Idowu, E.B. (1963). Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief, Oxford University Press, London Longman. 98

[2]https://www.britannica.com/books was retrieved on December, 2022.

[3]Courlander, H. (1996). *Tales of Yoruba Gods and Heroes, Myths, Legends and Heroic Tales of the Yoruba People of West Africa*, Crown Pub; First Edition (January 1, 1973). 88

[4]https://booksgoogle.com/books/about/peoples_and_empire_of_westafrica.htm/?/d=AAAAMMJ.

[5]Daramola, O. Ati A. Jeje. (1967). *Awon Orisa ile Yoruba*, (Ibadan:Oniboje Press, 1967). 15

[6]Johnson, S. (1921). *The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Time to the Beginning of the British Protectorate*, Lagos CMS Bookshops. 85

into the ground. Oranyan followed the advice and founded Oyo, where the serpent shipped.[7]Oranyan made Oyo his new empire and became the first ruler "Oba" (means' king' in the language of the Yorùbá) with the title "Alaafin of Oyo"."Alaafin" means the palace owner' in the Yorùbá language.[8]He left his accumulated wealth in Ife to make it possible for another king to rule there. Once upon a time, Oyo-Ile was at war with the Bariba of Borgu, who was trying to conquer a new city still under construction. Orangun Ajagunla of Ila, Oranyan's older brother, rushed to his men. Shortly after winning the war, Ajuwon welcomed Ajaka; much later, Arabambi was born to a Tapa woman. It is believed that the name "Sango" was given to him by his maternal grandfather, the chief, who took the local name for the god of thunder. However, the royal family was dedicated to the spirits of thunder (Jakuta) and war (Ogun).[9] Oranyan, the first Oba (king) of Oyo, was succeeded by Oba Ajaka, the Alaafin of Oyo. Ajaka was deposed because he lacked Yorùbá's military virtue and allowed his sub-chiefs too much independence. Leadership was then conferred upon Ajaka's brother, Sango, who was later defined as the deity of thunder and lightning.[10] Ajaka was restored after Sango's death. Ajaka returned to the throne more warlike and oppressive. His successor Kori managed to conquer the rest of the area that later historianscalledthe Oyo metropolis. The metropolitan centre of Oyo was the capital, Oyo-Ile (also known as Old Oyo, Oyo Katunga, or Oyo-Oro). By the end of the 14th century, Oyo had emerged as a formidable force in the interior.[11] For more than a century, the Yoruba nation has expanded at the expense of its neighbours. During Onigbogi regin, Oyo suffered a military defeat at the hands of the Nupe led by Tsoede. Around 1535, the Nupe occupied Oyo and forced their ruling dynasty to seek refuge in the Borgu kingdom.[12]The Nupe sacked the capital and destroyed Oyo as a regional power until the early 17th century. The Yorùbá people of Oyo experienced an 80-year interregnum as a dynasty in exile after their defeat at the hand of Nupe. In 1837, they established a New Oyo at Ago Oja that was more intensive and expansive than ever vast Empires. In the 17th century, Oyo developed into large empire after a long period of growth. New Oyo was part of the Western region, which alsoincluded Ọsun State, which was split off in 1991. Oyo State is a homogeneous state, inhabited primarily by the Yorùbá people.[13]

The indigenouspeoples mainly comprise the Oyo, Oke-Ogun, Ibadan, and Ibarapa peoples, all of whom belongto the Yorùbá family and the Africa people's city of African. Ibadan has been the administrative and government centre of Nigeria's formalwestern region since the days of British colonial rule.[14]Other notable cities and towns in Ọyọ State include Ogbomọsọ, Iseyin, Iroko, Lanlate, Oja-Owode, Sepeteri, Ilora, Awe,

[7]Curtin, P. D. (1995). *Africa History*. Addison-wesley Longman Ltd. htpp:www.worldhistory.org. retrieved January, 2023.

[8]Ogot, B.A. (1999). *UNESCO General History of Africa, Vol 5,* Abridged Edition. University of California Press,188

[9]Ogot, B.A. (1999). UNESCO *General History of Africa, Vol 5,* Abridged Edition. University of California Press. 189

[10]Ajayi, J.F.A., and Smith, R. (1971). *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century*,London: Cambridge University Press. 87

[11]https://www.black.org/global-africa-history/oyo/ was retrieved on July, 2023.

[12]https://www.worldhistory.org/Oyo-Empire retrieved in October, 2022

[13]Hrbek, I. (1992). UNESCO *General History of Africa, Vol. 111*, Abridged Edition, University of Califonia Press. https://www.worldhistory.org/Oyo-Empire accessed in November, 2022.

[14]Oliver, Roland. (1981), Cambridge Encyclopedia of Africa. Cambridge University Press. 491

Ilero, Igbeti, Iseyi, Igboho, Fiditi,Igbo-Ora and other.[15]

Tourist Sites and Historical Development of the OranyanCultural Festival inOyo

According to oral testimony given by Prince Ayo Ladigbolu[16], on August 6, 2021, in Isale Oyo, the first ever Oranyan Festival of Arts, Culture, and Tourism was orchestrated in 2012 by his descendant and reigning successor, His Royal Highness, Alaafin of Oyo, late Oba Lamidi Adeyemi lll, who mandated that subsequently festivals were to be celebrated annually between the 8th and 15th days of September in Oyo, Oyo State, in the south-west region of Nigeria. In an interview with Alhaja Ladigbolu[17] conducted on September 12, 2022, in Oyo, the Oranyan festival is a cultural practice that connects Yoruba in the home and diaspora. The Yorubas have been gifted with a unique culture and history that dates back 3000-1000 BC. They have withstood the test of time despite deadly inter-tribal conflicts. Traditional rulers in these ages were able to retain sacrosanct, revere and undamaged theYorùbá Nation's significant past, which history has taught every African descendant. Without a question, the yearlyOranyan celebration in the historic town of Oyo, no doubt, has left a lasting impression.

The Oranyan festival was introduced when Alaafin of Oyo, the late Oba Lamidi Adeyemi lll, received visitors from the Guild of Tourism Journalists (GTJ), which paid him a courtesy visit in his palace in Oyo, Oyo State. Alaafin said one of the reasons why the Oyo Kingdom has taken it upon itself to celebrate one of his heroes, Oranyan, was because the celebration of heroes is done all over the world and Nigeria should not be an exception. The festival will expose tourists to sites like Sango Shrine in the palace, Sogidi Stream in Awe, Agidam Hill of gods and goddesses at Isale Oyo, the Grinding Stones of the Queen at Arole Oba House, Bara (the burial place of past kings), Soro Hill, or the talking forest, and many others.[18]

Traditional Practice and Programme of the Festival

Festivals are events and a social phenomenathat occur in virtually all human cultures.[19] It provides opportunities for a social solidarity, cultural expression and continuity for human beings and the fetusof society. A festival is a special event celebrated by a community and focuses on some distinctive aspects of that community and its religion or culture. Festivals as "thematic, public celebrations" is the most practical approach.[20] However, Egungun and Sango are two traditional customs that are well known in New Oyo. "Egungun" refers to a particular mask-wearing custom among the Oyo Yorùbá, from whom it is taught to have migrated.[21] Egungun alludes to the idea of "powers concealed",which is relevant to customs that honour gods and ancestors, who are both regarded as beings from

[15]available at https://www.Oyostatehistotry.com; https://en.m.wikipedia.org.wiki//oyo. Accessed in November, 2022

[16]Prince Ladigbolu, A. (2021), Oral evidence obtained from a retisred Clergyman, Isale Oyo area, Oyo.

[17] Ladigbolu, A.R. (2022). Oral evidence obtained from Ladigbolu area, Oyo area, Oyo.

[18] Available at http://www.guardian.ng; retrieved January, 2023, https://www.vanguardngr.com; retrieved January, 2023

[19]Falassi, A. (1987). Time out of time: an essay on the festival. Albuquerque: University of Mexico press. 185-189

[20]Getz, D. (1987). Event Management and Event Tourism New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation. 78

[21]Spencer-Oatey, H. (2012). What is culture? A Compilation of Quotations Global PAD Core Concepts. UK Global PAD Open House, University of Warwick. 20

beyond.[22]According to Witt & Brown[23], Egungun has become morespecifically linked to the society, honouring the ancestors in particular, and a descendant commitment to continuing the traditions of his predecessor and maintaining the reputation of his lineage. While the Egungun of Oyo has been specifically associated with ancestor honouring, Ogunsakin Iyabo[24]noted that the practice can be regarded as a masking ritual that tries to respect both gods and ancestors.Like Paaka Egungun, agba are distinguished by their multi-layered, vividly coloured lap pets or strips of cloth cut with a saw, as well as the dredging affixed to a wooden and cloth sculptural headdress that is devoid of the horizontal superstructure that distinguishes paaka Egungun. Even within the Yorùbáland, headpieces can differ significantly and may feature more abstract carving in addition to figure carvings depicting human or animal shapes. A full body suit thatenvelope the performer is fastened to the helmet and is most often made of Aso-Oke or strip-woven indigo cloth, locally produced and usually hand-woven. The cloth comprising the lappets is commonly a mix of imported cloths from America, Europe, and sometimes even Southeast Asia, imported to and sometimes produced from the African textile market. In an interview, Sangodiji Adediran[25] claims that the typicaltextiles are damask, which is referred to as " the royal, gold thread cloth that has a strong metallic sheen in the sun" and velvet, which is regarded as "the epitome of good taste" (aran ni olori aso), in Yoruba culture (mosaadi aso oba tii tanna yan ran yan ran). Additional physical features include a face panel made of knotted mesh that is black and white and allows the performer to see through it, the use of buttons, cowry shells, and medals to embellish, especially the region around the knotted mesh, and the usage of amulet or medicinee packets fastened to the costume. Similar to the worship of the ancestor, the construction of the masquerades (Egungun) is made possible by a broad network of family and community involvement. As though the ensemble is meant to honour the ancestor, it also speaks about the patron and family who finance the construction of the masquerade.

The purpose of the ancestral ensembles, according to the Yorùbá, is to reveal the position and filial piety of the "owner" of an Egungun, as well as the existence and power of the living dead. In this sense, the ensemble tells us as much about the living as it does about the deceased it is designed to honour, reflecting the riches, prestige, and affiliations of a specific family.

In Oyo, Oyedemi's[26] oral interview statesthatthe festival involves not only the costume itself but also dancing, drumming, and singing or chanting of particular verses. Just as many members of the community are involved in its box initial production, the community participates in the (Odun Egungun) masquerade festival, where one or more Egungun will perform. Masqueraders and drummers are almost exclusively men, although women actively participate in the singing or chanting of verses. The Egungun is a secret society among the Yoruba people of Nigeria. A hereditary chief called (Alagba baba Egungun) in Yorùbá language means Alagba heads the society, which celebrates its most important festival in June every year for seventeen days.[27] However, this Egungun festival in Oyo town was always peaceful and colourful. On the last day of the festival, a large cross-section of the people from the ancient town, including the Oyo-Mesi and Baales, as well as foreign nationals from about ten countries, gathered at the palace of the Alaafin of Oyo for the grand finale of the festival. About 30 masqueraders (Egungun) in long, colourful robes gather in a grove not far from town and then arrive as a group to perform their dance in the palace. Addressing the large gathering of people who witnessed the grand finale of the festival in the palace of His Royal Highness, the Alaafin of Oyo, the late Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi lll, said the Egungun festival is part of the religious practices

[22]Spencer-Oatey, H. (2012). What is culture? A compilation of quotations Global PAD Core Concepts. UK Global Pad Open House, University of Warwick. 25

[23]Witt, M.A.F., Brown, C.A, (1993). The Humanities: Cultural Roots and Continuities, Vol. 1. (Lexington: CC Heath and Company, Forth Edition). 25

[24] Ogunsakin, I. (2020), Oral evidence, trader, Isale Oyo.

[25] Sangodiji, A. (2020), Oral evidence, Parakoyi Area, Oyo.

[26] Mr Oyedemi, (2020), Oral evidence, a retire soldier, Aguo, Oyo town.

[27] Professor Bade, A. (2018), Oral evidence, Educationist, Oro, Kwara State.

of the Yoruba people of Oyo. The Yoruba religion is based on oral traditions; beliefs and practices are preserved by passing history, customs, and traditions from one generation to the next.[28] Authority for interpreting events and establishing proper conduct of ethics and morals rests with a bureaucratic structure of rulers who function in both religious and political realms."According to traditional Yoruba belief, all power in the universe emanates from a supreme being, Olodumare. Olodumare, known as the owner of everlasting abundance, among many other praise names, holds all power and is the giver of all life. Olodumare is the mystical, remote source of all things and is not identified by gender. All that exists, including supernatural divine realities and natural earth realities, is part of Olodumare''.[29] As the supreme almighty source, the late Oba Adeyemi stated that Olodumare is directly involved in the affairs of the earth through a complex core of sub-divinities called Orisa. The Orisa are authoritative divine emissaries who serve as intermediaries between the people of Eearth and Olodumare. They are the major objects of veneration and ritual obligation. The names and numbers of Orisa vary according to national and local customs, but they number in the hundreds. It is also one of the most ancient, traditional land-major festivals of the Yoruba race. As such, it encompasses all the range of techniques, skills, and crafts through which the cultural values, customs, and traditions of the Oyo people are manifested. The aboriginal place of this traditional and cultural event is in the city of Oyo, located in Oyo State in the southwest region of Nigeria, but it also takes place in other towns in Yorùbáland. Due to the expansion of Oyo territory, old Oyo was once a markable and vast empire of West Africa that ruled for over 600 years, imprinting its culture, language, and traditions across the region, known today as Yoruba common culture.[30] Still, New Oyo is perceived as a place where tradition is strongly preserved in its essence. Since the eighteenth century, when the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade began, the traditions of Sango and Oyo were also widely spread to the New World, being preserved today in several countries in the diaspora.[31] The World Sango Festival is a social practice and festive event deeply connected to the social, religious, cultural, and political institutions in Oyo. It is a key element for the maintenance of the city's identity, unity among the people since immemorial times, and the survival of the heart and mind of the Yoruba culture. It is the maintenance of coexistence with the ancestral world and nature. The international cultural event usually lasts for ten days and consists of intensive traditional and religious practices that accommodate many cultural features. It is during the period of strong rains, which marks the beginning of a productivity season cycle and a renewal bond between the Alaafin and Sango, the ancestral spiritual world. It is a festival that reflects the traditional diversity of its environment. Several activities will take place, which include traditional prayers, reciting oral poetry under the rhythms of traditional drums, followed by traditional dancing to evoke the ancestors, and the exchanging of traditional presents between the royal palace and the Sango Koso main shrine.[32]Highlights of the festival take place on the last day; when the city's population assembles in Koso and waits eagerly for the arrival of the Elegun-Koso, representing the ancestral spirit of Sango, who leads the crowd towards the palace for the final spiritual blessing of the city. The Alaafin does not see an eye for eye with the Elegun-Koso, as it is strictly forbidden for him to see the manifested

[28]Dopamu, P.A. (1993). "Religion in a Secular State: Problems and Possibilities within the Nigerian Context." In indo. British Review: *A Journal of History*, Vol. xxi, No. 1. 122-136

[29]Dopamu, P.A. (1993). "Religion in a Secular State: Problems and Possibilities within the Nigerian Context." In indo. British Review: A Journal of History, Vol. xxi, No. 1., 122-136

[30] Akinjogbin, I.A and Ayandele, E.A, (2008), Yoruba Up to 1800, In Obaro Ikime (Ed), Ground Work of Nigeria History, Ibadan, Heinemann Education Books (Nigeria) Plc, 123

[31]Ikime, O. (Ed.). (1974). Groundwork of Nigerian History, Ibadan: Heinemann Press.

[32]Ayansola, K. (2021). Oral evidence obtained from drummers lsokun area, Oyo

ancestral spirit of Sango.[33] The archaic Yorùbá language is still used to transmit the embedded linguistic values of the ancestral identity of the traditional community in general. For instance, reciting the traditional oral "Oriki-Sango pipe" poems (eulogies) as a form of encoding historical antecedence in an interpretable and intelligible manner is a clear example of the rich oral heritage related to the ancestor Sango and indispensable for the conduction of the festival. In an interview at Isale Oyo, Efunsetan explained that the learning of "Oriki-Sango Pipe" poems, chants, prayers, liturgical rites, dancing, divination, drumming, and even dancing starts at a young age.To ensure that parts of this rich and complex oral legacy, performing arts, and apprenticeship are not lost, traditional families transmit their knowledge through the informal method by teaching their male and female children and other members of the community.This cross-compound learning system is the base of the successful endurance of Oyo traditions, which are gender-friendly traditions as women are involved in the activities. Also, depending largely on craftsmanship, the festival cannot be held without traditional handmade attire, sculptures, liturgical objects, and other traditional instruments. Prince Ayo Ladigbolu[34], in an oral interview in Oyo Palace, Mr Orisumbare Alabi[35]asserted that the Federal Government had expressed its support to the Alaafin of Oyo, the late Oba Lamidi Olayiwola Adeyemi, and the Paule Gomes Cultural Foundation in the pursuit of preserving and safeguarding both the tangible and intangible heritage of ancient Oyo town, with a view to prepare candidature dossiers for World Sango heritage nominations. This is stated in an official letter submitted to the National Commission for Museums and Monuments by the then Permanent Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Tourism, Culture, and National Orientation. Alaafin cultural Ambassador is Dr. Paule Gomes of Portugal.[36] According to the letter, Oyo town, in Oyo State, southwest Nigeria, has a noteworthy and richest collection of tangible resources such as temples, palaces, markets, and traditional compounds, as well as natural resources like rivers and forests. According to the federal government, this significant collection of structures and natural resources; will ensure the survival of a millenary civilization based on a distinct and complex traditional, political, and religious system. The interview with Ayo Ladigbolu,[37] the deputy chairman of the planning committee of the festival in 2012, revealed that the Oyo State Progressive Association of North America, Inc. was ready to prepare to create the Oranyan World Heritage Centre and Institute in the historic town. Another interview with Mr Oyekola,[38] who watched the events, remarked in another interview that "this is a most encouraging and challenging development, which will serve as a boost to the morale of Yorùbás, who see the Oranyan festival as a labour of love for this generation and prosperity. "It is a clarion appeal to all, especially the sons and daughters, to embrace the attributes and traits of Oranyan that qualify anyone to be called 'Omoluabi.' "Whoever upholds beliefs and practices the customs is also a true descendant of Oranyan.

The Myth Surrounding Oranyan Staff at Ile- Ife

Ile-Ife is the cradle of the Yorùbá race and a historical townwith several tourist attractions, including the Ife museum, the Palace of the Ooni of Ifeand many others. The Oranyan Staff (Opa Oranyan) is one of Ife's most popular attractions. The staff is nearly 18 long and decorated with intricate designs. It is surrounded with myths, cultures, and histories. It is a must-see attraction for tourists. A journey to the ancient city of Ife would be incomplete until you see the staff. The Oranyan Staff can be seen at the Oranyan Shrinein Ile-Ife Arubidi district. Despite the fact that certain traditional rites are performed there, it is nevertheless open to tourists. However, some areas of the shrine are exclusively accessible to initiates. The staff could be seen around 40 feet away while entering the temple. It features a stones made elevated boundary in the shape of a square. There are three steps down from the top of

[33]Ayansola, K. (2021). Oral evidence obtained from drummers lsokun area, Oyo

[34] Prince Ladigbolu, A. (2017), Oral evidence, a retired Clergyman, Isale Oyo area, Oyo

[35] Mr orisumbare, A. (2020), Oral evidence, a retired civil servant, Oke-Apo, Oyo area, Oyo

[36]Dr. Paule Gomes (2012). Oral evidence from the Cultural and Festival Ambassador to the Alafin Oyo, the late Olayiwola Adeyemi, Alaafin Palace, Oyo.

[37]Prince Ladigbolu, A. (2017), Oral evidence, a retired Clergyman, Isale Oyo area, Oyo.

[38] Mr Oyekola, (2020), Oral Evidence, a retired civil servant, Asipa, Oyo area, Oyo.

divider to reach the crew. A metal chain separates it even more. White clothes cover the base of the staff. A little grove to the left is protected from visitors by dense trees. Walking further behind the staff will take you to the inner sanctuary, which is only accessible to initiates. The Oranyan obelisk dated back hundredsyears and is steeped in history.[39] Lawrence Omidiora, an Ife destitute acted as a guide on the shrine tour. "Opa Oranyan represents the essence of Ile Ife, first as the traditional source of the Yorùbápeople, because Oranyan is a descendant of Oduduwa, the progenitor of the Yorùbá race. He was Oduduwa grandson," he explained. Although Oranyan is claimed to have used Oranyan staff, the round obelisk does not appear to be a staff any person can carry wield.[40] Omidiora stated that he was not aware of any archaeological studieson the obelisk that would prove the authenticity of the staff tales. Omidiora[41]narrated the legend and history of the staff. "Oranyan was a fantastic warrior". He possessed a sword. He dropped the sword at the moment of his death, and it turned into the staff we see today. The letters on it, according to some experts, have a close affinity with Greek letters.[42]Tourists are permitted to stand at the elevated demarcation and take photographs, but they are not allowed to approach or touch the obelisk. According to Omidiora, the obelisk still possessed powerful magical abilities. "it is a belief that the staff has a living soul that must appeased. That is why members of the two families, Akogun and Eredumi, have continued to participate in its worshipto this day.[43] During the time of inter-tribal warfare, the staff was always consulted before wars, and staff helped to secure victories over enemies," he explained. Despite its wisdom and history, the staff is still usedin the installation of traditional rulers in some towns and cities. He went on to say, "Before some kings are installed, the sword of office for each of these kings must be removed from the Oranmiyan Shrine and given to them".[44]The Oranmiyan Staff also plays a role in the installation of a new Ooni of Ife, according to the guide, because the staff is not just the spirit of Oranyan but of all the past Ooni who have reign Ile-Ife.

[39]Omidiora, L. (2017), Oral Evidence, custodian of Oranmiyan Staff, Ile-Ife, Osun state.

[40]Omidiora, L. (2017), Oral Evidence, custodian of Oranmiyan Staff, Ile-Ife, Osun state

[41]Omidiora, L. (2017), Oral Evidence, custodian of Oranmiyan Staff, Ile-Ife, Osun state

[42]Omidiora, L. (2017), Oral Evidence, custodian of Oranmiyan Staff, Ile-Ife, Osun state

[43]Omidiora, L. (2017), Oral Evidence, custodian of Oranmiyan Staff, Ile-Ife, Osun state

Conclusion

The paper examined the historical development of the Oranmiyan cultural event in New Oyo as well as the strategic measure of maintaining Yorùbá antiquities in the 21st century. Overall, this studydiscovered that the Oranyan festival is a major emblem of Yoruba culture and values as well as a successful vehicle for preserving Yorùbá artifact. Its annual celebration has served as a forum for the reaffirmation of Yorùbá bonds and the history of the founding of the Oyo Empire. It also serves as the foundation for global awareness of Yorùbá sociocultural identity, as Alaafin of Oyo the late Lamidi Adeyemi Olayiwola lll influence nurturing a Yorùbá identity and consciousness among the black race across generations and boundaries. The study demonstrates the view that the New Oyo is a land of great and dynamic culture. Its huge culture outflow plays an important part image and influence of the Alaafin, Oba lamidi Adeyemi lll in the rest of Yorùbáland, and much of black Africa. The cultural festival named Oranyan or Oramiyan serves as an occasion to showcase the beauty of Yorùbá culture and the glory of the African past. At its best, it was an ambitious cultural jubilee lasted for a full ten days during which rulers and chiefs of Yorùbáland, ordinary citizens, poor and rich from around the globe were there on the last day to honour Alaafin and see the beauty of Yorùbá civilization from a very great height.

This research suggests that the Oranyan festival should continue to further strengthen its roots as a cornerstone ofYorùbá culture while ensuring that Yorùbáantiquities are safeguarded for future generations. Nevertheless, the Oranyan festival is a mirror reflection of the history, beliefs, and traditional identity of the people of Yorùbá at home and abroad in contemporary times.

The study recommendations include strengthening cultural heritage in the country,

[44]Omidiora, L. (2017), Oral Evidence, custodian of Oranmiyan Staff, Ile-Ife, Osun state

allocating more funds to the Ministry of Youth and Culture, and improving human capacity development. As a result, cultural tourism will increase, jobs will be created, and revenue generation for the government through the tourist centre will increase.

PREVENTING VIOLENCE CRIMES (KIDNAPPING, ARMED ROBBERY, BRIGANDAGE OR COMMUNITY MASSACRE) WITH DRONES: AN EFFECTIVE ALTERNATIVE TO VEHICULAR PATROLS IN NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS
Violent Crimes, Prevention of Violent Crimes, Kidnapping, Armed Robbery, Community Massacre

ABSTRACT
The study was examination ofPreventing Violent Crimes (Kidnapping, Armed Robbery, Brigandage or Community Massacre) With Drones: An Effective Alternative to Vehicular Patrols in Nigeria.The specific objectives were to determine the impact of drones in the prevention of kidnappings, Armed Robbery and Communal Killings in Nigeria. Three research questions and hypotheses guided the study. The study population was made of 114 officers drawn from Nigeria Police Collegewhile a sample size of 89 officers were selected for the study. The descriptive statistics was used to answer the research questions while R^2 value Regression analysis was applied to test the hypotheses of the study at 0.05 level of significance. The result of the study showed that drones have significant impact in the prevention of kidnappings, Armed Robbery, Communal Killings and other crimes in Nigeria. Recommendations proffered include the need for strategic deployment of drones in all security formation in the country, adequate budgetary provision .training of manpower, comprehensive monitoring and adequate assessment and action on information and intelligence received from drones.

1. Introduction

The increasing challenge of violent crimes has continued to exact grave consequences in our society and the nation at large leading to loss of lives and properties. This has posed significant challenges to the Nations security forces. Nigeria has experienced widespread insecurity for more than 20 years, which has led to the deaths of many innocent people such as foreign nationals, some members of the country's security forces, elected officials, and numerous government employees and others.The frequency of violent crimes, including suicide bombings, murders committed for religious reasons, ritual killings, kidnappings, and muggings, has been rising.As a result, vehicle patrols are no longer an effective method of monitoring and deterring these crimes. When a criminal uses or threatens to use harmful force against a victim, it is considered a violent crime. This includes crimes

like murder, assault, and assassination where the goal is to commit a violent act as well as crimes where the use of violence as a tool of coercion or show of force, such as robbery, extortion and terrorism. Falk (2021)

The use of technology gargets, such as drones instead of vehicular patrol, has therefore become essential to improve more effective monitoring and surveillance operations for the prevention and control of crimes, given the circumstances facing the country's security forces. Drones are an indispensable tool for law enforcement and border control surveillance teams to obtain information. Drones could have prevented events such as the attack at Kaduna International Airport and the bombing of the Abuja-Kaduna bound train in Nigeria on March 25, 2022, and April 4, 2022, which resulted in the deaths of approximately 60 people and the kidnapping of approximately 146 by the bandits.

In the majority of developed nations, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany and others, local, state, and federal governments have used drones for a variety of purposes and under a variety of conditions. They are being used to patrol the country's borders, prevent illegal immigration by criminals, terrorists, and undocumented immigrants, and assist in identifying and stopping the smuggling of drugs, weapons, and other contraband into the nation, (Escutia, 2009).

Drones are used by the US government to drop targeted missiles and carry out in-depth surveillance and reconnaissance missions over nations like Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran. It is clear that more than seven hundred (700) drones were being used in Iraqi territory as of early 2007 (Peterson, 2009). The use of drones in the Middle Eastern states' post-9/11 armed conflicts gave rise to their popularity. Over 2.5 million drones are currently flying over the United States alone, according to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) of the United States. The US police use drones to locate suspects by using the aerial bird view. Drones capture a live bird's-eye view of various incidents, from theft to riots, and have the capacity to identify suspects while locating and tracking them down for arrest. This has proven to be more cost-effective and maneuverable than a helicopter, and it reduces and replaces the use of choppers, thereby decreasing the response time.

In Nigeria, using drones as a substitute for car patrols can improve the prevention of violent crimes. Drones are thought to be able to improve efficient aerial surveillance, efficient intelligence collection, and efficient security activity monitoring. Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) are small aircraft that can fly without a human operator on board. They are also referred to as drones or remotely piloted vehicles (RPVs). These are self-contained devices that are capable of carrying payloads such as cameras, sensors, and communication devices. In recent times, drones have been found to be the most efficient tool for gathering intelligence, conducting aerial surveillance, and monitoring security. It is in the face of the security challenges that the study seeks to examine Preventing Violent Crimes (Kidnapping, Armed Robbery, Brigandage or Community Massacre) with Drones as an Effective Alternative to Vehicular Patrols in Nigeria.

1.1 Objectives

The main objective of the study is to examinepreventing violent crimes with drones as an effective alternative to vehicular patrols in Nigeria.

The specific objective includes;

1. To examine the impact of drones in the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria
2. To examine the impact of drones in the prevention of Armed Robbery in Nigeria
3. To examine the impact of drones in the prevention of community massacre in Nigeria

1.2 Research Questions

The research questions which guided the study are;

1. To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact on the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria?
2. To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact on the prevention of Armed Robbery in Nigeria?

3. To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact on the prevention of Community Massacre in Nigeria?

1.3 Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were formulated to guide the study

HO1. There is no significant impact of drones in the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria

HO2 There is no significantimpact of drones in the prevention of Armed Robbery in Nigeria

HO3 There is no significantimpact of drones in the prevention of Community Massacre in Nigeria

2. Review of Related Literature

2.0 Concept of Violent Crimes

When a criminal uses or threatens to use harmful force against a victim, it is considered a violent crime. This includes crimes like murder, assault, rape, and assassination where the goal is to commit a violent act, as well as crimes like robbery, extortion, and terrorism where the goal is to commit a violent act as a form of coercion or display of force. Weapons may or may not be used in violent crimes. Violent crimes can range in severity from homicide to harassment, depending on the jurisdiction. Roth and Reiss (2023). A victim of violent crime experiences physical harm or threats of violence. Sexual assault and rape, robberies, assaults, murders, and other crimes involving the deliberate use of force by one person against another are considered violent crimes.

2.1 Few Violence Crimes Statistics in Nigeria

To facilitate analysis, **Table 1** lists violent highway attacks involving kidnappings or abductions for ransom; **Table 2** lists violent attacks involving mass/indiscriminate killings without abductions; and **Table 3** lists attacks involving both mass/indiscriminate killings and abductions. The purpose of this is to illustrate the trends and driving forces behind some of the violent crimes that occur on Nigeria's roads.

Table 1. A Chronicle of Newspaper reportage of violent criminal attacks on Nigerian Highways involving kidnapping for ransom.

Newspaper	Date	Attacks, places and number of casualties
Vanguard	July 27, 2021	**60 people kidnapped by gunmen who hijack three buses in Sokoto** On Sunday, July 25, 2021, around sixty passengers from Sokoto who were riding on buses operated by the Sokoto State Transport Authority were allegedly kidnapped by bandits near the Sokoto-Gusau highway. Mohammed Yusuf, a driver who barely escaped the kidnapping, claimed that at around 3 p.m., the bandits blocked the road close to Dogon Karfe and abducted every passenger inside the three buses. Additionally, many of the Road Transport Workers' members in the states of Sokoto, Kebbi, and Zamfara have perished as a result of the wanton actions of gunmen along the highway, according to Bello Mai Laya, a member of the organization.
The Nation	December 23, 2021	**Abuja-bound bus passengers kidnapped.** On December 22, 2020, thugs on the Benin-Auchi Road in Edo State abducted passengers from a commercial bus that was headed for Abuja. They stopped the bus between Ehor and Iruekpen, fired shots into the air, and forced the passengers into the forest.

Newspaper	Date	Attacks, places and number of casualties
Daily Trust.	January 15, 2021	**How gunmen kidnapped 18 Kano traders in Kogi** Eighteen Kano traders who were on their way to Abia were abducted by gunmen in Kogi state. The victims, who were all from the well-known Katin Kwari Textile Market, were being driven to Aba in the state of Abia to make purchases when gunmen ambushed their car and drove them into the bush.
Daily Trust	January 19, 2021	**Gunmen abduct travelers on Ilesa-Akure expressway** On the Ilesa-Akure expressway yesterday, January 18, 2021, a few travelers were kidnapped by unidentified gunmen. It was discovered that the alleged abductors halted the tour bus carrying the passengers, removing a number of them into the forest and allowing others to flee. Chief Amitolu Shitu, the Amotekun Corps' field commander in the state, verified the incident. "We have received reports……."
THE NATION	February 9, 2021	**Kidnappers attack funeral convoy in Edo: Brother of deceased abducted, Driver Killed** Yesterday, a funeral convoy in Edo state was attacked by kidnappers. They killed a driver by shooting him and kidnapped the deceased's younger brother. The convoy was attacked near the Ahor community, which is now known for kidnapping, at the Benin Bypass while traveling from Lagos to Enugu. The attackers shot straight at the cars in the convoy, severely damaging the ambulance. The ambulance's behind-the-wheel driver lost his life.
THE NATION	February 11, 2021	**13 passengers kidnapped in Bayelsa, Delta** In Delta State, on Tuesday, February 9, 2021, there were reported kidnappings of about seven people along the Sapale/Oghara axis of the East-West Road. The victims had a journey to Warri. There were reports that some of the victims were Delta State Polytechnic, Oghara students.
NEW TELEGRAPH.	February 15, 2021	**Bandits abduct 18 passengers, abandon woman, baby in Niger.** Eighteen Niger State Transportation Authority (NSTA) passengers are missing after bandits kidnapped them while they were traveling from Kontagora to Minna. This happened near Yakila village in the state's Rafi Local Government Area. The attack happened on February 14, 2021. Ibrahim Balarabe Kagara, the Chief of Staff of the State Government, and Mallam Ibrahim Inga, the Director General of the Niger State Emergency Management Agency, barely escaped when the bandits arrived on the scene, having just finished their operations. It was learned that the bandits fled with the other eighteen passengers to an unidentified location, leaving a woman and her infant behind.

Source: Authors' Field Survey, 2021.

Table 2. Chronicle of Newspaper reportage of violent criminal attacks on Nigerian Highways involving mass or indiscriminate killings.

Newspaper	Date	Attacks, places and number of casualties
Vanguard.	November 28, 2020	**Gunmen kill Ondo Monarch** Suspected kidnappers on November 26, 2020, reportedly killed a first-class traditional ruler in Ondo State, the Olufon of Ifon, Oba Isreal Adewusi, in the Ose Local Government Area of the state. … it was learnt that the monarch was hit by a hail of bullets, when the gunmen, who hid inside the bush along the highways attacked his vehicle in the Elegbeka area, shooting severally in an attempt to stop the driver from fleeing. The monarch was said to have been rushed to the Federal Medical Centre in Owo, where he died.
The Newsguru	November 19, 2020	**Gunmen kill ex-educational secretary, kidnaps 20 travelers in Nasarawa.** https://thenewsguru.com/nigeria_news/kidnaps_20_travellers_in_Nasarawa/Gunmen have killed the former education secretary of Nasarawa Local Government Area of the state, Malami Salihu and kidnapped 20 people who were travelling to Toto Local Government of the state. The incident of Tuesday afternoon on 5th January along Mungi sharp corner Buga Gwari, Gadabuke area of Toko LGA, gunmen kidnapped 20 travellers who were travelling in three vehicles when they were intercepted and matched into the bush by the gunmen to unknown destination.
Daily Trust	January 8, 2021	**Bandits kill four in Kaduna village: Two others along Birnin Gwari Kaduna highway** Four persons were killed on Wednesday, January 6, 2021, when armed bandits attacked Katarma village in Chikun Local Government Area of Kaduna State. In a related development, armed bandits yesterday (January 7, 2021) opened fire on a moving vehicle along Birnin Gwari Kaduna highway, killing the driver and one other person. Daily Trust gathered that the attack took place at Zankoro area of Unguwar Yako, about 20 km to Kaduna town around 10am. This came after nine persons were killed in the same area last Sunday (January 3, 2021). The chairman of Birnin Gwari Emirate Progressive Union (BEPU), Barrister Salisu Haruna, confirmed the incident in a statement yesterday (January 7, 2021)
Daily Trust.	January 17, 2021	**7 still missing as bandits' ambush police officers in Kaduna** The whereabouts of seven police officers out of 15 that were ambushed by bandits along the Birni Gwari-Funtua road on Friday is still uncertain. However, Daily Trust on Sunday gathered that eight of the officers were rescued…. While speaking with Daily Trust on Sunday, the BEPU chairman, Salihu Haruna, said the whereabouts of many of the police officers was uncertain, adding that others officers around Dogon Dawa and other nearby communities had been informed of the incident. A vigilante source in Birni Gwari confirmed that the eight officers who were rescued were in the custody of military operatives in Maganda, while contact had been made with another police officer within the forest area.
New Telegraph	July 20, 2020	**Katsina: Bandits kill three officers, 13 solders** Bandits have killed three officers and 13 soldiers in an ambush at Shimfida in the

Newspaper	Date	Attacks, places and number of casualties
		Jibia Local Government Area of Katsina State. But the Acting Director Defence Media Operations, Brigadier General Benard Onyeuko, said only one officer and two soldiers were killed, while the troops neutralised 17 bandits. But highly placed establishment sources told the New Telegraph the troops of the Nigerian Army Super Camp (NASC) 4, were advancing on foot towards the camp of the bandits' leader when the attack occurred. It was learnt that on the last count, a Major, a Captain as well as a Lieutenant were killed in the surprise attack. Also, 13 soldiers paid the supreme price, while 28 others were wounded in action. Two of the bandits were, however, neutralized.
DAILY SUN	July 9, 2020	**19 soldiers feared killed in another Boko Haran ambush** Book Haram have allegedly killed about 19 soldiers when the insurgents ambushed troops of 25 Task Force Brigade, a military operation team, along Maiduguri Damboa road in Borno State, on Tuesday afternoon. Military sources said an exchange of fire ensured between troops and Boko Haram leading to the death of 19 soldiers. The incident was not immediately known in Maiduguri, Borno State capital, until Wednesday. (08/07/20).

Source: Authors' Field Survey, 2021.

Table 3. Chronicle of Newspaper reportage of violent criminal attacks on Nigerian Highways involving both kidnapping for ransom and mass killings.

Newspaper	Date	Attacks, places and number of casualties
Daily Trust	January 5, 2021	**Nine travelers killed by bandits in Kaduna, 11 others kidnapped** On Sunday 3rd January 2021, bandits laid siege on innocent travelers at Zankoro, along dreaded Birnin-Gwari-Kadun highway, killing nine people (including three infants) that are on their way for ceremony at Doka, Birnin-Gwari LGA. In the last two weeks, bandits terrorising the people of Birnin-Gwari, especially those travelling along Birnin-Gwari-Funtua and Birnin-Gwari Kaduna highways have become intensely aggressive as they continued to kill and abduct innocent citizens unabated. There were more than 40 abductees currently at the mercy of the bandits who were kidnapped between December 20, 2020 and January 4, 2021.
Daily Trust	January 29, 2021	**Gunmen kill 10 in Katsina, abduct 81 in Niger, Taraba.** Eighteen Niger State Transportation Authority (NSTA) passengers are missing after bandits kidnapped them while they were traveling from Kontagora to Minna. According to our correspondent's findings, the attack happened near Yakila village in the state's Rafi Local Government Area. The attack happened yesterday afternoon, February 14, 2021. Ibrahim Balarabe Kagara, the Chief of Staff of the State Government, and Mallam Ibrahim Inga, the Director General of the Niger State Emergency Management Agency, barely escaped when the bandits arrived on

Newspaper	Date	Attacks, places and number of casualties
		the scene, having just finished their operations. It was learned that the bandits fled with the other eighteen passengers to an unidentified location, leaving a woman and her infant behind.

Source: Authors' Field Survey, 2021.

2.2 Concept of Drones

An unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) is a drone. The aircraft is devoid of any human pilot, crew, or passengers. Throughout the 20th century, UAVs were initially developed for military missions that were deemed too "dull, dirty, or dangerous." Tice (Spring 1991) An unmanned aerial vehicle, or UAV, is a "powered, aerial vehicle that does not carry a human operator, uses aerodynamic forces to provide vehicle lift, can fly autonomously or be piloted remotely, can be expendable or recoverable, and can carry a lethal or nonlethal payload". A drone is an unmanned aerial vehicle that can be controlled by a person from a distance or can operate on its own in a predetermined mode. Drones are essentially flying robots that are typically operated from a specialized remote unitcan control everything in the air thanks to clever software. Although drones have a long and well-established history that extends back centuries, there is currently a paradigm shift in the use of drones in crime prevention. Drones can be used for surveillance, crime detection, and aiding law enforcement in locating criminal hotspots and hideouts. The drone is equipped with numerous functional sensors, such as GPS, which help it maintain the appropriate flight mode (Phillips, 2016). Drones have their origins traced back to specific methods created to give the military pertinent information. In the 1930s, the first aircraft with a reusable radio control mechanism was created, and it functioned similarly to a base model.

Subsequently, traditional sensors and camera units were developed for military drones and installed inside missiles. Furthermore, according to (Engberts and Gillissen, 2016), there are a plethora of drone variations readily available due to technological advancements. While some are employed for military purposes, others are discovering possible roles in numerous large corporations.

2.3 Use of Drones for Vehicular Patrols in Nigeria

According to Phillips (2022), drone technology makes it possible for law enforcement and criminal justice to carry out surveillance, track criminal suspects, identify criminal activity at crime hotspots, help police investigators apprehend criminals at a crime scene, and gather evidence to solve crimes. Drone technology helps law enforcement and criminal justice agencies operate more efficiently. It offers complete transparency throughout the asset, equipment, incident, exhibit, and evidence life-cycle, as well as general incident management. It also helps law enforcement manage investigations and forensic processes more effectively by protecting, tracking, and maintaining the integrity of all digital and physical property and evidence with thorough audit trails, from capture or seizure to disposal. Finally, it enables criminal justice officials and legally authorized organizations to gather exhibits on the scene and construct a complete audit trail of all movements and transfer of custody of exhibits (Wondershare Technology, 2021).

2.4Theoretical frameworks

Theory of drone operational abilities and capabilities by Grégoire Chamayou

Grégoire Chamayou uses a philosophical lens to help us understand how drones are transforming our world. A state has asserted its right to wage war over a mobile battlefield that may potentially span the entire planet for the first time in history. He contends that the use of remote-control aircraft goes far beyond George W. Bush's justification for the war on terror.The laws of war, which have defined military conflict as occurring between combatants, are fundamentally changing as we watch. With the increasing deployment of drones in combat, war has the potential to become a domain of covert, targeted assassinations, out of the sight

and control of both potential adversaries and democratic citizens.More than just a piece of technology, Chamayou demonstrates how drones are changing the very essence of what it means for a democracy to go to war. Drones fundamentally alter the psychological, moral, and physical space as well as the art of killing, according to Chamayou's incisive narrative. What is even more terrifying is his theory about the drone. It requires us to think about the emergence of a new political and ethical standard for war, one that is neither peace nor war as we know it. There is a twisted logic underlying the "principle of immunity for the imperial combatant": The ability of the drone operator, one of the numerous recently appointed masters of "lethal surveillance," to move between killing fields and coffee breaks throughout the day is one thing between home and the front lines of conflict. The recruitment of citizens to embrace the "moral obligation" to kill, on the other hand, is another option. The theory behind drone applications is predicated on the idea that drones can be used for monitoring, detection, and surveillance of criminal activity and incidents. Drones are able to take photos during flights that can be used as evidence in court. By creating a flight over a region inside a Trimble propeller, law enforcement can make use of technology. Data transmitted from the operations can be viewed on an iPad or other electronic device. Without the need for human pilot control, the drone autonomously searches the area once its flight parameters are established.

The drone collects millions of photos and data while in the air, conducting an accurate survey of the region (Coccia and Watts, 2020). After that, the information is uploaded into the computer program that compiles and filters the data gathered from the exercise. Information is made available to all law enforcement agencies, including the police services, once it has been collected and analyzed. According to the theory, the use of drone technology can help law enforcement and police officers gather information through iPads and other electronic devices. This information can then be used to track down and arrest criminals as well as apprehend suspects and dismantle criminal organizations. (Coccia and Watts, 2020). Drone technology is sophisticated.

Drones and helicopters differ in that the former can fly on their own while the latter requires a pilot to give it directions. The drone's specialized multipropeller system gives it a high degree of independence. The multiple propeller helps lower the number of drone operation errors. One noteworthy feature of this multipropeller system is that, should a motor inside the apparatus malfunction, it will still be able to fly thanks to the collective force of its propellers (Coccia and Watts, 2020). Larger internal motor counts enable drones to control their elevation more effectively, allowing them to carry heavier payloads while in flight. There is a specific source of power for these propellers, additionally, the majority of these gadgets have detachable batteries for extended periods of time in the air. Strong batteries included in the design allow for an extension of the flight time. An essential part of the drone flying mechanism is the controller. Experts use this device, according to Downer (2010), to control every movement of the drone, including its launch, navigation, and landing.

Table 1: Population Distribution of School

3.0 Methodology

This study adopted survey research design which consists of a series of structured questions, each of which is intended to elicit a particular piece of data. The instruments (questionnaires) applied in this survey seeks to elicit information on preventing violent crimes with drones as an effective alternative to vehicular patrols in Nigeria. The study was conducted in Nigeria Police College, Ikeja, Lagos state. The biographical information of the respondents was presented in Section A, while structured questionnaires with multiple-choice questions about preventing violent crimes were presented in Sections B and C. Respondents were asked to rate the questionnaire on a four-point scale by selecting one of the following options from the list;

1. ***Agree (A),*** 2. ***Strongly Agree (SA),*** 3. ***Disagree (D),*** 4. ***Strongly Disagree (SD).***

3.2 Population of the Study

The study population was made of 114 students drawn from Nigeria Police Collegeas shown in Table 1

S/N	Nigeria Police College	No of Students
1	Senior officers	60
2	Junior officers	54
	Total	114

Source: Field Survey, 2023

3.5 Sampling and Sampling Techniques

A total of 89 were selected as sample size for the study using the Taro Yamane formular.

Sample Size Determination

This formula is given as follows

$$N = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Where

N= Population

n=Sample size

e=Margin of error(0.05)

Hence we have

$$n = \frac{114}{1+114(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{114}{1+114(0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{114}{1.285}$$

$$n = 89$$

Table 2: Sample Distribution

S/N	Nigerian police college	No of Students
1	Senior officers	60
2	Junior officers	54
	Total	114

Source: Field Survey, 2024.

The questionnaires were successfully administered and retrievedout of 114 distributed, 89 copies retrieved.

3.1 Reliability of the Instrument

A test-retest reliability method was used to guarantee the instrument's dependability. Fifteen students who were not included in the initial study group were chosen to take the test. The same test was given to the same students again after a two-week period. By computing their variances, the scores acquired for the two administrations were statistically processed. The instrument's reliability was ascertained by calculating the ratio of the two variances. The internal consistency of the survey was assessed using a reliability coefficient ratio of 0.88.

4.0 ANALYSIS, RESULT, DISCUSSION

The descriptive statistics was used to answer the research questions while R^2 value Regression analysis was applied to test the hypotheses of the study at 0.05 level of significance. This sections provided answers to the research questions and test of the hypothesesas follows;

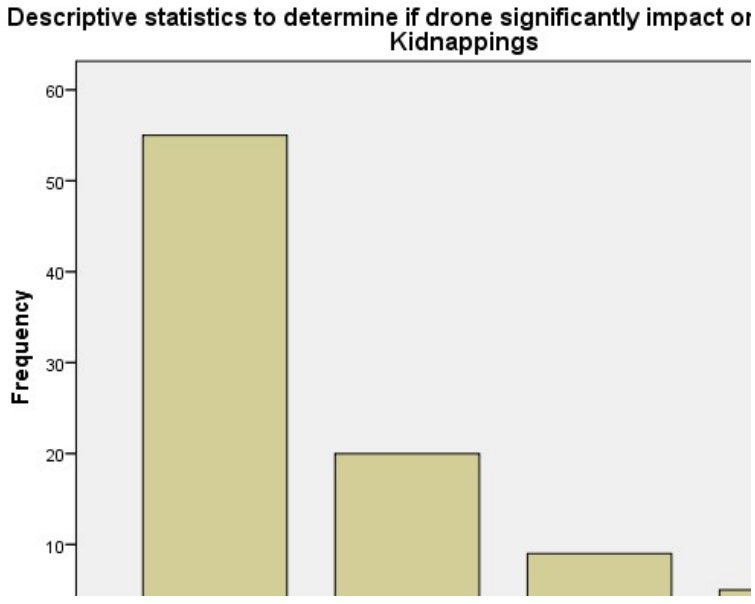
4.1 Research Question One

1.To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact on the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria

Table 4.1

Descriptive statistics to determine if drone significantly impact on prevention of Kidnappings

Staff of Nigerian police college	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	Mean	Std.Deviation
Strongly Agreed	55	61.8	61.8	61.8	1.5955	.88830
Agreed	20	22.5	22.5	84.3		
Strongly disagreed	9	10.1	10.1	94.4		
Disagreed	5	5.6	5.6	100.0		
Total	89	100.0	100.0			



Result; The descriptive statistics showed that 55 respondent representing 61.8% of total respondents strongly agreed that drones significantly impact on the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria

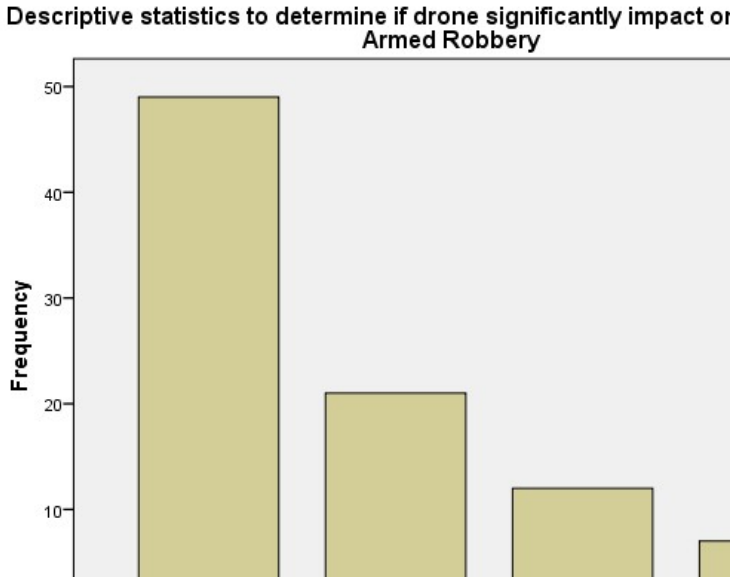
4.2 Research Questions Two

To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact on the prevention of armedrobbery in Nigeria?

Table 4.2

Descriptive statistics to determine if drone significantly impact on prevention of Armed Robbery

Staff of Nigerian police college		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	Mean	Std.Deviation
	Strongly Agreed	49	55.1	55.1	55.1	1.7416	.97150
	Agreed	21	23.6	23.6	78.7		
	Strongly disagreed	12	13.5	13.5	92.1		
	Disagreed	7	7.9	7.9	100.0		
	Total	89	100.0	100.0			



Result;The descriptive statistics showed that 49 respondent representing 55.1 % of total respondents strongly agreed that drones significantly impact on the prevention of ArmedRobbery in Nigeria.

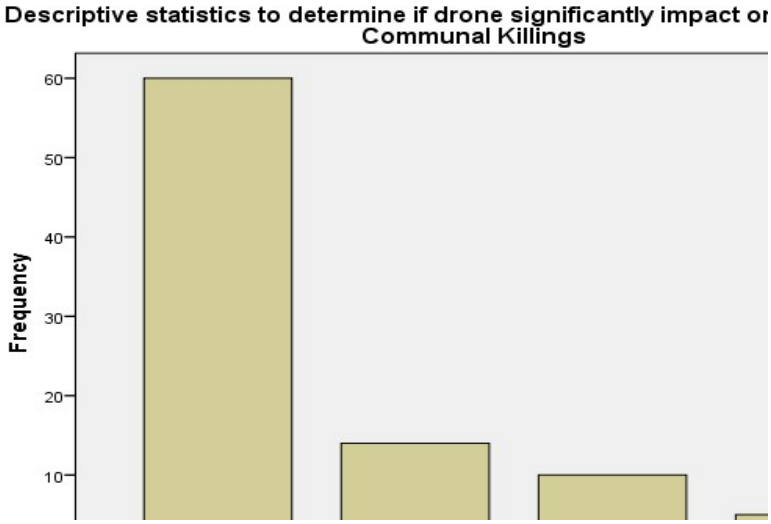
4.3Research Questions Three

To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact on the prevention of Community Massacre in Nigeria?

Table 4.3

Descriptive statistics to determine if drone significantly impact on prevention of Community Massacre

Staff of Nigerian police college	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	Mean	Std.Deviation
Strongly Agreed	60	67.4	67.4	67.4	1.5506	.90468
Agreed	14	15.7	15.7	83.1		
Strongly disagreed	10	11.2	11.2	94.4		
Disagreed	5	5.6	5.6	100.0		
Total	89	100.0	100.0			



Result; The descriptive statistics showed that 60 respondents representing 67.4 % of total respondents strongly agreed that drones significantly impact on the prevention of Community Massacre in Nigeria

4.4 Test of Hypotheses

1. Hypotheses One

HO1. There is no significantimpact of drones in the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria

The **Table 4.4.1**presents a regression model summary derived from an SPSS regression analysis. TheR-Squared value shows the extent to which the dependent variable relates with the independent variable.

Table 4.4.1

Model Summary[b]

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.998[a]	.889	.996	.72232	.078

a. Predictors: (Constant), Drones

b. Dependent Variable: Prevention of kidnappings

Result-Model Summary

The result of the analysis shows that the r^2 values stood at 88.9% which is high, therefore there is significantimpact of drones in the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria

2. Hypothesis Two

HO2 There is no significantimpact of drones in the prevention of Armed Robbery in Nigeria

The **Table 4.4.2** presents a regression model summary derived from an SPSS regression analysis**.** TheR-Squared value shows the extent to which the dependent variable relates with the independent variable.

Table 4.4.2

Model Summary[b]

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.984a	.969	.968	2.15106	.134

a. Predictors: (Constant), Drones

b. Dependent Variable: Prevention of Armed Robbery

sources: SPSS regression analysis

Result-Model Summary

The result of the analysis shows that the r^2 values stood at 99.6% which is high, therefore there is significant impact of drones in the prevention of Armed Robbery in Nigeria

3. Hypothesis Three

HO3 There is no significantimpact of drones in the prevention of Community Massacre in Nigeria

The **Table 4.4.3** presents a regression model summary derived from an SPSS regression analysis**.** TheR-Squared value shows the extent to which the dependent variable relates with the independent variable.

Table 4.4.3

Model Summary[b]

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.957[a]	.789	.915	4.74589	.059

a. Predictors: (Constant), Drones

b. Dependent Variable: Prevention of Community Massacre

Result- model summary

The result of the analysis shows that the r^2 values stood at 78.9% which is high. Therefore, there is significantimpact of drones in the prevention of Communal Killings in Nigeria

4.5 Results

The result of the study is summarized as follows

1. Therefore, there is significantimpact of drones in the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria
2. There is significant impact of drones in the prevention of Armed Robbery in Nigeria
3. Therefore, there is significantimpact of drones in the prevention of Community Massacre in Nigeria

4.6 Discussion

The study showed that there is significantimpact of drones in the prevention of kidnappings, Armed Robbery and Communal Killings in Nigeria.In Nigeria the use drone can constitute an alternative to vehicular patrol to enhance the prevention of violent crimes. It is believing that drones can enhance effective aerial surveillance, effective, intelligence gathering and monitoring security activities. Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) known variously as drones or remotely pilotedvehicles (RPVs) are small aircraft that can fly without an onboard human operator. They areautonomous machines that can carry cameras, sensors, communication equipment or other payloads. Drones' usage has been identified as the most effective for intelligence gathering, aerial surveillance and security monitoring in recent times

5.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

The study concludes thatDrones are effective alternative to vehicular patrols in Nigeriain preventing violent crimes such askidnapping, armed robbery, communal killings and others. The use of drones goes alongway to prevent such crimes. Therefore, adequate measures and strategies should be implemented to ensure the deployment of drone at all level of security management to ensure the safety of lives and properties.

5.2 Recommendation

Based on the findings, the following recommendations is made;

1. The government should through policy formulation ensured the strategic deployment of drones in all security formation in the country
2. Adequate budgetary provision should be made to ensure the efficient deployment of drones by security forces
3. Adequate training of manpower should be made to ensure the efficient utilization of drones' deployment
4. The deployment of drones should be adequate both in the rural and urban areas so as to provide comprehensive monitoring and prevention of violent crimes
5. Adequate assessment of information and intelligence received from drones should be made for proper action.

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AFRICAN UNION'S SHARED VALUES AND THE DILEMMA OF DEMOCRACY IN WEST AFRICA

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KEYWORDS
African Union, Shared Values, West Africa, Democracy, Military

ABSTRACT
Recently some West African Countries had their democratic governance disrupted in the face of shared values developed and agreed as standard practice for member states of the African Union. Against this background, the paper examined the African Union Shared values and the dilemma of democracy in West Africa sub region. The paper adopted historical and descriptive research method and obtained data from secondary sources particularly Africa Union documents, Nigeria Institute of International Affairs, and other related scholarly journals. First, the study found that AU shared values were developed in their desire of meeting the needs of Africans through the adoption of norms and principles that encourage collective actions and solutions to challenges facing the region of Africa. Second, the study discovered a huge gap in the declaration and policy commitment by leaders of some west African countries particularly Niger Republic, Mali, and others that recently experienced military takeover of governance to AU's Shared values. The gap is primarily caused by autocratic tendencies and political corruption. Its further revealed that the AU is weak to enforces her declaration on democratic governance. If this done, Military intervention will be less likely. The study revealed these through critical analysis of the ingredients of African Union Shared values and its declaration on democratic governance. Based on the findings, the study recommends among others commitment of leaders of the sub region to good governance, justice, rule of law that ensure peace and sustainable development that are antidotes to military disruption of constitutional democratic governance. AU Members should unite in the implementation of its agreed shared values.

Introduction

Anarchy, ethnic cleansing, warlordism, and the disintegration of political communities are some of the defining elements of Africa as a continent due to the awful forces of repression, exclusion, and the division of human and national resources (Osita, 2013). African governments transitioned to democratic governance, which is seen to be different from rule imposed either by force or status, in an effort to overcome the aforementioned issues. The West African subregion had a democratic transition in the late 1980s and early 1990s. As a result, the subregion assumed the role of de facto leader in Africa's democratic transition. The ECOWAS protocol on democracy and good governance, A/SPI/12/01, which is additional to the protocol pertaining to mechanisms for conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacekeeping, and security, was adopted, making pro-democratic growth in the area very symbolic.

Official recognition for governments and leaders who come to power by unlawful methods is rejected by both the Africa Union and the ECOWAS protocols. But throughout the last three years, a military coup has imprisoned West Africa. Solders have over throne democratic institutions in Mali, Guinea, Burkina Faso and Niger among others. In particular, the Junta takeover of governance in Niger generated corresponding reaction from the sub-region's organization (ECOWAS). The threat of military action of the body, and subsequent sanction gave birth to another dimension reflected in these words;

> *In a joint statement on January 28, 2024, the three countries of Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, all founding fathers of ECOWAS, that witnessed military take announced they were leaving the sub-regional bloc (ECOWAS), because, to them, the body has drifted from the ideas of the founding fathers and the spirit of Pan-Africanism (Nigeria Premium Time, 2024).*

They further claimed that;

> *The body (ECOWAS), having falling under the influence of foreign powers, has betrayed its founding principles. Therefore, the fathers in these countries, mulled a counter-body called "Alliance of the Sahel States" (Nigeria Premiun Time, 2024).*

These countries, though are in West Africa but, are members of the African Union and therefore are equally expected to be committed to the implementation of AU's principles on democracy. The sub-region is going through institutional collapse in its democratic governance practices. And this is because there exist a disconnect between share values and democratic principles.

It's interesting to observe that Western democracies are firmly based in robust institutions of law and governance, and that African democracies embrace this model due to their belief that modernity and democracy are the ultimate goals of human history and that development is merely a syndrome derived from Western experience (Gerald, 1974). The idea is that although democratic practices are ideal, they must take into consideration the common values of Africans. It is impossible to overlook the significance of common ideals in human civilization. This is due to the fact that social relationships are impossible without common ideals, since shared values have been essential to the evolution of the human community—especially that of African States. For example, the African Unity organization—now known as the African Union—was facilitated in its development by common anti-colonial beliefs**.** Thus, African shared values and democratic practice in the continent must be fully interrogated, if the dilemma of democracy in West Africa can be adequately understood. In this context, two fundamental issues which form the focus of this paper revolve around the following questions. First, what constitutes African Union Shared Values and in what sense are the shared values related to democratic practice. Secondly, why is democracy appearing unworkable in West Africa sub region despite its de facto posture in the era of democratic transition in the continent.

The Study Methods

In doing this, we employed Historical and descriptive research method and relied heavily on secondary sources. qualitative research method most appropriate for this study because of the need to collect contextual information. The choice of qualitative method rests on the fact that it enables the researcher to acquire rich and in-depth information

concerning the research question that coup in West Africa is less likely if regional bodies AU and ECOWAS enforces their declarations on democratic governance in member states. The study obtained bulk of the data from secondary sources. AU and ECOWAS documents were consulted, including scholarly journals and textbooks. Materials were also obtained from the website of United Nations especially Geneva Centre for security policy, and Nigeria Institute of International Affairs, Newspaper, particularly Premium Times.

Theoretical framework

There is no doubt that there exists an extensive literature and theories on democracy in Africa but Elite theory is chosen out of the array of theoretical contributions as the most suitable explanatory guide based on its ability to capture the subject under consideration. This is in line with thinking that the elites are in minority in the society, but influences political process and take the bulk of decisions that affect majority of the people in the society. In this context, elites are primarily those that govern (Hughes, 1965). Fundamentally, there is one or more people at the top of every country and government. Government leaders are fundamental to the political and social life of any country, and the structure of institutions greatly influences the stability of the state, the administration, and the efficiency of public authorities. The goal of elite theory is to define and clarify the dynamics of power in modern society. According to elite theory, a tiny minority controls the majority of the power and has a considerable influence on how policies are decided upon and carried out. The three classical elite theorists are Vifredo Pareto, Gaetona Mosca and Robert Michels. This theory provides the interconnectivity in the explanation of the search for political power and governance and this generate conflict and instability.

Conceptual clarification

Sharedvalues:

Michael (1950) defined value as a belief, indicating that something is good, desirable, worthwhile, important and worth striving for. Values operates at both individuals and community levels. At the community or societal level, it is value consensus for integrative functions. This forms the basis of solidarity, unity, cooperation that produce common goals.

For African Union, shared values constitute those norms, principles and practices developed or required to encourage and provide for collectivity, especially in areas such as politics, economics and socio-cultural relations. The target of the African Union shared values, into address challenges that impede the continent's development.

The preamble of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) captured the continent shared values in these words.

> *Inspired by a common determination to promote understanding among our peoples and cooperation among our states in response to our people's aspirations for brotherhood and solidarity, we are convinced that conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained. We are also conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice, and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African people. Finally, we recognize that it is our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in all spheres of human endeavor.*

African shared values were also stated in the constitutive Act of African Union. Among others were;

> *Taking into consideration the principles and objectives stated in the character of the organization of African Unity and the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, as well as the noble ideals that guided the founding fathers of our continental organization and generations of pan-Africanists in their determination to promote Unity, solidarity, cohesion, and cooperation among the peoples of Africa and African states; Driven by our shared vision of a united and powerful Africa, as well as the necessity of forming a partnership between governments and all facets of society—particularly women,*

youth, and the private sector—in order to enhance solidarity and cohesiveness among our peoples, we are committed to advancing and defending the rights of individuals and groups, preserving national institutions and cultures, and ensuring good governance and the rule of law (AU constitution Act, 2000).

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has also recorded the common ideals across African nations. African leaders acknowledged in this agreement that they had a responsibility to end poverty and promote sustainable growth and development, based on a common vision and conviction (NEPAD, 2001). Furthermore, as said in NEPAD, African leaders reaffirmed their strong commitment to democracy, human rights, good governance, transparency, accountability, honesty, respect for human rights, and the advancement of the rule of law.

African common values were arranged in this way in an appendix to the report that the ministerial committee on the Union administration sent to the Assembly

Individual level consists of the following

i. Basic rights to life, identity and opportunity

ii. Basic freedom of expression and worship

iii. Tolerance

iv. Participation in governance

v. Solidarity with one another in times of joy and in times of sadness.

vi. Dignity and respect

vii. Justice

viii. Sense of fairness

ix. Equality of persons in gender, race, sex

x. Respect for age

xi. Integrity

xii. Community spiritedness

xiii. Self determination

At the state or regional level, comprises

i. Sovereignty and the interdependence of states

ii. Adherence to the rule of law

iii. Democracy and the representation of the popular will

iv. Care for the weakest

v. Economic and social self-reliance

vi. Justice

vii. Law and order

viii. Equity and equality

ix. National determination

x. Solidarity of states or brother's keeper

xi. Stability of enrolment

xii. Security

Having look at African Union's shared values, we now turn to the concept of democracy.

Democracy.

Democracy is a relative and elusive concept that has no universally acceptable definition. One reason for this is that the concept has been compartmentalized. However, we look at it from political perspective, thus, it comprises various mean in the shape of institutional arrangement which enable citizens to control public policy pertaining to the holding of election, and the maintenance of fundamental political liberties.

In brief, the notion of democratic government is anchor on majoritarian decision; the classification version of democracy as demonstrated during the French revolution underscores the imperative of popular power. As popular power, democracy emphasizes the participation of ordinary people or the rank and file in the decision-making process of governance Ajomo, 1996). Democratically, the people are being empower to creating

institutions and structures, design basically to provide policies and programmes that serve the interests of all. Indeed, there can be no good governance without deep seated culture for popular participation. It is only through this, that just, sustainable and inclusive communities can emerge (Akokpari, 2008). As stated in UNECA's document, full requirements of sustainable democracy include some of the features captured in African shared values.

These include

i. Rule of law

ii. Vibrant civil society

iii. Institution of popular election

iv. Independence of the judiciary and legislature

v. Accountability and transparency in governance and service delivery

vi. Existence of opposition parties

vii. Respect for human rights

From the above, the rule of law is in reality an expression of power relations among contending forces in society (Ajomo Ayo, 1996). In democracy, the expectation is that everybody, the leaders and the led, as well as the state are all subordinated to the rule of law, in a way that equity and justice are upheld.

> *The interest of the ordinary people in the rule of law lies in the realization that the exercise of power by the dominant forces, if unchecked by rules and regulations, would lead to granny. Left alone, those who wield power at varying levels are likely to continue to rule as they deem fit.*

From the foregoing, the quality of democratic government focuses on the fundamental that engineer societal developments.

The African Union Declarations on Democracyin Africa.

In attempt to advancing democracy and good governance in Africa, African Union evolved a number of instruments. These instruments among others include

i. Every statement on the political and socioeconomic climate in Africa as well as the significant global shifts that are occurring.

ii. The Cairo Agenda of 1995: A Restart for the Economic and Social Development of Africa

iii. The proclamation of unlawful government changes made in Algiers in 1999.

iv. The 2000 Lome Declaration for an OAU Response to unlawful changes of Government.

v. The AU Declaration from 2002 on the fundamentals guiding democratic elections in the Region.

The objectives of the Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance are to:

i. Promote adherence, by each State Party, to universal values and principles of democracy and respect for human right;

ii. Promote and enhance adherence to the principle of the rule of law premised upon the respect for, and the supremacy of, the Constitution and constitutional order in the political arrangements of the State Parties;

iii. Promote the holding of regular free and fair elections to institutionalize legitimate authority of representative government as well as democratic change of governments;

iv. Prohibit, reject and condemn unconstitutional change of government in any Member State as a serious threat to stability, peace, security and development;

v. Promote and protect the independence of the judiciary;

vi. Nurture, support and consolidate good governance by promoting democratic culture and practice, building and strengthening governance institutions and inculcating political pluralism and tolerance;

vii. Encourage effective coordination and harmonization of government policies amongst State Parties with the aim of promoting regional and continental integration;

viii. Promote State Parties' sustainable development and human security;

ix. Promote the fight against corruption in conformity with the provisions of the AU Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption adopted in Maputo, Mozambique in July 2003;

x. Promote the establishment of the necessary condition to foster citizen participation, transparency, access to information, freedom of the press and accountability in the management of public affairs;

xi. Promote gender balance and equality in the governance and development processes;

xii. Enhance cooperation between the Union, Regional Economic Communities and the International Community on democracy, elections and governance; and

xiii. Promote best practices in the management of elections for the purpose of political stability and good governance (African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, 2007).

In keeping with the goals and tenets of the Constitutive Act, as stated in Articles 3 and 4, is the choice to encourage all parties to uphold the global ideals and principles of democracy and respect for human rights. According to Article 12 of this Charter, State Parties are required to carry out initiatives and programs that support democratic values and practices as well as solidify a democratic and peaceful culture. These initiatives include fostering good governance by guaranteeing open and honest government, bolstering political institutions, fostering a supportive atmosphere, and incorporating civic education into curriculums. The Charter's Chapter 8 outlines penalties for unconstitutional changes of government. Meanwhile, Art. 23 of the Agreement between State Parties states that any illegal means of gaining or retaining power, including putschs or coups against democratically elected governments, mercenary intervention to replace democratically elected governments with armed dissidents or rebels, and the refusal of an incumbent government to cede power to the victorious party or candidate following free, fair, and regular elections, constitute unconstitutional changes of government and will be subject to appropriate sanctions by the Union. State Parties are required by Article 19(1) to notify the AU Commission of upcoming elections and extend an invitation to send an electoral observer mission. Additionally, State Parties are required by Article 18(1) to request assistance from the Commission in the form of advisory services and the development of their electoral institutions and procedures through the Democracy and Electoral Assistance Unit and the Democracy and Electoral Assistance Fund.

The above provisions, were made because of the high expectation that elected officials would deliver on the dividends of democracy against autocratic governments. From the perspective of ordinary African citizens, it is therefore a situation in which democracy both as a process and an end in itself is yet to prove its efficacy visa vis their experiences before transition to democracy. This beg the question, why is democracy appearing unworking in the sub region even as AU had provided measures to strengthen the system?

Discussion of Findings

Today, it is no longer news that there has been a sustained threat to democracy in West Africa. Some had actually occurred, while rumors and threat to over throne other democratically leaders filter around. For instance, several coup d'états have occurred in this region since 2020. As mentioned earlier, Niger, Guinea, Burkina Faso and Mali experienced successful coups. In these countries for instance, Human development index scores, shows that except Guinea with annual GDP of $1,500, others had less than US $1.00 a year (Ajala, 2023). The implication of this is that, these countries offered opportunity for insecurity to strive following high level of poverty and perhaps poor human capacity building, especially in adequate educational opportunity. As documented by Ajala (2023), these countries have highest level of violent attacks between 2010-2022. Political leaders in the region fail to address poor economic conditions of their country. Besides the over

whelming feature pointed in the preceding paragraph, each of the four countries, has specific factors that threaten democracy. For instance, in Guinea, resistance to constitutional change to guarantee the incumbent a third term in office offered the military, an opportunity to seize power from an elected government official.

Mali experienced two coup d'etats within nine months' period; August 2020 with president Ibrahim Boubacar Keita ousted by colonel AssimiGoita following Malians protests against parliamentary electoral frauds and insensitivity to provision of public good. The junta formed transitional council, but Goita, the vice president, seized power on within the transitional period, 21st may, 2021 against the 18 months promise of returning power to elected officials. Bah N'Daw led administration was accused of incompetence (Ajala, 2023).

In a related manager, citizens of Burkina Faso felt frustrated and accused the government of corruption, laxity and nepotism. The feeling of frustration caused trust issue, which the military used as excuse for the takeover of governance.

For obvious reasons, Niger's coup was highly surprising. This is because, the country was relatively politically stable, having experienced democratic practice for over a decade. Nevertheless, issues such as the ethnification of governance by the president, presence of large number of foreign troops in the country and the failure of regional organizations such as ECOWAS to take decisive actions against previous military take overs are major factors responsible for the recent coup in Niger Republic. The volatile history and present of each nation are directly linked to the current political situations in Mali, Guinea, and Burkina Faso. Up to 40% of Burkina Faso is said to have fallen under terrorist hands, forcing 2,500 schools to shut and forcing over a million people to flee their homes. Even though Mali's contribution is less, both nations are seen to be the main causes of violence in their respective regions because they are trapped in a risky cycle of instability that feeds on itself.

> *In a democracy, the institutions settle conflicts; but, in Guinea and Mali, the state's institutional and legal systems are ineffective. Alpha Conde would not have been allowed to pursue a third term if they had been.*

The ineffectiveness of democratic institutions in West Africa States reinforce increase corruption and by extension, lack of development in the countries that experienced coups. these countries' economics, and acute poverty with rulers and their cronies' wealth accumulated all over the place in the face of vast majority of the people suffering object poverty. This condition to a large extent relates to low level of political culture. As Finer (1962) rightly put it, political cultures involve maturity, development, low and minimal in a descending scale of modernity. In a mature political culture, military or soldiers are only important force in defence policy making. They have no need in political engineering especially taking over governance from elected civilian government. There is low political culture in the region. And where this exist with legitimacy of civilian government almost totally lacking, military intervention is certain. It is a common knowledge that vast majority of the civilian populace lack confidence and trust in government and as observed by Finer (1962). Such situation encourages widespread support for direct military intervention. The democratic dilemma in these countries revealed that:

> *While individual nations across Africa and around the world, together with organizations such as economic community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU) have been united in condemning the coups large numbers of citizens in all four countries in West Africa have took part in demonstrations supporting the coups (Geneva Centre for Security policy, 2023).*

The people do not feel that the civilian government was in their best interest. Where public attachment to civilian institutions is strong, coup and invariably soldiers will be weak. Demonstration in favour of coup in Niger, Mali, Burkina Faso and Guinea and the called for coup in other countries in the region obviously shows that public attachment to civilian institutions in the area is weak and virtually non-existent. This perhaps explain why Obasanjo (2023) said, western style of democracy has failed in Africa. The continent is weak democratically. The weakness is not because of its potential but because its structure which has impaired its extractive and distributive capabilities endanger democracy. The economy of the region is essentially statist. It is predatory and exploitative by the simple

reason that it is largely in the interest of a tiny minority of political adventurists. In terms of dividends, democracy yields disproportionately to the politically salient citizens and their allies rather than to the ordinary people. No wonder, Obasanjo averred that, western democracy does not take into consideration the interest of the majority of the people. The political elites are representatives of only some of the people and not full representatives of all the people. Given the above, democracy in the region is endanger because elected leaders are failing to deliver quality democratic leadership.

Establishing standards and then regularly enforcing them are two different things. For example, by the time the ECOWAS ultimatum to Niger discreetly expired, several regional military regimes had declared their willingness to back Niger's military in the event of conflict, while other members expressed reluctance. As a result, AU was unable to uphold its proclamation. Thus, the stark contrast between the stated policy commitment to sustainable democratic practice and the statement of principles is one of the greatest hurdles and impediments to the implementation of Africa's shared ideals. As Fred (2013) correctly points out, the majority of the professed ideals in the Union's common values—which are eventually ingrained in democratic norms—end up being empty platitudes that are never put into practice.

The most relevant AU tool for evaluating democratic governance seems to be the African Charter on Democracy, Elections, and Governance of 2007. However, it appears that many member states of the AU have been quite cautious in acceding to this instrument, and the reasons are not far-fetched. As at 2012, while 41 out of 53 countries had signed the document, only 17 ratified and deposited the instrument. Therefore, the domestication of this Charter has been problematic.

> *The impression that regional organizations like the AU and ECOWAS are essentially a club of self-serving heads of state and governments that want to stay in power by addressing only the portions of the governance agenda that play in their interest is created by the disparity between popular demands and what these organizations offer on democratic governance*

Thus, democratic leaders, rather prefer personal agenda against public good driven ideology. Personal shared values now occupy prominent place in the practice of democracy in the sub-region, against public shared interests.

Therefore, the futility of the AU shared values in relations to democracy and its principles, are apparently irresoluble conflict that the sub-region is contending with. This is why Gerald 91974) had earlier argued that:

> *Because African institutions are distinct and unfit for Western democracy, it is impossible to understand and practice Western democracy in Africa in a unilineal or teleological manner. Western democracies are thriving because their institutions are practically designed to fit their particular kind of democracy.*

Africans are a different people that require a unique way of addressing their political and economic challenges, the ballot box as an end in itself, not very well applicable to engineer development in Africa. Electoral corruption, weak institutions and the near one-party approach, where the leader, even amidst multi-party system wielded monopoly and absolute power and in fact, presided over the state with a very ambiguous constitution, are just simple fact that the sub region's democracy is in trouble pace.

The weakness of the regional institution especially the African Union, and that of the West Africa Sub-region body (ECOWAS) to secure compliance to democratic fundamentals, and their shared values endanger democracy. There is a highly permissive or discretionary nature of commitments to shared values. Many African country leadership lack the sense of nobleness oblige towards the implementation of the democratic shared values.

Concluding Remarks

This paper explores the African Union shared values and its relationship with democratic governance in West Africa. The paper argued that liberal democracy has inherent requirements that are common to Shared values. However, in the practice of democracy, member states especially those in the West Africa sub region are insensitive to the well-

informed AU declaration of shared values on democratic governance. Yet, AU appear too weak to enforce its principles on democratic government. Military intervention may be less likely if she actively enforces the agreed principles in her declaration on democracy. Where this is not possible, then Africa must develop Afro democracy, that is, to get over unnecessary military intervention, the people may have to devise a home-grown political system that would give political leaders the necessary acceptance, credibility and legitimacy that is capable of ensuring strong attachment of the civilian populace to democratic institutions, making less attractive to the military.

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PARENTING STYLE AS PREDICTORS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING OF STUDENTS OF NIGERIAN DEFENCE ACADEMY STAFF SCHOOL KADUNA

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KEYWORDS
Parenting Styles, Psychological Well-Being, Permissive Parenting Style, Authoritative Parenting Style, Authoritarian Parenting Style

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the predictive relationship between parenting styles and the psychological well-being of students attending the Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School in Kaduna. Drawing on a sample of 200 participants, data were collected using a cross-sectional survey design, with measures including the Parenting Care Scale (PCS) and the Brief Psychological Wellbeing Scale. Descriptive and inferential statistical analyses were employed to examine the influence of parenting styles on psychological well-being. Findings reveal that permissive parenting style (β=-0.278, t=-3.913, P<0.001) positively correlates with psychological well-being, while authoritative parenting style ($r_{(198)}$ =-0.235; p<0.05) exhibits a negative correlation. Conversely, authoritarian parenting style ($r_{(198)}$ =-0.005; p>0.05) does not significantly predict psychological well-being. The study underscores the importance of age and parenting style in shaping students' psychological well-being, advocating for interventions that promote nurturing and supportive parenting practices, parent education workshops, and mental health support services within educational institutions. These findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between family dynamics and student outcomes, the study in line with other psychological researches has further strengthened the fact that parenting style predicts psychological wellbeing. The study offers implications for policy, practice, and future research in educational and mental health domains within military-affiliated schools.

Introduction

Parenting styles have long been recognized as influential factors in shaping the psychological well-being and development of children and adolescents across diverse cultural contexts. In the context of educational institutions such as the Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School in Kaduna, understanding the role of parenting styles in predicting the psychological well-being of students becomes imperative. The Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School, situated within the military environment, represents a unique setting where the dynamics of parenting styles may intersect with the demands and challenges of military life, potentially impacting the psychological adjustment and overall well-being of its students. Research on parenting styles has identified distinct approaches, namely authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful, each characterized by varying levels of parental control, warmth, and responsiveness. These parenting styles have been associated with different outcomes in children's psychological development, including their emotional regulation, self-esteem, academic achievement, and social competence. However, limited research has specifically examined the influence of parenting styles on the psychological well-being of students within military-affiliated educational institutions like the Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School.

Understanding the role of parenting styles in predicting the psychological well-being of students in this unique educational setting holds significant implications for both academic and military communities. It can provide valuable insights into the factors contributing to students' resilience, adaptability, and overall psychological adjustment, thereby informing the development of targeted interventions and support programs to promote their well-being. Therefore, this study seeks to investigate the predictive relationship between parenting styles and the psychological well-being of students attending the Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School in Kaduna. By exploring how different parenting styles adopted by parents within the military context impact students' psychological well-being, this research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex interplay between family dynamics, military lifestyle, and student outcomes within educational settings associated with the Nigerian Armed Forces. Ultimately, the findings of this study may inform interventions and support strategies aimed at enhancing the psychological well-being and academic success of students in military-affiliated schools like the Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School.

Permissive parenting is characterized by high levels of warmth and responsiveness but low levels of control and structure (Baumrind, 1966), which are likely correct in most cases. Parents who exhibit this style are often lenient and indulgent, avoiding strict rules and discipline while prioritizing their children's happiness and autonomy (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Research suggests that permissive parenting can influence the psychological well-being of children. According to Darling and Steinberg (1993), children raised in permissive households may experience improved psychological well-being due to the nurturing and supportive atmosphere created by their parents, this support is more likely to allow them express themselves so well and enjoy the love of parenting better. The lack of strict rules and the emphasis on autonomy may foster feelings of self-confidence and independence in children too (Baumrind, 1966). Furthermore, the openness and warmth exhibited by permissive parents may facilitate healthy parent-child communication, enabling children to discuss their emotions and concerns freely (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Authoritative parenting style authoritative parenting is characterized by a combination of warmth, responsiveness, and clear expectations for behavior, where parents provide guidance and support while also setting appropriate boundaries (Steinberg, 2001). Recent studies have consistently shown that children raised by authoritative parents exhibit higher levels of psychological well-being compared to those raised under other parenting styles (Pinquart, 2017). This positive relationship is attributed to several factors, including the secure attachment formed between parent and child, which promotes emotional security and resilience (Pinquart, 2017). Additionally, the consistent and fair discipline practices of authoritative parents help children develop self-regulation skills and a sense of autonomy, contributing to their overall psychological adjustment (Steinberg, 2001). Overall, authoritative parenting fosters an environment where children feel supported, respected, and capable, leading to better mental health outcomes in the long term.

On the other hand, authoritarian parenting is

characterized by high levels of control, discipline, and strict adherence to rules, with little room for negotiation or flexibility (García & Gracia, 2009). Recent research has consistently shown that children raised under authoritarian parenting styles often exhibit lower levels of psychological well-being compared to those raised under other parenting styles (García & Gracia, 2009). This negative association is attributed to several factors, including the lack of warmth and emotional support in authoritarian households, which can lead to feelings of rejection and low self-esteem in children (García & Gracia, 2009). Additionally, the emphasis on obedience and punishment rather than open communication and problem-solving may hinder children's social and emotional development, contributing to poorer mental health outcomes in the long term. Overall, authoritarian parenting creates an environment characterized by rigidity and control, which can have detrimental effects on children's psychological well-being.

According to Lavasani et al., (2011) This parenting approach may create an environment where children feel free to express themselves and explore their interests without fear of harsh punishment or judgment, they added that it is more likely to have a negative correlation with psychological wellbeing among high school female students. Although, resent finding by Francis, et al., (2021) reveals that permissive parenting style is negatively associated with children psychological wellbeing as well as many other studies (Abidin et al., 2022; Loke, & Low, 2021). Agoha et al., (2021) noted that authoritarian parenting style was negatively related to psychological wellbeing among Nigerian secondary school, though no study has investigated this among primary Nigerian students. Authoritative parenting style has been found to have positive correlation with psychological wellbeing, (Rodrigo et al., 2014; Yadav et al., 2021). In Kaduna, presently, to the best of the researchers' knowledge, no study has actually established the relationship between parenting style and psychological wellbeing among military students. To this end, this study hopes to investigate the relationship of different parenting styles on the psychological wellbeing of NDA staff school students.

Statement of Problem

Despite the crucial role of parenting styles in shaping the psychological well-being of adolescents, there remains a gap in understanding how specific parenting styles within the unique context of Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School Kaduna influence the psychological well-being of its students. This study aims to investigate the relationship between various parenting styles employed by parents of students at the Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School Kaduna and the psychological well-being outcomes experienced by these students. By exploring this relationship, the research seeks to address the lack of empirical evidence regarding the impact of parenting styles on the psychological well-being of students within this particular educational institution, thereby contributing to a better understanding of factors influencing adolescent development in military school environments.

Conceptual Clarification

1. **Parenting Style:** Refers to the strategies and approaches that parents use to raise their children, including disciplinary methods, levels of warmth and support, and expectations for behavior.

2. **Psychological Well-Being**: Describes an individual's overall mental state, encompassing aspects such as life satisfaction, positive emotions, self-esteem, resilience, and the absence of mental health issues

3. **Authoritative Parenting:** Characterized by high levels of warmth, support, and responsiveness from parents, coupled with clear and consistent expectations and rules. Authoritative parents encourage independence while also providing guidance and discipline in a nurturing manner.

4. **Authoritarian Parenting:** Marked by high levels of control and demand, with little warmth or responsiveness. Authoritarian parents enforce strict rules and discipline, often without explanation, and may prioritize obedience over autonomy.

5. **Permissive Parenting:** Involves high levels of warmth and responsiveness but low levels of control and discipline. Permissive parents are lenient and indulgent, allowing their children

considerable freedom with few demands or expectations.

Literature Review

Psychological wellbeing of a child is affected by varying factors, which includes parenting style, for example, a longitudinal study that examined the early childhood factors contributing to mental health problems noted that permissive parenting styles during early childhood can impact psychological well-being later in life. It was found that children raised in permissive environments may be at increased risk for certain mental health issues (Bayer et al., 2008). Study further suggests that permissive parenting may be associated with higher rates of delinquency and poorer mental health outcomes in children (Hoeve et al., 2009), this can be explained from the excessive freedom they tend to enjoy. Also Pinquart's (2017) while exploring the associations between various parenting dimensions and externalizing problems in children and adolescents. Found that permissive parenting may contribute to externalizing problems and emotional difficulties in children. Other studies have linked permissive parenting style to increased antisocial behavior and emotional problems in children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Piotrowska et al., 2015) as well as lower levels of adolescent competence and higher levels of emotional distress across different cultural backgrounds (Wissink et al., 2010) and poorer mental health outcomes through its influence on children's self-esteem (Wu et al., 2021), all this findings are pointing to the fact that parenting style predicts mental health of children, which this study hopes to unveils the fact behind this among school children in NDA.

Although Steinberg (2001) noted that authoritative parenting style, characterized by warmth and clear expectations, helps in promoting positive outcomes for adolescents' mental health. While another study has it that it has a positive impact of on children's self-esteem and emotional well-being (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). According to Grolnick et al., (1993) they found that authoritative parenting fosters a sense of competence and autonomy, which positively influences children's psychological well-being and academic success, and in turn gives them self confidence. Other studies have linked authoritative parenting style to high self esteem, positive self image, lower rates of substance abuse among adolescents, and lower levels of depression and anxiety and its protective role in promoting children's psychological well-being (Lamborn et al., 1991; Baumrind; 1991; McLeod et al., 2007). The fact that authoritative parenting style gives the children the ability to express themselves under good guidance is more likely to explain why they are going to be mentally stable than other children.

Meanwhile, Piotrowska et al., (2015) in a study suggests that authoritarian parenting may contribute to increased levels of emotional problems and antisocial behavior, ultimately affecting psychological well-being. This fact is understandable from the fact that the children may bottle their emotions the more and less likely to relate well with their parents. Findings further suggest that authoritarian parenting may be associated with lower levels of psychological well-being and higher rates of internalizing and externalizing problems among adolescents (García & Gracia, 2009). More so, authoritarian parenting may lead to decreased communication and trust between adolescents and parents, thereby promoting secrecy which can negatively impact psychological well-being (Smetana, et al., 2016). The poor communication with parents is often accompanied by communicating with peers and other people who are likely to teach them bad habits that can make them susceptible to mental health challenges. Other studies have linked it with low disclosure, higher levels of emotional distress in adolescents and negative influence on children's self-esteem (Wissink et al., 2010; Wu et al., 2021). The lack of confidence in them may also emanate from the aspect of not being appreciated by their parents, making them feel less likely to be good, therefore affecting their egos and self love. Studies further suggest that adolescents raised in authoritarian families may exhibit lower levels of psychological well-being compared to those raised in authoritative or indulgent families (Lamborn, et al., 1991). McLeod et al., (2017) found that authoritarian parenting is positively associated with childhood depression, associated with higher levels of externalizing problems and emotional difficulties, indicating its potential negative impact on psychological well-being (Pinquart, 2017). All the above fact are still directed to the fact that parenting style affects psychological wellbeing, however, to the best of the researchers` knowledge no study has investigated this phenomenon in Kaduna; hence this study hopes to fill this gap in literature.

Theory

One theory that could suit the study is Attachment Theory, developed by Bowlby (1958) and expanded upon by Ainsworth et al., (1978). Attachment Theory posits that early experiences with caregivers, particularly the quality of attachment formed between parent and child, influence individuals' social, emotional, and psychological development throughout their lives (Bowlby, 1969). According to this theory, the nature of the parent-child attachment relationship shapes individuals' internal working models of themselves and others, which in turn influences their relationships and psychological well-being in later life.

In the context of the study, Attachment Theory can provide valuable insights into how different parenting styles impact students' psychological well-being. For example, Adolescents who have experienced consistent and supportive parenting characterized by warmth, responsiveness, and clear communication are more likely to develop secure attachments. These individuals are expected to exhibit higher levels of psychological well-being, including greater self-esteem, emotional regulation, and social competence.

While, adolescents who have experienced inconsistent or harsh parenting characterized by authoritarian or neglectful parenting styles may develop insecure attachment patterns, such as anxiety or avoidant attachment. These individuals may exhibit lower levels of psychological well-being, including higher levels of anxiety, depression, and difficulties in interpersonal relationships. By examining how different parenting styles at the Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School Kaduna relate to students' attachment patterns and subsequent psychological well-being, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of the mechanisms through which parenting influences adolescent development. This knowledge can inform interventions and support strategies aimed at promoting positive parenting practices and enhancing students' well-being within the school context.

Method

Design

The study employed a cross-sectional survey design to examine the impact of parenting styles on the psychological well-being of students attending NDA Staff School in Kaduna. This design was chosen to facilitate data collection from participants at a specific point in time utilizing Google form.

Participants

The total population of the school as at the time of the research were 1150 pupils, to arrive at the number of participants, power analysis was done using an online calculator, which gave a total score of 150-200 participant. This study comprised 200 participants, with 103 (51.5%) males and 97 (48.5%) females. Their ages ranged from 10 to 19 years, with a mean age of 15.78 (Standard Deviation = 1.793). Regarding age distribution, 16 (8.0%) students fell between the ages of 10 and 13, 112 (56.0%) were between 14 and 16 years old, and 72 (36.0%) were aged 17 to 19. Class distribution indicated that 3 (1.5%) participants were in JSS1, 9 (4.5%) in JSS2, 4 (2.0%) in JSS3, 55 (27.5%) in SS1, 55 (27.5%) in SS2, and 74 (37.0%) in SS3.

Instrument

The study employed a questionnaire that was fixed in goggle form to assess the impact of parenting styles on the psychological well-being of students at NDA Staff School, Kaduna, consisting of three sections: A, B, and C. Section A gathered demographic information, while sections B and C focused on parenting styles and psychological well-being.

The Parenting Care Scale (PCS), developed by Baumring (1993), was utilized, consisting of 20 items aimed at gauging children's perceptions of their parents' dominant caregiving styles. Baumring identified three principal styles: authoritarian, permissive, and authoritative. Authoritarian parenting involves absolute standards with unquestionable obedience expected, permissive parenting is characterized by minimal control and discipline, while authoritative parenting sets clear standards while considering children's opinions and feelings. The PCS scoring involves awarding points for responses indicating each parenting style category. Psychometric properties were established by Baumring (1971) for American samples and by Takahiro & Haroshima (2012) for African samples, with reported reliability (α = .86) and validity coefficients (.73).

The Brief Psychological Wellbeing Scale, developed by Ryff (1995), comprises an 8-item brief version with response options ranging from 7 (Strongly Agree) to 1 (Strongly Disagree).

All items are positively phrased, allowing scores to range from 8 (indicating Strong Disagreement with all items) to 56 (reflecting Strong Agreement with all items). Higher scores indicate a positive self-view across various areas of functioning. Gupta & Mehtani (2015) categorized factors related to emotional and informational social support, resulting in a scale with four factors. Internal consistency, evaluated using Cronbach's alpha, ranged from .76 to .95, while Corey (2009) established content-related validity, with internal consistency ranging from .92 to .83. In the current study, the analysis yielded a Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient of .93.

Analysis

The data collected in this study underwent analysis using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive statistics, including frequency, simple percentage, mean, and standard deviation, were employed to analyze demographic characteristics of the participants. Additionally, inferential statistics, such as Standard Multiple Regression and intercorrelation, were utilized to test hypothesis one and two, respectively, assessing the influence of the independent variable on the dependent variable.

Ethical Considerations

Adherence to ethical guidelines governing research conduct is crucial, as tradition dictates. The participants were fully briefed on the research objectives to ensure informed consent and voluntary participation. No coercion or deception was involved, and all individuals were treated with dignity, with their anonymity and confidentiality guaranteed. The Google form had a consent form for the parents to consenting participants, emphasizing ethical principles such as voluntary participation, informed consent, and confidentiality. Participants were assured of their right to withdraw from the study without consequences. The study also prioritized beneficence, discussing potential benefits with participants and addressing any misconceptions.

Results

Table 1: Inter correlation among studied variables

SN		M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Age	15.79	1.79	1							
2	Gender	-	-	-.353**	1						
3	Class	-	-	.592**	-.202**	1					
4	Authoritarian Style	3.75	1.64	-.070	-.033	-.048	1				
5	Permissive Style	3.83	1.22	.089	.193**	-.013	-.271**	1			
6	Authoritative Style	3.66	1.77	-.193**	.175*	-.205**	-.300**	.156*	1		
7	Overall Parenting Style	10.88	2.27	-.153*	.216**	-.202**	.343**	.462**	.647**	1	
8	Psychological wellbeing	60.33	15.02	.222**	.036	.098	-.005	.185**	-.235**	-.087	1

Note: **= Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level; *= Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level; M= mean, SD= Standard deviation

Source Field Data

Table 1 shows inter-correlation among study variables. The result shows that gender ($r_{(198)}$=0.036; p>0.05), Class ($r_{(198)}$=0.098; p>0.05), Authoritarian style ($r_{(198)}$=-0.005; p>0.05), and overall parenting style did not correlate with psychological wellbeing ($r_{(198)}$=-0.087; p>0.05) did not correlate with psychological wellbeing. Age ($r_{(198)}$=0.222; p<0.01), and Permissive parenting style($r_{(198)}$=185; p<0.05) positively correlate psychological wellbeing. Authoritative style ($r_{(198)}$=-0.235; p<0.05) negatively correlate with psychological wellbeing significantly.

Table 2: Standard Multiple Regression showing the independent and Joint influence of parenting style on psychological wellbeing

Variable	R	R^2	F	p-value	β	t-test	p-value
Psychological wellbeing	0.326	0.106	7.77	0.000			
(Constant)						11.43	0.000
Authoritarian style					-0.028	-0.387	0.699
Permissive style					0.221	3.142	0.002
Authoritative style					-0.278	-3.913	0.000

Source Field Data

Standard multiple regression was conducted to test the joint and independent influence of parenting style on psychological wellbeing. The results shows the three dimension of parenting styles jointly predicted psychological wellbeing significantly ($F_{(3,196)}$=7.77; P<0.001) with R=0.326 and R^2=0.106. Thus, the three predictor variables jointly accounted for 10.6% of the variance in psychological wellbeing. Independently, authoritarian style (β=-0.028, t=-0.387, P>0.05) did not significantly influence psychological wellbeing. Authoritarian has negative contribution by accounting for 2.8% of the variance in psychological wellbeing. On the other hand, permissive style (β=0.221, t=3.142, P<0.001) significantly predicted psychological wellbeing. Permissive style has positive contribution by accounting for 22.1% of the variance in psychological wellbeing. Also, authoritative style (β=-0.278, t=-3.913, P<0.001) significantly predicted psychological wellbeing. Authoritative style has a negative contribution by accounting for 27.8% of the variance in psychological wellbeing. Therefore, parenting styles independently and joint influenced psychological wellbeing of students of NDA staff school.

Discussion

The findings suggest that there is a positive correlation between age, permissive parenting style on one hand and psychological wellbeing, indicating that as children grow older, their psychological well-being tends to improve. This relationship underscores the idea that as individuals mature, they become more self-aware and better equipped to understand and care for their mental health. Consequently, parents who exhibit high levels of warmth and responsiveness while maintaining low levels of control and structure are more likely to foster an environment conducive to their children's psychological well-being. By being lenient and avoiding stringent rules, these parents create a supportive atmosphere that encourages open communication and emotional expression, thereby contributing to their children's overall mental wellness. This leniency fosters confidence in children, making it easier for them to approach their parents with concerns or issues, thus reinforcing the positive correlation observed.

Conversely, authoritative parenting style was found to have a negative correlation with psychological well-being. The clear and consistent rules and expectations associated

with authoritative parenting may inadvertently create stress and anxiety in children, leading to overthinking and overreacting to minor issues. The emphasis on discipline and high expectations may also contribute to feelings of discomfort and pressure, potentially compromising the mental health of children raised in such environments. While authoritative parenting style did not directly predict psychological well-being, its structure and expectations may serve as a moderating factor, providing a framework within which children can navigate their behavior and decisions, albeit with added stressors. This finding further strengthens the attachment theory as discussed in the paper.

In summary, the study highlights the nuanced relationship between parenting styles and children's psychological well-being. While permissive parenting may foster improved mental health outcomes as children age due to its nurturing and lenient approach, authoritative parenting, despite its potential stressors, may offer a balance between structure and freedom that aids in children's behavioral regulation and development. However, further research is warranted to fully understand the complexities of these dynamics and their long-term implications on children's mental health.

Conclusion

In this study, we examined the pivotal role of parenting styles in predicting the psychological well-being of students at the Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School in Kaduna. Through an exploration of the distinct parenting approaches—authoritarian, permissive, and authoritative—we aimed to illuminate their varying impacts on the psychological adjustment and overall mental health of students within the unique context of a military-affiliated educational institution. Our findings revealed intriguing insights into how different parenting styles shape students' psychological well-being. Permissive parenting, characterized by warmth and leniency, was associated with improved psychological well-being as children matured. This nurturing environment fostered open communication and emotional expression, contributing to the overall mental wellness of the students.

Conversely, authoritative parenting, with its structured approach and clear expectations, presented a more complex picture. While offering a balance between freedom and discipline, authoritative parenting also introduced stressors that influenced children's psychological adjustment. However, it did not directly predict psychological well-being, suggesting that its structure may serve as a moderating factor in children's behavioral regulation and development. On the other hand, authoritarian parenting, marked by strict control and discipline, exhibited a negative correlation with psychological well-being. The emphasis on obedience and punishment, coupled with the lack of warmth and emotional support, contributed to lower levels of psychological well-being among students. Our study underscores the importance of recognizing the nuanced influences of various parenting styles in military educational settings. By understanding how these parenting approaches intersect with the unique challenges of a military environment, educators, policymakers, and parents can develop targeted interventions and support programs to promote the mental health and academic success of students.

In conclusion, our research contributes to a deeper understanding of the intricate relationship between parenting styles and students' psychological well-being. Further exploration in this area is essential to elucidate the complexities of these dynamics and their long-term implications for children's well-being. Through collaborative efforts, we can continue to enhance the support systems available to students, fostering their holistic development and resilience in military-affiliated educational institutions like the Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School in Kaduna.

Recommendation

Based on the findings of this study, several recommendations can be made to support the psychological well-being of students at the Nigerian Defence Academy Staff School in Kaduna. Firstly, educational programs should be implemented to raise awareness among parents, teachers, and students about the impact of different parenting styles on psychological health, emphasizing the benefits of nurturing and supportive approaches like authoritative parenting. Secondly, parent education workshops and support groups can be organized to provide parents with practical strategies for fostering positive parent-child relationships, effective communication, and emotional support. Thirdly, school counselors

and mental health professionals should be readily available to offer support and intervention for students experiencing psychological distress, providing a safe space for them to express their feelings and seek guidance. Fourthly, collaborative efforts between parents, educators, and mental health professionals are essential to create a supportive and inclusive school environment that prioritizes students' mental health and well-being. Fifthly, ongoing research and evaluation of intervention programs are crucial to assess their effectiveness and make necessary adjustments to meet the evolving needs of students and families. Lastly, policymakers should prioritize the integration of mental health education and support services within the school curriculum and allocate resources to ensure their sustainability, ultimately fostering a culture of well-being and resilience within the school community.

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CREDIBILITY COMMITMENT AND PEACE BUILDING IN THE NIGER DELTA REGION OF NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS
Conflict, Conflict resurgence, Credibility commitment, Niger Delta, Peacebuilding

ABSTRACT
The occurrence of conflict is predicated on several factors. While some are caused by the neglect of early warning mechanisms, others are as a result of subversive reactions to disproportionate distribution of resources and power; and or failed interventions to the conflict. The conflict in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria has been primarily driven by grievances related to resource exploitation, environmental degradation, and socio-economic marginalization. Despite various intervention efforts aimed at addressing these issues and fostering peace, the region continues to experience periodic resurgences of violence. This study examines the critical factor of credibility commitment in the context of peacebuilding initiatives of the federal government of Nigeria and its influence on the resurgence of the conflict in the Niger Delta region. The method of data gathering is drawn from literature and biographic narratives of the actors and victims of the conflict. The study notes that credibility, whether perceived or actual, plays a vital role in the success of peacebuilding efforts in conflict societies. When stakeholders, including government authorities, international organizations, and local communities, perceive intervention programs as lacking credibility or sincerity, trust is eroded, and the likelihood of conflict resurgence increases. Furthermore, a lack of commitment to addressing underlying grievances and root causes of conflict, and implementing sustainable solutions, undermines the effectiveness of peacebuilding initiatives.

Introduction

The Niger Delta region of Nigeria has been marred by decades of conflict, primarily driven by grievances related to resource exploitation, environmental degradation, and socio-economic marginalization. The conflicts in the Niger Delta have been very particular because of the presence of the natural resource of crude oil and gas which are very relevant to local and global politics and development. The much contested crude oil and gas from the Niger Delta account for about 95% of national budget, 90% of foreign earning exchange and about 80%

of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Nigeria. The Niger Delta has a tropical rain temperature and is lying between 40 N – 100 N of the equator at an elevation of less than 1000 meters. The average yearly rainfall is always substantial, albeit it varies by area, as sometimes the region experiences hot seasons due to the general global weather conditions. The River Niger covers an area of approximately 1,150,000km2 which takes its source from the Gulf of Guinea. Unfortunately, the Gulf of Guinea has been heavily affected by climate change conditions and global warming, leading to fresh water scarcityin the Gulf and exacerbating conflicts not just in the Upper Volta, but also in the south, particularly the herders-farmers conflict which has continued to ravage north central and some parts of southern Nigeria. The region is made up of marshlands, creeks, tributaries, rivers, seas and canals that flow into the Atlantic from River Niger.It is rich with presence of the variety of aquatic life and fresh water mangrove and vegetation, which provide an ambience of diversity and richness to Nigeria's economic and socio-cultural life.

Sincethe 1970s, Nigeria has earned not less than $300 billion from energy development from the Niger Delta upstream and downstream sectors. With over 40 million barrels of known oil reserves, it generates about 2.4 million barrels of oil each day, accounting for approximately 80% of government income and 95% of foreign exchange revenues, yet the region has remained underdeveloped and undeveloped. Because of the negative effects of oil discovery, the area has been engulfed in violent conflict for over four decades, owing to ecological dereliction, which has impaired the people's means of livelihood and survival. The area is reddened with scarcity, filth, and severe backwardness in the midst of abundance, a clear paradox of plenty and wants. The effects of oil leaks and gas flaring have resulted in the death of marine life and the destruction of farmlands (Ajodo-Adebanjoko, 2017). This has constrained the people's lives, deepened the struggle for equitable resource governance and intensified the agitation for better living conditions.

Conceptual Insights

Credibility Commitment

The concept of credible commitment is well documented in literature (Keohane, 1989; Moravcsik, 1991; Rodrik, 1991; North, 1993; Sen, 2015). It is a concept that is very critical to both the understanding of the transformation of war-torn societies within the context of balance of power and in terms of genuine commitment on third parties to conflict situations. Yet, the concept remains one of the least explored or interrogated in the study of contemporary arms struggle and peace building globally. None of what recently emerged as the major works on armed struggle especially since post amnesty era in the Niger Delta, has considered the concept of credibility important enough to be an analytical tool. The theoretical significance of this concept derives from the insights it offers in understanding the fundamental causes of persistence of armed conflict and particularly in the Niger Delta; and more so the evidence it provides regarding underdevelopment of the region and resurgence of conflict. For further clarification on the concept of credibility commitment, Dotsey (2008) has provided that:

> *Credibility commitment means delivering, in any particular situation, on past promises. In other words, the policymaker unequivocally will follow through on a promise made about future actions (p. 1).*

In another perspective, Shepsle (1991) maintains that:

> *A commitment is credible in either of two senses, the motivational or the imperative. A commitment is motivationally credible if the players continue to want to honor the commitment at the time of performance. In this case it is incentive compatible and hence self-enforcing. It is credible in the imperative sense if the player cannot act otherwise because performance is coerced or discretion is disabled (p.247).*

Following from Shepsle's assertion, a credibility commitment becomes possible where there is incentive, but parties are willing to renege of credibility commitment where the incentives favor one party at the disadvantage of the other. The point of emphasis here is that institutional arrangements enable the prospects of allowing the parties to make credible

commitment; this will disable the exercise of discretionary authority. Discretionary authority only allows parties to change their mind and renege on a previously promised commitment and this result in very troubled and complicated consequences. Thus, credibility commitment is enhanced by constitutional or institutional status; in this instance it is difficult for parties to revise the status and renege on their credibility commitment stance, thus achieving a broader welfare and social improvement.

Approaching this concept from a political economy perspective, effective state-business relation requires a credible commitment from the government to policies, agreements, or other arrangements, which can be obtained through both formal and informal institutions. Formal institutions include properly enforced laws that prohibit the expropriation of private property without just cause, and well-functioning courts that protect firms if the state engages in predatory behaviour. Informal institutions are personalised relationships between the agents of the state and the business sector that are repeated over time. Investment choices that turn out to be less profitable than expected may not be fully recovered. Therefore, to encourage entrepreneurs to choose to invest in and produce goods, the state must pledge that it will not alter its policies or break agreements; this is because investors are highly likely to lose faith in the state in the future, if it does not keep its declarations and promises, which would have a negative impact on investment (Sen, 2015).

Credibility commitment if therefore fundamental to peacebuilding processes. Credibility, whether perceived or actual, plays a vital role in the success of peacebuilding efforts in conflict societies. When stakeholders, including government authorities, international organizations, and local communities, perceive intervention programs or any government programme as lacking credibility or sincerity, trust is eroded, and the likelihood of severing relationship increases.

Conflict Resurgence

Conflict resurgence or reoccurrence have become a major characteristic of emerging societies. Scholarly findings reveal that it is more likely that countries that have experienced intrastate conflict and violence will experience it in the future. The political situation in post-conflict states and societies is extremely volatile. After the civil war, the previously warring internal parties continue to live together in the same country. This portends a risk of a return to conflict, if one party feels its needs have not been adequately met. Rwanda, Angola, Burundi, the Central African Republic, Sierra Leone, East Timor, Sri Linka, Liberia and South Sudan are some of the examples of countries that have experienced recurring intrastate conflict, in which violence broke out repeatedly over time (Tom, 2017).

Sufficient evidences in literature reveal that weak, corrupt, fragile and failed States especially in resource rich regions are some of the causes of resurgence or reoccurrence of conflict (Langer and Brown, 2016; Karldor, et. al, 2007). Paradoxically, the consequence of the belief that territory can be militarily controlled and governments forcibly re-established in conflict-ridden oil-exporting countries is not greater control over oil supplies or prices but greater political and economic instability. This confirms the fact that the greater powers or nation states attempt to control access to oil militarily, by building fortresses around oil enclaves or placing soldiers along pipelines, the greater the insecurity of supply.

The Niger Delta region of Nigeria has witnessed several episodes of conflict resurgence. After the Presidential Amnesty Programme of late President Umaru Musa Yar'dua's administration 2009, which was seen as lofty and pragmatic with all the huge financial involvement, one would expect that such programme would elicit sustainable peace in the region. However, the outcome were spates of resurgence of militant activities between 2016 and 2020 in the region, with new militant formations such as the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA), Joint Niger Delta Liberation Force (JNDLF) and the Niger Delta Greenland Justice Mandate.This raised critical questions about the efficacy of the amnesty programme. The reasons for the resumption of militant activities were the lack of intentionality and poor implementation of the amnesty programme, which constituted the aggrieved fragmentation and new social movements for justice in the region, coupled with the worsened effect of underdevelopment of key infrastructure and provision of essential services (Amadi andOchuko, 2021).

Peacebuilding

There are many views about peacebuilding in literature. This is so because scholars at one point or the other, addressed the concept from different standpoint owing to their experiences, ideology and research findings. Since the end of the cold war, peacebuilding has become part of peace research lexicon. Boutros Boutros-Ghali's 1992 *An Agenda for Peace*, provided for what seemed a blue print for maintaining global peace. It prescribed responsibilities and responses for the United Nations and the international community in dealing with contemporary conflicts. The proposal highlighted four major areas of activity: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and post-conflict peacebuilding. His framework suggests that at different times and in diverse contexts, a variety of sequential response mechanisms and functions are needed to promote the resolution of conflict and sustenance of peace.

Boutros-Ghali's submission is somewhat narrow. This is because it prescribes a statist approach to peacebuilding. The reason for Boutros-Ghali report is not unconnected with the fact that the United Nations (UN) was about the only global institution with the capacity and responsibility to promote world peace especially after the two world wars and the cold war. Hence the UN's traditional peacekeeping approach primarily sought to minimize interstate conflict through monitoring ceasefires between hostile states, it could not match the emerging post-Cold War peace and security challenges in low-income countries.

A more pragmatic view of peacebuilding was provided by United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP, 2009) thus:

> *Peacebuilding comprises the identification and support of measures needed for transformation toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships and structures of governance, in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. The four dimensions of peacebuilding emphasized here are: socio-economic development, good governance, reform of justice and security institutions, and the culture of justice, truth and reconciliation (p. 7).*

The view provided by UNEP is based on the alarming rate of violent intrastate wars that had claimed more lives. This needed a 'people-centered' approach as against the statist approach which only maintained the traditional peacekeeping approach, emphasizing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. The 'people-centered' approach puts people at the center of everything. This enables them (men, women and children) all over the world to make their lives better (Tom, 2017). This new approach embraced the protection of communities and individuals from internal violence (Annan, 2000). In addition, peacebuilding states the need to develop conflict prevention strategies that not only address the symptoms of violent conflicts but also their sources.

According to Lederach, (1997):

> *Peacebuilding is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords (p.20).*

Peacebuilding involves transforming the social and political environment that nurtures social inequalities, engenders historical grievances and fosters combative interactions, into more tolerable gestures that create social and communal living. More so, post-conflict peacebuilding centers on providing the necessary support for sustained peace processes such as reintegration and resettlement, electoral assistance, repairing of damage human relationships, justice for human rights violations and healing of physical and psychological traumas (Osah, 2014). This view is illustrated in what Reychler (2015) calls the peacebuilding pentagon which is illustrated below.

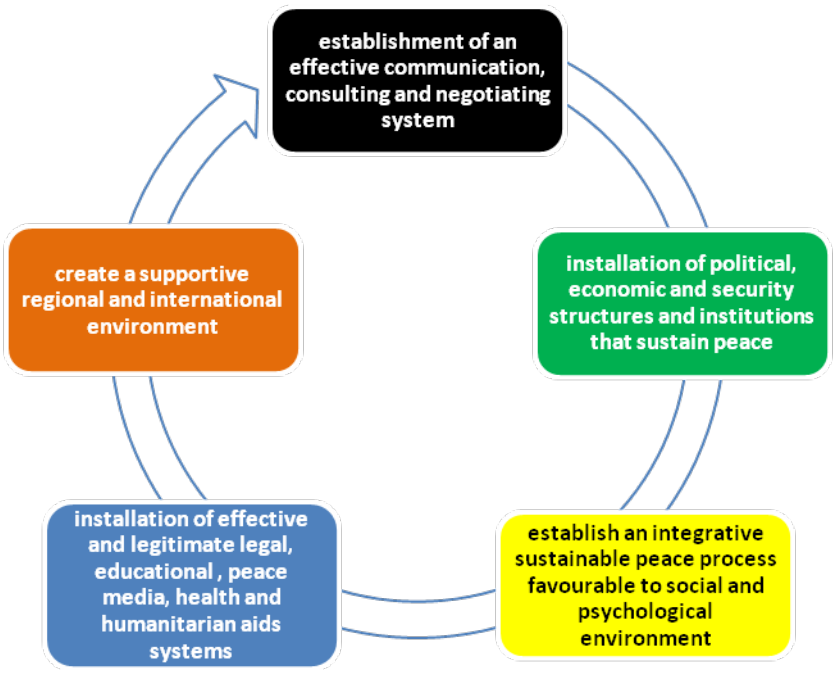


Figure 1.1: Peace Building Pentagon

Source: *Authors (2024); adapted from Reychler (2015)*

The setting up of all these peacebuilding structures is necessary and interconnecting. The lagging of one or more can seriously obstruct the peacebuilding process. This requires a critical mass of peacebuilding leadership at different levels – elite, middle and grassroots. This may require the development of social, political and economic structures that produce tolerance, equity, equality and justice. The understanding is that these levels of leadership will produce a community-based, process-oriented, bottom-top approach that will manage, resolve and reconcile inter-group conflicts and socio-political rivalries and the management of post-conflict economic development (Osah, 2014; Reychler, 2015; Laderach, 1997).

The Niger Delta Conflict: Some Historical Path

The Niger Delta oil conflict is not a recent one. Several authors and researchers have documented that the oil conflict dates back several centuries (Alagoa, 2005; Dike, 1956; Osah, Ogundiwin&Eti, 2017). Generally, the Niger Delta is restive. This restiveness is linked to the stark asymmetry in the abundance of natural resources and underdevelopment in the region. The Niger Delta people had wanted their own self-governing state under Nigeria's central government for a very long time, but the obstacles were practically enormous. From the time when Nigeria was governed by colonial authorities until the period of self-rule, when it was broken up into three or four powerful regional administrations, controlled by majority groups under a weak federal center under the 1946 Richards' constitution, the people had complained about the region's lack of progress. Rather than being treated as a single entity, the region was split into two, with one portion being under the jurisdiction of the Western region (Midwest state) and the other under the Eastern region. In 1957, the delta people sent delegations to the London Constitutional Conference, which marked the beginning of the quest for self-determination. As a result, the Henry Willinks Commission was established in 1958 to look at minority groups' worries and ways to soothe them. The Commission found that the area was underdeveloped, backward, and uncared for. The result was the creation of the Niger Delta Special Area and the Niger Delta

Development Board (NDDB) (Ukiwo, 2010; Willink, 1958).

With the creation of the NDDB, the oil producing states were entitled to 50% of the profits derived from mining royalties and rents. However, when oils became the lifeblood of Nigeria's economy certain repulsive laws were passed to undermine the fiscal framework. Such laws included the Petroleum Control Degrees of 1967; the Oil in Navigable Waters Act of 1968; Mineral Oil (Safety) Regulations Law No 45 of 1968; Petroleum Act of 1968; Oil Terminal Dues of 1969; Land Use Act of 1978; Exclusive Economic Zone Act of 1978; Land Title Vesting Decree of 1993 and the National Inland Waterways Authority Decree of 1997 and several more that had granted the whole population of the Nigerian state the possession and management of all lands in, under, or upon them (Osah and Alao, 2014).The issue got worse when the derivation formula was reduced to 1% in the 1980s, not until the Olusegun Obasanjo's government in 1999 when it rose to 13%. The region gradually became cut off from the control of the oil resources. Oil prospecting licenses are still not being distributed to the locals. Yet all too frequently, the government's control over resources and the income that results from these resources coexists with widespread corruption, a climate of lawlessness, irresponsibility and intolerance, a lack of strong laws, and an unequal distribution of public funds (Nna-Ntete, 2001; Sogwe, 1997).

These government actions, combined with frustration, alienation, and poverty, culminated into attempts to forcibly assert regional autonomy for the Niger Delta region. Several non-violent methods were adopted to assuage the federal government about the critical plight of the region. These included protests, petitions, workshops, conventions, position papers, and lobbying.They also drafted documents such as the Ogoni Bill of Rights (1990); Charter of Demands of the Ogbia People (1992); Kaiama Declaration (1998); Akalaka Declaration (1999); Warri Accord (1999); Ikwerre Rescue Charter (1999); Oron Bill of Rights (1999) and Niger Delta Peoples' Compact (2008) to demonstrate the extreme of their anger (Osaghae, Ikelegbe, Olarinmoyeand Okhomina, 2011; Francis, LaPin&Rossiaco, 2011).

The modest, non-violent approach of agitation soon gave way to very fierce and brutal approaches that were motivated by the need address the developmental worries of environmental pollution and degradation such as oil spill, gas flaring and macro-economic issues such as unemployment, hunger, poverty and other forms in the region. These accounts for the protracted nature of the agitation in the region; resulting in the formation of militant groups with significant once as Federated Niger Delta Ijaw Communities (FNDIC); Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPVF); Niger Delta Strike Force (NDSF); Niger Delta Vigilantes Services (NDVS); People's Liberation Force (PLF); and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND). These groups used various tactics, including attacks on military installations, pipeline vandalism, subversions, bombings, attacks on oil facilities, illegally refining and selling crude oil, kidnapping and holding hostages for ransom, piracy, armed robbery, extortion, drug trafficking as *modus operandi* of agitation (Aaron and George, 2010; Asuni, 2009; Osaghae, Ikelegbe, Olarinmoyeand Okhomina, 2011; Campbell, 2010; Nwajiaku-Dahou, 2010; Ibeanu and Momoh 2008).

Successive Nigerian governments attempted several interventionist programmes to resolve the Niger Delta conundrum. Some of these efforts involved military strategy, while others were non-military. Military intervention in conflict situations is usually attended by terror against civilians and is characterized by death and destruction of property in order to achieve a ceasefire. Empirical evidence suggests that when military troops are deployed to conflict zones, the attendant consequences are weighty. For instance, Oyewole, Adegboye and Durosinmi (2018) maintain that "state security agencies constitute a veritable threat to the security of the citizens of Nigeria. More often, rather than restore peace and order, they exacerbate crises, ramping up social and political tensions." The Niger Delta region of Nigeria is an evidence of this state-sponsored terror on citizens. The Nigerian state deployed security forces, which have records of campaigns of terror against the people of the Niger Delta, through a series of operations of various military task forces. The *Odi* massacre in November 1999 in Bayelsa state exemplifies this argument were about 2000 villagers dead, while 50,000 people were displaced. The impact of military operations in the Niger Delta was terrifically counterproductive (Oluyemi, 2020).

Non-military interventions in times of conflict well up to conflict transformation and peacebuilding. Non-military or humanitarian intervention makes a distinction between the civil and military parties engaging in the actions. It lays the foundation for peacebuilding by creating a safer environment where people can think about things other than their immediate survival. Therefore, the purpose of humanitarian intervention is not to defend or advance civil or political rights, but to safeguard essential human rights in dire situations. The argument here is related with the moral duty to intervene in order to protect the civilians from violation of their human rights, mass killing and genocide (Temelkovska-Anevska, 2020). Following from this, the federal government of Nigeria initiated and implemented several humanitarian interventions, with the most recent being the Presidential Amnesty Programme (PAP) ofUmaru Musa Yar'dua's administration. However, these interventions were poorly implemented; hence the resurgence of conflict and the elusiveness of sustainable peace in the region.

Linking the Discourse of Credibility Commitment to Peacebuilding in the Region

Conflict resurgence in Nigeria's oil-rich Niger Delta region has been on the rise particularly after the Presidential Amnesty Programme. This has been linked to the non-credible commitment on the part of warring parties for peacebuilding. Flores and Irfan (2011), contend that the central obstacle to post-conflict peacebuilding and recovery is the inability of former warring parties to commit credibly to peaceful contestation of political and economic power. This follows from a historically unique insight into the federal government's passive response to socio-economic challenges facing the Niger Delta region. It is such lack of intentionality that has created the increasing aggrieved fragments and social movements that constitute crucial threat to the State in the form of post amnesty combatants. This suggests that the core ideals of the federal government's amnesty programme as a mechanism for peacebuilding are not functioning. This is evident in the wave of criminal activities by new militant formations from the creeks to the upland areas and even to the seat of government. The poorly coordinated implementation of the amnesty programme points to its failure to secure sustainable peace within the Niger Delta. The table below indicates the resurgence of conflict in the region after the implementation of the PAP in 2009.

S/N	Date	State	Community	Type of violence	Death /Casualties/Degree of Destruction
1	01/06/2016	Delta	Warri	Armed clash	6 Deaths
2	02/06/2016	Bayelsa	Yenegoa	Violent attack on oil Installation by Niger Delta Avengers	Explosion
3	04/07/2016	Delta	Abiteye	Violent attack on oil Installation by Niger Delta Avengers	Explosion
4	18/05/2016	Rivers	Rumukwachi	Abduction	Disappearance
5	07/06/2016	Delta	Koko	Violent attack on oil Installation by Niger Delta Avengers	Explosion

6	10/6/2016	Bayelsa	Brass	Violent attack on oil Installation by Niger Delta Avengers	Explosion
7	09/07/2017	Rivers	Isiokpo	Abduction	Disappearance
8	09/07/2017	Bayelsa	Ogbia	Armed clash	1 Death, 2 Injured
9	26/12/2017	Rivers	Emuoha	Abduction	Disappearance
10	17/09/2018	Rivers	Mbiama	Ex-militants protest over unpaid benefits from amnesty programme	
11	29/09/2018	Delta	Ndoni	Armed clash/abduction	
12	27/10/2018	Rivers	Bonny	Abduction of foreign expatriates	Disappearance
13	23/12/2018	Rivers	Rumuepirikom	Abduction	Disappearance
14	01/08/2019	Delta	Sapele	Protest at Forte Oil company over non-payment of community entitlements	
15	03/06/2019	Delta	Warri	Protest over Heritage Energy Company's neglect of community development	
16	03/12/2019	Rivers	Bonny	Abduction of Foreign expatriates	
17	04/11/2019	Delta	Warri	Armed attack	3 Deaths
18	05/07/2019	Delta	Warri	Protest over company employment	
19	16/06/2019	Rivers	Tai/Goi	Armed clash over oil theft	4 Deaths
20	25/06/2019	Rivers	Port Harcourt	Protest over resumption of oil production by Shell	

				company	
21	07/05/2019	Bayelsa	Nembe	Protest over company's outsourcing of local contracts	
22	07/06/2019	Delta	Polobubo	Protest over government's failure to respond to company's neglect	
23	07/10/2019	Rivers	Andoni/Ngo	Abduction	Disappearance
24	22/07/2019	Bayelsa	Azagbene-Zion	Armed clash	1 Abduction
25	08/10/2019	Delta	Ole	Protest over Agip company's lack of community development	
26	09/10/2019	Rivers	Bodo	Women protest over road construction	
27	25/11/2019	Rivers	Port Harcourt	Ex-militants protest over non-payment of allowance of PAP	
28	19/12/2019	Delta	BulouOzobo	Women protest over Shell company neglect	
29	29/12/2019	Delta	Umusadege	Protest over company non-commitment to MOU	
30	30/12/2019	Delta	Ikpide-Irri	Youth Protest over poor quality of roads	
32	02/01/2020	Bayelsa	Ogbia/Otuasiga	Community clash	1 Death
33	02/12/2020	Rivers	Okehi	Youth Protest	
34	16/02/2020	Bayelsa	Letugbene	Attack on oil Installation	6 Deaths
35	16/02/2020	Bayelsa	Letugbene	Armed clash	Houses destroyed

36	03/02/2020	Rivers	Amaku-Mba, Igbodo, Agbalu	Cult clash	3 Deaths
37	03/03/2020	Delta	Udu	Armed clash	3 Deaths
38	03/06/2020	Rivers	Degema	Abduction	
39	20/03/2020	Bayelsa	Ezeotu	Armed clash	2 Deaths
40	26/05/2020	Rivers	Degema/Bakana	Armed clash	
41	16/06/2020	Rivers	Degema	Armed Clash	4 Deaths
42	28/07/2020	Delta	Asaba	Protest over poor governance	
43	08/09/2020	Delta	Ugborodo	Women Protest	
44	09/05/2020	Delta	Okuoke	Armed clash/Abduction	2 Deaths/injuries sustained
45	09/05/2020	Bayelsa	Yenegoa	Abduction	
46	19/09/2020	Rivers	Okarki	Armed Clash	Sustained injuries and property damage
47	26/09/2020	Delta	IsseleMkpitime	Abduction	Disappearance
48	15/10/2020	Bayelsa	Egbemo-Angalabiri	Abduction	Disappearance
49	15/10/2020	Rivers	Bonny	Abduction	Disappearance
50	28/10/2020	Bayelsa	Yenegoa	Youth Protest	
51	12/05/2020	Rivers	Arugbanama	Armed clash	2 Deaths/weapons seized
52	12/09/2020	Delta	Ugheli	Abduction	Disappearance
53	12/10/2020	Delta	Evwreni	Communal Clash	2 deaths and 3 houses destroyed
54	12/10/2020	Rivers	Degema	Abduction	Disappearance

Table 1.1: Resurgence of Violence in the Niger Delta from 2016 – 2020

Source: *Compiled by Authors (2024)*

This study has identified fiveareas in which the federal government of Nigeria has not shown credible commitment in the Niger Delta and which has contributed to the resurgence of conflict and endangering peacebuilding in the region.

1. Credibility commitment to the socio-economic realities of the region as well as the transformation of ex-militants. The socio-economic realities in the NDR has put the region in disarray and deprived the people from leading meaningful lives. This is evident in the deep seated level of poverty and squalor in the local communities, environmental pollution, lack of key essentials basic necessities such as healthcare and hygiene, education, electricity, portable drinking and the exclusion of the local communities from the governance of oil production in the region.

2. Credibilitycommitment to ecological transformation. Following the United Nation Environmental Programme (UNEP) report released in 2011 on the environmental degradation of Ogoni land, which stated that it will take 25 to 50 years to effectively clean up Ogoni land. The clean-up has largely remained politicized as no meaningful efforts have been made since the release of the report. Suffice to say that Ogoni land is not the only land affected by environmental degradation. There are several other communities in the Niger Delta that is affected by ecological filth.

3. Credibilitycommitment to institutionalisation. The federal government's inclination towards monetary incentives rather than institutional approach in resolving the Niger Delta conflict was an encumbrance to the successfulrehabilitation and reintegration of ex-militants. In conflict situations, most actors develop vested interests in the conflict because of the incentives of violence. Owing to such 'spoils', conflict entrepreneurs ensure that their wartime benefits are sustained even in peacetime and government benefits from the spoils most times. This attitude makes the transition from conflict to peace difficult; and pre-disposes the state to post-conflict risks, including resurgence into violence (Reno, 2000; Collier and Hoeffler 2008).

4. Credibility commitment to fiscal revenue allocation. The long standing federal government'sharmonization of revenue allocation formula has remained problematic. The recommendations by the LedumMitee technical committee in 2008 to increase the oil revenue percentage from 13 percent to 25 percent; establish a regulatory framework that will compel oil multinational companies to have insurance bond that will enable the enforcement of critical environment laws and make them a national priority; and expose fraudulent environmental clean-up of oil spills and prosecute operators; end gas flaring; have remained a mirage and precursors to the resurgence of the conflict in the region.

5. Credible commitment to political processes. Governments elected through credible democratic political process signals a deeper commitment to policy promises to internal and external audiences upon whom they depend for allegiance, investment and development. This further strengthenspolitical institutions and other institutions of the states and stabilizes policy processes. It further increasesthe credibility ratio of leaders to make and fulfill promises because the steeper sanctions that will spring up from the citizens if they renege on their commitment are dire. Unfortunately, since 1999, the political processes leading up to elections and governance in Nigeria have been bereft of any credible commitment, thus compounding peacebuilding efforts in the NDR.

Conclusion and Annotations

Solving the credibility commitment problem in post-conflict societies requires a focus on policy priorities and strengthening political structures and institutions. In doing this, attention should be concentrated on domestic political solutions. The process of post-conflict reconstruction inevitably depends on the reformation of existing social, political, and economic institutions. Since internal conflicts are political in nature, they require political solutions also. These conflicts arise because a

party to the conflict feels ill-fated in the conduct of affairs and therefore resorts to violence as a way of ventilating its grievance. The resort to violence suggests that the existing political structures and institutions are weak and that parties to the conflict cannot trust such structures as means of resolving issue and confrontations. Therefore, the federal government should strengthen its existing political structures and institutions and or create resilient ones and rely on their capacity to deliver on priority policy areas. Reliance on institutions simplifies the efforts of government in exercising governance. It must prioritise peacebuilding in the Niger Delta region, not just to enhance foreign earnings through crude oil, but protect lives and property.

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DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS AND OPPOSITION PARTY IN NIGERIA: AN INSIGHT

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KEYWORDS
Democracy, Democratization Process, Political Parties, Opposition Politics

ABSTRACT
As a potent opposition to the ruling party, political parties perform one of the most significant functions in a democracy. Though political opposition is essential to the functioning of self-governing institutions and societies, the role of opposition parties in developing democracies like Nigeria has gotten little attention. Based on this, the research aims to investigate Nigeria's opposition party and democratic process. The Theory of Consensus Democracy and Prebendalism Theory serve as the theoretical foundation for this study. The overall weakness of Nigeria's political opposition was revealed through qualitative examination of material that was mostly collected from secondary sources. The study asserted that among other things, fragmentation, violence, desertion, manipulation of election rules, and money politics are to blame for political parties' inability to function as effective platforms for opposition to the ruling party. The study suggests, among other things, that Nigerians and the media oppose increased political chances. Additionally, the supporters of the competing parties must immediately mobilize the voter. This circumstance is an out different from how they have always been marketed as being reachable in developed countries.

Introduction

The role of opposition parties in transitional democracies like Nigeria, especially in recent years, has not received much attention. The stability of authority and the dynamism associated with the operation of democratic systems and societies depend on political opposition.

Nigerians are currently debating the quality of their election system, which is a key factor in the consolidation of democracy, rather than simply whether or if democracy can endure. The duties and responsibilities of opposition parties in strengthening democracy are crucial (Southall, 2000). In order to prevent the electoral system from being abused, a legitimate democratic electoral process must include a viable competitive or multi-party struggle that would aid in the abolition of

authoritarian democracy and one-party rule (Khan, 2021; Oyewole & Omotola, 2022).

Unquestionably, political parties continue to be one of the most important tools and structures for political organization. Parties do, in fact, play a crucial role in improving the effectiveness of any democratic system. The function of opposition parties in maintaining the balance of power and adding dynamic elements to the functioning of democratic systems is crucial for the legitimacy of such governments (Adebiyi, Bakare & Saka, 2019). Dahl's definition of democracy as it is generally understood today dictates that democracy requires both public engagement and competitive contestation. It is anticipated that there would be multiple parties competing, giving the electorate a choice of options (Weghorst & Lindberg, 2011).

Opposition parties are just as crucial to the consolidation of democracy as political parties are. This is because they are crucial in setting up partisan movements that aim to challenge and oppose the party in power during elections, which lends legitimacy to those elections. According to Auwal in Amos (2023) opposition parties have also been viewed as watchdogs, supporters of good governance, and potential replacements for established governments.

As the lung through which democracy breathes, democracy is intended to be formed upon normative norms of constitutional governance, public involvement, competition, and accountability. When there is competition in the election, voters have more quality and quantity of options, which broadens their political horizons and improves the quality and scope of their involvement (Adenuga, 2022; Adenuga, &Oderinde, 2021; Huntington, 1991; Mauk, 2022).

In truth, in developed democracies political parties are important cornerstones of good government, the rule of law, and the defense of human rights. In essence, the institutionalization and strengthening of democracy depends on the existence of strong political parties. In any democratic democracy, but particularly in those that are in transition, political parties serve purposes that support the ongoing democratization process (Adebiyi, Bakare & Saka, 2019). In a fully democratic society, opposition parties also assist in stabilizing regimes. It is important to remember that an opposition party's ability to serve as a countervailing force mostly depends on how unified its leadership and organizational structure are.

Along with opposition party structure and leadership, the ruling party is a significant factor in the opposition parties' inability to function successfully. Most ruling parties have a strict policy of not tolerating opposition parties and lack the political courage to do so. The history of violence in Nigerian elections stems from the ruling party's fear of competition in the electoral market and its desire to hold onto power despite its failure to fulfill its promises made during the election campaign and in terms of leadership (Hamalai, Egwu, & Omotola, 2017; Omotola, 2010; Oyewole & Omotola, 2022). The entire process becomes violent as a result of both the opposition and the ruling party wanting to keep their positions of authority. It is in the light of the above this study seeks to examine democratization process and opposition party in Nigeria.

Conceptualizing Democratization

The concept of "democratization" is a new political lexicon for the analysis of public actors in a democratic system in the modern period. However, political analysts from a number of fields have gathered to construct broad empirical theories in line with global politics on the process of democracy that occurred in Western countries via the evolution that adopted various political patterns. In the first place, "democratization" is a relative term.

The idea was described by Huntington (1991) as a time or evolution that emerges from increasing waves that systematically transcend in the context of international politics. But democratic transitions from non-democratic to democratic regimes also fall within the umbrella of democratization. According to Alumona (2010), democratization is a process that takes place over time. The state and the entire population are the main actors who must demonstrate dedication to make sure that sustainable democracy functions well throughout the entire society. As explained by Whitehead (2002), democratization is best viewed as a difficult, protracted, dynamic, and unfinished process. It entails advancements toward a politics that is more consensus-based, rule-based, and participatory.

Adesoji (2006) established numerous approaches to the idea of democratization in a

similar spirit. The transitional method places a focus on elite efforts and decisions, political processes, and movements from an authoritarian ruler to a liberal. This implies that some decisions, choices, and tactics made by the political elite are advantageous to democratic institutions. In a similar vein, democratization relies on the interrelationships of the political elite to organize for effective political structures that could aid in overall achievement for the people in the area of power, economic, social, and political, as they gradually change over time, providing constraints and opportunities as it also propels the political elite and others along a historical trajectory in liberal democracy. According to Jayasuriya (1994), democratization is the process of bringing about a democratic system and must be rooted in the actors and social movements of civil society organizations. The civil society group is an area of human activity that was largely focused on the fulfillment of political needs that necessitate an alliance more significant than family concerns.

The Concept of Political Party

Political parties are associations of people who, at the very least, participate in formalized contests or fights for power and who hold particular values, interests, and goals in common (Kura, 2011). Political parties, according to Johari (2008), are organizations that mobilize the populace's support before elections. He added that partiesare a vehicle for the aggregation of interests that call for strident expression.

A political party, according to Sartoriin Adeleke (2018), is any officially recognized political group that takes part in elections and has the right to nominate candidates for public office through periodic election either free or not.A political party, in Agbaje's opinion as quoted in Adebiyi, Bakare & Saka(2019), is a group of individuals united in policy and ideology in support of a broad political purpose, which is essentially the chase, seizure, and retention of power for as long as democratically possible.

As a result, political parties share two important traits: they are made up of individuals who share the same objectives and interests, and they are associations that vie for power. Political parties frequently need a few distinctive characteristics to distinguish them from other social and political groupings. Ideology is one of the important defining characteristics. Political parties need clearly defined ideological conceptions in order to operate effectively in a democratic society. In this context, ideology can be referred to as what Omotola in Howarth (2001) as calling democratic ideology. Political parties that come up short in elections become the opposition and keep the government under constant scrutiny. When they are in the minority in the legislature, they organize an opposition and continuously apply pressure to the administration to ensure good governance.

Based on the aforementioned, it can be concluded that unlike the first-generation political parties during the colonial era, the post-colonial Nigerian State no longer has as many ideologically motivated political parties. Since the fourth republic's multi-party system was established on May 29, 1999, the majority of the nation's numerous political parties have a hazy ideology or none at all (Ogunnoik, 2018).

Opposition Political Party

Opposition political parties are groups that have a link with another organization with which they disagree in some way (Norton, 2008). According to Kiiza (2005), an opposition political party serves the following functions, which can be summed up as follows: aggregating interests, fostering responsible and reasoned debates, staying in touch with voters and citizens, highlighting the importance of politics to regular people, and offering a workable alternative form of government. It would be impossible to have a completely democratic society without respectable opposition political groups.

Brack &Weinblum (2011) claim that the definition of political opposition has rarely been exact. According to the academics, a study of the classic literature on opposition politics offers a somewhat ambiguous and comprehensive definition. By putting up alternative concepts, tenets, and governing principles, opposition parties offer a strong challenge to the current administration. In the event that the party in power disappoints the electorate, the "government-in-waiting" assumes control through free and fair elections (Adebiyi, Bakare & Saka, 2019).

It's important to remember that no political party ever sets out to remain in constant opposition. It is crucial to understand that there

are many disagreements on the idea. However, Southall (2000) noted six instances of the word "opposition." First, opposition could refer to utter opposition to the structure and foundation of the state. Second, when the state is perceived as an oppressive entity, it may signify opposition to its authority. Third, it could mean a rejection of the authority of the organization, faction, or dynasty in charge of the state. Fourth, it might refer to a steadfast resistance that challenges the commanding group without undermining or rejecting the foundations of the state or the constitution. Fifth, the opposition may refer to a system of checks and balances that the constitution uses to protect against and rein in its own excesses. Finally, the term may refer to strategies used by individuals or groups to change the policies of a government or stop its tyranny without necessarily condemning the former as inherently oppressive.

Therefore, the opposition political party's importance in any democratic context cannot be disputed (Linz & Stepan, 1996; Wiebrecht, 2021). Democracies are strengthened and deepened by opposition political parties, but when there is no opposition, voters are never given the chance to participate in the political process.

Theoretical Framework

This paper is anchored on Theory of Consensus Democracy and Prebendalism theory as theoretical framework of analysis.

Theory of Consensus Democracy

Arend Lijphart proposed consensus democracy, also known as consociational democracy, as a means of promoting democracy that is stable and democratic globally. The main premise of the theory is that it is not possible to achieve a stable democratic system in the modern world due to the social fragmentation caused by different social, ethnic, religious, and cultural groups, contrary to certain researchers' views (Lijphart, 1975).

Using Dutch politics as an example, the theory held that the establishment and maintenance of democracy can be achieved through the accommodation and resolution of differences in other parts of the world. Dutch society had significant social divisions that were once varied but have since been resolved, resulting in the emergence of one of the best democracies in the world.

Under summary, the idea suggests that divided territories, even those that have a hostile history, are ethnically diverse, have diverse religious beliefs, or have distinct languages, can nevertheless be effectively and efficiently administered under a democratic government using consociationalprinciples. These consociational principles called for agreement on how authority should be divided and how disagreements should be resolved or accommodated.

The theory of consociational democracy can be used in this study because the APC's accommodation of various ethnic, regional, and religious cleavages during its merger in 2013 resulted in the emergence of a potent national consensus party as an opposition, which was successful in ousting the ruling PDP in the general elections of 2015, 2019, and 2023.

Prebendalism Theory

In 1996, Joseph formulated this idea and declared that political party members no longer exist. The fundamental tenet of this theory is that office holders and those in positions of authority should take into account the interests of the nation or the people rather than disregarding popular opinion by constantly changing their party platforms in an effort to preserve their positions of authority and access to resources for their own political aspirations. Therefore, in this situation, good governance is defined as when government programs and policies are implemented with a focus on improving the socio-economic well-being of the people rather than using the opposition party structure as a platform. This definition holds true for every functional democracy. Most members that leave or defect are looking out for themselves. Consequently, for the benefit of the economic success of the general populace. This development urgently requires a reminder or pressure from the opposition structure, which is rare in nations with substantial opposition parties like Britain and the United States. If it is to live up to her expectations.

The foregoing assertion's implications in regard to the phenomenon being studied is when a given state's elected Democratic Party representatives become the main opposition in Nigeria following the 2015, 2019 and 2023 national elections. However, based on the role

played by the necessity of such a platform against personal political present ruling All Progressives Congress (APC) when it aspired, it appears that the PDP is failing as party framework misappropriate the democratic an opposition party. Thus, this puts even more at risk the opposition party that was doing its job. the anticipated results of excellent governance, for instance.

In support of this, a researcher like Aborishade (2013) claims that the Action Congress of Nigeria fought the PDP in January 2012 when it sought to entirely end the frequent practice of party members defecting. not actually for a national benefit or goal, but rather out of want Unfortunately, since 2015, the opposition PDP's power brokers have not appeared to be making any progress toward improving their political prospects. Prebends' political injury was brought on by her (party members) consistently making opposition elements suffer shocking defeats in the general elections of 2015, 2019, and 2023. She also promoted a culture and internal crisis that plagued the party over leadership indicators of good governance in Nigeria.

Political Parties and Opposition Politics

The People's Democratic Party has been Nigeria's leading party since the Fourth Republic's founding until 2015. Other political parties with regional or sub-national representation, depending on the situation, include the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP), formerly the All People's Party (APP), Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA), Labour Party (LP), and Progressive People Alliance (PPA), among others (Ibrahim and Hassan, 2014). It is essential to note that no powerful opposition party can be regarded to have existed during former President Obasanjo's first term in office (1999–2003). After the 1999 general elections, parties that failed to have an influence or continue to be a credible opposition started rethinking their strategies in order to get ready for the 2007 general elections. Instead of genuine resistance, this time period has been characterized as one of sycophantic accolades (Epelle&Enyekit, 2015).

According to Naanen (2015), none of the three parties that emerged in 1999 had significant ideological differences. None of them qualified as leftists. The Alliance for Democracy, which won every state in the region, carried on the policies of the South-West, which had a strong welfarist slant. There was no ideological distinction between the People's Democratic Party and the All Peoples Party (APP), afterwards renamed as the All Nigeria Peoples Party, because both could be described as right of the center. Between 2003 and 2007, Olusegun Obasanjo, the current president, and Atiku Abubakar, the vice president, engaged in a form of intra-party dispute and a struggle for power.

Umar Ya'Adua emerged as the PDP's presidential candidate in 2007 and won the election. Due to health issues, Umar Ya'Adua was unable to carry out his responsibilities as the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Before Yar'Adua became Nigeria president in May 2007, according to Omotola (2011), there were already increasing worries about his health. Between 1999 and 2007, Yar'Adua presided over Katsina state and was rumored to have frequently traveled overseas for medical treatment. President Yar'Adua was taken to Germany and then Saudi Arabia for medical care when his health problem reached a critical point.

However, a severe constitutional crisis resulted from Yar'Adua's refusal to deliver a letter to the National Assembly authorizing his deputy, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, to preside over the Republic in his absence. That meant Jonathan would be unable to serve as acting president. Therefore, a presidential vacancy was imminent. Dealing with the issue became very challenging since, as it eventually became clear, the president had been taken over by a "cabal" of strong people who are a member of the government (Omotola, 2011). This situation led to strong intra-party resistance that, for the most part, was motivated by the personal interest of a few influential people in the Yar'Adua presidency. The circumstance split the ruling party in half. On one side was the "cabal," which was determined to defend Yar'Adua's presidency to the latter end, at any costs, even if it meant ignoring the law. The additionalset was made up of those who believed the philosophy of need should be put into practice in order to prevent a governance vacuum (Omotola, 2011).

Upon the incapacitation of the then-president Umar Ya' Adua, Goodluck Ebele Jonathan, the vice president at the time, first served in an interim capacity until being sworn

in as president upon President Yar'Adua's passing. However, Jonathan was chosen to run as the PDP's presidential candidate in the 2011 general election(Adebiyi, Bakare & Saka, 2019).

Under Jonathan's leadership, political opposition assumed an unparalleled scope. The three major opposition parties, the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the All Nigerian People's Party (ANPP), and the Congress for Progressive Change, successfully merged on July 31, 2013, and the Independent National Electoral Commission of Nigeria (INEC) subsequently registered the new party. Following the merger, the new opposition party took the names All Progressives Congress (APC) and "the broom" as identifiers. According to Saka and Amusan (2018) and Adeseri (2014), the coalition was regarded as the opposition's most ardent attempt to date to put out a unified face in Nigeria. A wave of senior PDP members defected to the newly registered political party APC after the merger. The PDP's rank and file leaders defecting to the APC offered the party hope that, at least in principle, it is still possible to gain political power at the federal level.

The majority of the populace seems to have been relatively disgruntled with the federal administration led by Jonathan's PDP before to the 2015 general elections. However, by engaging in a well-organized and issue-informed critique of President Jonathan's government on a variety of grounds, with a special emphasis on the rampant corruption that defined governance under the regime, the opposition party stoked popular discontent. In fact, a number of corruption cases involving PDP leaders and government employees were exposed in the media in the months before the 2015 general elections (Adebiyi, Bakare & Saka, 2019). Among these was the corruption controversy involving Hon. Farouq Lawan, who served as the head of the House of Representatives' special committee established to look into how the gasoline subsidy budget that had previously been authorized by the National Assembly had been used (Ezigbo, 2012). Another example of this is the previous aviation minister, Mrs. Stella Oduah, who allegedly coerced a cash-strapped division of the aviation ministry into paying exorbitant costs for two armored BMW 760 series (bullet proof) automobiles. The administration received criticism for how it handled the Boko Haram terrorist group's abduction of 270 schoolgirls from the Chibok hamlet in Borno State. These were just a few of the themes the opposition APC seized in its vote-gathering efforts for the 2015 general elections in an effort to cast doubt on the incumbent PDP.

According to Lunn & Harari (2015), Buhari and the APC's win represents a turning point in the political history of the continent and the first time in Nigerian history that one party has lost an election to another. With 54% of the vote, Muhammadu Buhari and Yemi Osinbajo were elected as president and vice president, respectively. Even Nevertheless, the election was held in a relatively calm manner. The low turnout is especially encouraging since it shows relatively minimal post-poll vote inflation, which is by far the most typical method of meddling with elections in the past. Jonathan's prompt and gracious capitulation was also a first for Nigeria, suggesting that the political elite of the nation may have finally started to accept defeat as an essential part of the democratic process. On May 29, 2015, the People's Democratic Party's (16-year) rule at the center came to an end as a result of the election. The implication was that the APC would hold office for the next four years and play a completely different role than that of the opposition it served for the two years prior to its formation as well as for the many years prior as component party units (Adebowale, 2015).

Prior to the 2019 elections, President Muhammadu Buhari's opponent in the PDP presidential primary was former vice president Alhaji Atiku Abubakar. Despite efforts to defeat the APC in the 2019 elections, the party was plagued by a lot of internal strife that limited their effectiveness as an opposition force. This PDP internal fight persisted up until the most recent general election in 2023, when Atiku Abubakar ran against Senator Bola Ahmad Tinubu of the APC on February 25. Due to a PDP internal party split that rendered them an ineffectual opposition, Atiku lost to Bola Ahmad Tinubu.

Factors hindering effectiveness of Opposition Parties in Nigeria

The efficiency of opposition parties in Nigeria's democratic process is hampered by a number of reasons. These elements consist of:

Fragmentation: The first strategy the ruling party often uses is to split and dominate the opposition by taking advantage of its

disintegration. Due to the opposition party's disarray, the ruling party consciously uses the divide and conquer strategy. The potential of the ruling party to undermine opposition parties by separating them via intra-party disputes is constantly strengthened by this fragmentation (Howard & Roessler, 2006; Jiménez, 2023; Lust-Okar, 2005; Teshome-Bahiru, 2009). In order to increase its chances of winning the election, the governing party targets any credible opposition group it thinks might challenge it, perhaps influence the results of the vote, and bring it down.

Violence: Second, both in favor of itself and against rival parties, the ruling party manipulates elections by violence. Let's be clear: All political parties promote violence, but according to Collier & Vicente (2008), it is the weaker party (i.e., the opposition party) that promotes violence. However, Oyewole & Omotola (2022) have made it obvious that violence in elections is often carried out by the governing party, especially in the weak or strongholds of the opposition, with the intention of annulling such elections. In the same spirit, it is thought that the governing party is more equipped to exploit the institutions of governmentsuch as security agents, INEC, and the mediabecause it controls them. For instance, during the 2023 gubernatorial election in Adamawa State it was evidence that the returning officer was kidnapped and torture. It is important to note that electoral violence typically occurs at several times, including before elections, on election days, and after elections. The governing party consistently manipulates the political landscape in its favor through harassment, intimidation, repression, and other strategies, creating an unfair campaign climate that benefits the incumbent (Selçuk &Hekimci, 2020).

Defection: The issue of party defection, decampment, and carpet crossing is one more difficulty the opposition political party is facing. Decampments, carpet crossings, and defections frequently happen for a number of causes. For example, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar decamp from APC to PDP in 2019 to contest for presidential position against Muhammadu Buhari. In recent time it was also evidence when Peter Obi left PDP for Labour Party to contest for 2023 Presidential election. Political party defection, decamping, or carpet crossing can be caused by a variety of factors, including personal disputes, power struggles, crises or divisions within a particular party, disagreements over the party's stance on a particular subject, the realization of one's own political ambition, and a feeling of threat (Aleyomi, 2013).However, some politicians switch parties because they believe that if they join the ruling party they would not be pursued or hounded and that even if they do any atrocities, their crimes will be covered.

Manipulate Electoral Norms: The current administration's continued manipulation of election rules, restrictions on dissent, and changes to the constitution to serve their interests and bring them within the bounds of the democratic system are further methods used to undermine opposition political parties. In order to suppress dissent, neutralize political opposition, and weaken the authority of the democratic system, they also utilize the legislation to restrict civic and political space and freedoms (Burcher &Bisarya, 2017).

Money Politics: Above all, Nigeria's politics has been bedevilled with money, as money becomes the determinant factor of who to be voted for by the electorates. Before now, religion and ethnic cleavages were the major factors but now money has taken centre stage and electorates sell their votes to the highest bidder. Money politics have hampered genuine contenders to emerge as party flag bearers because he/she does not have the money needed to finance campaigns and at the same time, no opposition who will want to use his personal money against the incumbent government who is using the state resources. Though money is an essential ingredient in politics it has been used negatively in Nigeria and specially to weaken opposition parties as a result of vote buying (Adenuga Adenuga, &Oderinde, 2021; Olaniyan, 2020; Onuoha & Ojo, 2018).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Political parties continue to be a viable means for voters to voice their preferences for governmental policies and choices, even if their existence is not the essential requirement for the growth and maintenance of democracy. In a democratic context, political parties play crucial functions that are essential to the efficient and successful operation of a democratic government.In Nigeria's Fourth Republic, political parties have struggled to carry out these duties well, particularly when it comes to becoming a strong political opposition.Because of the prevalence of weak opposition politics

throughout Nigeria's political history, a strong and viable political opposition that might effect change has yet to form in the country after independence. Political leaders in Nigeria have lacked a clear political effort to create and sustain a strong and effective opposition platform.While it is still true that Nigeria's Fourth Republic is the nation's longest attempt at democratic governance, it is equally important to note that if the country's fourth attempt at democratization is to be consolidated and nurtured so that it will serve as the springboard for the qualitative improvement of democratic process, a viable political opposition must be created.

Based on the study's results, the paper makes the following recommendations for Nigeria's future opposition politics and democratic process:

i. There is a tendency for unjustifiable defection from one political party to another, particularly in the wake of the All Progressives Congress's (APC) selfish governance issues. Better political opportunities should be condemned by the Nigerian people and the media.

ii. Given the strategic significance of this function in advancing the right opposition ideas and ideals, democratic consolidation and significant inculcation in the direction of Nigeria's political stride toward good governance should be accomplished. As a result, parties can take this action to better grasp the issues.

iii. Any political party's guiding principles should be based on the idea that fighting the unfavorable opposition party requires reawakening the spirit and duty of patriotism and selfless devotion. Thus, via political education, political enlightenment, internal stability, and sensitization, the people's emotion.

iv. The opposing parties' constituents urgently need to gird the electorate. This situation is a striking departure from how they have traditionally presented themselves as being attainable in industrialized nations like the United States and Britain. As a result, it adopts a democratic and practical attitude.

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THE MILITARY IN GOVERNANCE IN THE GAMBIA AND THE QUEST FOR A POLITICAL LEGACY (FROM THE 27TH OF OCTOBER 1980 TO 30TH OF JULY 1981, AND 22ND OF JULY 1994 TO 19TH JANUARY 2017)

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KEYWORDS
military rule., governance, legacies, The Gambia, Senegal, Kukoi Samba Sanyang, Yahya Jammeh, Senegambia, Confederation, democracy.

ABSTRACT
This research examines Military Coup D'etats and its legacies in The Gambia. The Gambia experienced two military coups under the leaderships of Kukoi Samba Sanyang and Yahya A.J.J Jammeh, which had landmarks achievements in the country's polity and trajectory of development. The first military Coup took place on31 July 1981, while the second military coup was on 22nd July 1994. For the first military coup in 1981 under Kukoi Samba Sanyang, it led to the formation of the Senegambia Confederation and the establishment of the Gambia National Army (GNA). In the same vein, the Yahya Jammeh's military coup of 1994 was a turning point in the sociopolitical and economic development history of The Gambia, as it brought a total transformation of the socio-political and economic system of the country, such as the establishment of key infrastructures ranging from; education, health, agriculture, roads, telecommunications and new government institutions that strengthened the process of governance in the country. On the other hand, Yahya Jammeh's military government has been very controversial sometimes and had left many questions unanswered regarding the military's understanding and approach to some of the key principles of democracy as a governance system such as respect for and application of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the rule of law, separation of powers and judicial independence.Using both primary and mainly secondary sources, the author assessed the two military coups in The Gambia and its lasting legacies and sustainable impacts in the country. It used content analysis to arrive at the findings and conclusion. This research finds out that despite the hue and cry about military coups and governance in The Gambia, there have been breakthrough achievements in the country. The research concludes that, viewing critically the two military coups in The Gambia under the microscope of economics of development and their numerous fallouts in the country, the two coups had left permanent imprints in the sands of time in the political landscape and the sustainable development of the country.

Introduction

The Military involvement in politics and governance either through military coups, sometimes commonly referred to as military government or military regime, is a political phenomenon that has been the characteristic of many African and other Third World countries. While it is regarded as a political aberration across the globe in recent times, its positive impacts have continued to resonate in many societies mostly in Africa, even at this era of global "project democracy" (Edeh & Ugwu Eze, 2004). In fact, and generally, most African countries have been at one time or the other ruled by a combination of both military and democratic regimes. In West Africa for example and with the exception of Senegal every other country in the subregion has experienced some form of military rule. At the continent level, Botswana, Mauritius, Zimbabwe and of course Senegal are said to be the only countries that have been able to sustain the independent democratic regimes that took over power after the end of colonial rule in the last century even though some of them remained one party or quasi- one-party system in nature. (Ibrahim 2003). Here in West Africa, the countries that have experienced more military coups are Nigeria, Ghana, Niger, Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea Conakry, Guinea Bissau and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. Thus, from 1966 to 1993, the Federal Republic of Nigeria has experienced about eight (8) coups d'etat, (2 coups in January and July, 1966, others were in 1975, 1976- a failed coup that resulted into the death of Murtala Muhammed, 1983, , 1985, 1990, - another failed coup against İbrahim Babangida, and in 1993 that brought General Sain Abacha, the last Nigerian military ruler of the modern time to power.). (Chuks, 2016 and H. Chapin, 1991).

Similarly, from 1966 to 2022 Burkina Faso also like Nigeria has experienced eight (8) coups, (1966, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1987, 2014 and 2 coups in 2022 respectively). (T Clayton and P. Jonathan 2019). Burkina Faso was followed by Ghana and Niger republic, with each of the two countries experiencing six (6) coups between 1966 and 2023 respectively. As for Ghana- formerly the Gold Coast, the coups took place between 1966 and 1981, (1966, 1967, 1972, 1978, 1979 and 1981, when Jerry John Rawlings overthrew Dr. Hilla Liman. (Pinkeny 1972 & Al-Hassan, 2004). Regarding Niger, its coups took place between 1974 and 2023, (1974, 1996, 1999, 2010, 2021, which was a failed attempt, and on the 26 of July, 2023). (Higgott & Fuglestad, 1975 & Decalo, 1990 and BBC News, 26 July, 2023.). The Republic of Mali then followed with a total of five (5) coups, (1968, 1991, 2012, 2020 and 2021 respectively). Guinea Conakry has experienced three (3) (1984, 2008 and 2002), Guinea Bissau had suffered from a series of coups and a long period of political instability. As for the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, it's experienced a series of military takeovers during the past three decades. It is therefore fair to say that inasmuch as there is a preponderance of democratic rule across the continent, there are numerous cases of military dictatorships across Africa. The response of the African people to military interventions are mixed, as there is a preference of the military in some instances while there is a preference for constitutional order and civilian rule in others; depending on how much impact the government of the day has made in the life and welfare of the people.

The undeniable fact is that Military coups and counter coups became a regular occurrence in Africa in the decades that immediately followed independence and began to decline in the last 15 years. However, the phenomenon of military coups has recently witnessed a nightmarish resurgence in West Africa, where the subregional grouping (ECOWAS), had nearly succeeded in making them a thing of the past just about a few years ago. However**, t**he democratic dividends recently gained by ECOWAS appeared to have been lost or on the verge of being lost. For example, therewere two military takeovers in Burkina Faso in 2022, which was preceded by the coup in Mali as well as failed coup attempts in Guinea Bissau, The Gambia and the island nation of Sao Tome and Principe. In July 2023 another coup d'etat took place in the Republic of Niger prompting ECOWAS to threaten the use of force against the military junta in Niyami if the deposed regime of President Muhammad Bazoumi is not unconditionally reinstated and the military returned to Barracks. In the year 2022 alone, there were six coup attempts in Africa, and four of them were successful. A senior African Union official, Moussa Faki Mahamat, thus expressed concern about what he called "the resurgence of unconstitutional changes of government" across the continent. (Alado, 2022).

As for the latest coup in Niger and the standoff between the military junta in Niyami and ECOWAS, the latter has found itself in a very funny situation and with a very difficult

moral question to answer**.** The question is why now? and why specifically Niger? The reason this question raises its head is that just about a year ago there were similar military coups in three other member states namely, Guinea Conakry, Mali and Burkina Faso but the subregional body did not threaten the military juntas in those countries with military action to dislodge them and restore democracy and civilian rule. One wonders therefore, whether ECOWAS is not attempting to stand in proxy for another player outside the region. In any case, military intervention in Niger at this moment could be counterproductive to the peace efforts that are already underway from the Muslim and traditional leaders of the region headed by the Sultan of Sokoto and the Emir of Kano in Northern Nigeria. The Gambia, which forms the major thrust of this treatise, has had a portion of military intervention in politics and governance. In 1981, there was a violent civilian- military coup in The Gambia led by Kukoi Samba Sanyang, a Gambian politician and leader of the National Revolutionary Council (NRC) against the government of Sir Dawda Jawara*.* In this short-lived military takeover, the coup leader, in his maiden speech condemned imperialism and neo-colonialism and accused the Jawara- led government of corruption, tribalism, economic mismanagement, nepotism and high-handedness. (E.J. Ceasasy,2006). But with the intervention of the Senegalese military in 1981 Kukoi Samba Sanyang was defeated and sent into exile in the West African subregion member state of Burkina Faso.

The 1981 coup led by Kukoi Samba Sanyang was preceded by an alarming political upheaval and security shakeup in October 1980. This was as a result of an unrest in the country's Paramilitary police otherwise known as the Gambia Field Force and thus signaling an imminent uprising, which later turned into the 1981 coup. Linking this 1980 incident with the 1981 coup is a logical conclusion simply because, the leader of this coup (Kukoi Samba Sanyang), had earlier in 1980 joined a radical political organization formed by Gibril (Pengu) George whose Gambia Revolutionary Socialist Party was somehow involved in or it influenced the 1980 unrest in the Gambia Field Force. (Hughes, & Perfect,2006)

Pengu George was a well-known opponent and fiercest critic of the Jawara-led PPP administration during the mid- 1970s and early 1980s. He was one of the young Gambian radicals attracted to the political ideas of the first generation of African radical-nationalist leaders of the 1950s, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Ahmed Seku Toure of Guinea. (Hughes, & Perfect, 2006) &, (Ceesay, 2006),

In the same vein, the second military coup occurred in The Gambia on the 22nd of July in 1994, when a group of young Army Officers led by then Capt. (later Col.) Yahya Jammeh staged a bloodless coup to once and for all end the life span of the first republican government of The Gambia which ruled the country since independence in 1965. The junior officers of the military, while justifying the takeover, cited rampant corruption and mismanagement of public funds and state resources by former President Jawara and members of his ruling People's Progressive Party (PPP) and immediately created the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC). The origin and causes of these two military coup d'etats in The Gambia would be discussed in detail later in the course of this study.

Although there is a plethora of literature on military rule in The Gambia, yet its legacies and footprints on the socio-political and economic development of the country have not been adequately and systematically examined well enough. The critical question this study sets to address is, has the Military left a permanent imprint in the sands of time in The Gambia? And if yes, what are the iconic or outstanding and most important of those legacies? There is a scholarly position that holds that there is no country in the world where the military does not intervene in politics. If politics is understood as authoritative allocation of values, then all participants in the political process intervene in politics at one point or another. So, the military in politics is phenomenal and this they do in the polity in several different ways.

Against this background, this piece is set to first interrogate the origin of Military Coups in The Gambia and its causes and its impact in the socio- political and economic development of the country; using both primary and mainly secondary sources (data) to analyze the subject of study. The author argues that as much as the civilian government can positively impact on the development of a country, the military can do equally well or even better and in actual fact, they did better and even qualitatively in The Gambia. In fact, the author argues that some Military Coups and their subsequent leadership and governance processes have brought some enduring and lasting transformations that have

changed the socio-political and economic trajectory of some countries, of which Gambia is not an exception. Countries like Egypt, Libya and Rwanda are good examples although their military leaderships like that of The Gambia had (in the case of Libya in the past) and still having (in the case Rwanda) serious challenges with regard to the principles of democratic governance, especially human rights and civil liberties.

Reasons and Causes for Military Intervention in Politics and Governance: An Overview

Military intervention refers to the state where the military marches out of their military barracks and takes over political power and authority from a constitutionally established civilian government of the day. Normally, this is done through a coup d'état. Many factors have been advanced as the reasons why the military intervenes in politics and governance in Africa. Overall, the reasons for military interventions in politics have taken place on the basis of vested interest in the military itself coupled with other factors such as increasing poverty, economic instability, total breakdown of law and order and collapse of internal security, weak institutions, rampant corruption, nepotism, tribalism as well as on the basis of low political culture and awareness. According to Huntington, the sources of military interventions in politics have not only been due to the keen interest of the military itself, but it is also the result of weak political institutions and low political culture of developing countries. These flaws have provided the opportunities for military coups in most countries in Africa.

He further explained the causes of military interventions in politics and maintained that the military always comes for a short stint but history tells us that they never returned back the government to the civilian in the proper way. In fact, sometimes they are forced to do so under humiliating circumstances living behind a bad legacy. It is pointed out that military governments are associated with their own class benefits and popularity.

Another most significant reason for military intervention in African politics is the politicization of the Army. Following the independence of most African countries, military recruits were based on ethnic sentiments. As such, whichever ethnic group occupies or controls the military hierarchy recruits more of their tribesmen and women, so as to use them as a weapon over other ethnic nationalities. In some cases, the army was seriously politicized to the extent that appointments and promotions were based on tribe and political sentiments rather than seniority and merit. This largely contributes to the reasons why the military intervenes in African politics since independence from the dawn of the 20th century until today. Scholars attest that the military at the beginning of nationhood in Africa was used by the leaders of the different countries of the continent to profit themselves or their fellow ethnic favorites alone. This was basically why military interventions in Africa were more rampant (Ndulo & Lulo, 2010).

After the independence of most African countries in the 1960s, the political system of many African states started experiencing highly flawed electoral systems, which culminated in the rigging of elections. Thus, with the inability or unwillingness of most African countries to conduct free and fair elections, the situation in those countries degenerated into post - electoral violence and lawlessness and thereby giving room for the military to strike. Many military coups had always been triggered by electoral frauds and thus forcing leaders to carry out Coups. The fact that many African leaders fail or are unwilling to conduct free and fair elections and rather they would choose to perpetuate their stay in power in the name of one party or another, has made military interventions in African politics inevitable. Recent election-related violence in some African countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, and Zimbabwe have led some to question whether elections can in any way reduce the risk of conflict and lead to stability, democracy, peace and development for the continent or they could make matters worse. The military has always come under the pretext that they were trying to correct the lacuna of the poor and the corrupt political system in the polity with promises to return to barracks but ended up staying for good and in some cases endangering or worsening the system more than they had found it. There is abundant evidence from around the continent that junta leaders who choose to stay in power have become more corrupt, inept, incompetent and ineffective than the very governments they had overthrown (Ndulo & Lulo, 2010).

Although it is true that post-conflict elections have resulted in violence in some countries and even in worst case scenarios led to military coups, it is important to keep in mind that this scenario is not the whole story or indeed the only story. The experiences of Namibia (1989), South Africa (1994), Mozambique (1994), and, in many respects, Sierra Leone (2002), and Liberia (2005) are notable examples of successful elections held in so-called "fragile" countries (Ndulo & Lulo, 2010).

With different names and different guises, ethnicity is old in African polity. The African political system has been characterized by ethnocentric cleavages and rancor, so much so that it endangers the stability of most countries. It is noteworthy that there are instances where colonial architects foisted different ethnic groups into one political entity, a situation that has been a source of conflict and even military takeovers in those territories. It has been alleged that those ethnic cleavages had led to military coups in certain countries. Robin Luckham et al. claim that *disparate ethnic systems inherited from Europeans* have led to military coups in Africa. (Luckham, 1994).

The literature on conflict in the region is replete with a plethora of causal factors, with one of the focal issues in African politics being the impact of ethnicity on the behaviours and performances of the states. Moreover, it is striking and at the same time sobering that the incidence of ethnic-based violence in Africa has triggered a domino effect across the region, and this is witnessed in rampant military coups across the length and breadth of the continent. Thus, the military saw this as a reason why they should take over power and correct the problems of ethnicity and tribalism in politics. Regional and tribal- based political parties had caused so many crises and killings in many African countries that it has led to endless Military Coups and Counter-Coups. Almost all countries in sub- Saharan Africa, with the exception of Senegal and perhaps Cabo Varde, have experienced some kind of military rule with a couple of them experiencing several coups and coup attempts, in their so far short history of nationhood. As for the Gambia, the country has been very lucky and blessed by Almighty God that there has, so far, never been any ethnic or tribal conflict in the way and to the extent and level that other African countries have been experiencing.

Ostensibly, corruption, including nepotism, is also a major instrumental factor for the frequent military interventions in Africa. The military has always taken over power because the high rate of corruption in a given Africa country was becoming unbearable. Several African countries have been ranked among the most corrupt nations in the world. Given the high rate of corruption and widespread misuse of state resources by Politicians, the economy of most African countries became hugely and adversely affected. The wealth of the continent has always been spent by politicians recklessly and this encourages incessant military coups and coup attempts across the continent. The menace of corruption is fuelling several military takeovers of existing democratic governments in many African countries, even though the military governments replacing former civilian governments do equally become corrupt or even more corrupt in many instances. (Owasanoye, 2022).

> *Owasanoye noted how the West Africa region has experienced a resurgence of military takeovers of government in the last two years. According to the ICPC boss, civil unrest has remained a factor in military juntas' violent takeover of authority. Mr Owasanoye said weak institutions, absence of rule of law, corruption in government, insecurity, and political instability have continued to stymie growth in the sub-region, prompting ordinary people to demand a change of administration (Owasanoye, 2022).*

It should be noted at this juncture that in spite of the several interventions of the military, corruption has not reduced in Africa. This is mainly because and as I have already alluded to above, the military themselves have become corrupt or even more corrupt than the civilian authorities they unseated. Asides inability to end corruption when in government, many military Chiefs in Africa have made the headlines on corruption allegations. A report by the Africa Centre for Strategic Studies blamed corruption on the continent, in part, on corruption in the military. For instance, Nigeria, Africa's most populous country and the continent's largest economy, was reported to have recorded high levels of corruption during the military era. It was alleged that a sum of $5

billion was reported to have been taken, at the least, by its former Military ruler, General Sani Abacha (Oyedeji, 2022).

Political ambition of the military in Africa and its unquenchable thirst for power had led to constant military takeovers in most countries of the continent. In the past several years, there has been a proliferation of studies on coup d'états in Africa and the political role of the African military in various countries. Armies have been analyzed in terms of their social and ethnic composition, training, ideology, and socializing influences. Intense debate has focused around the overt and covert reasons for their intervention in the political arena (Decalo, 2008). It has been posited that the Military are power hungry, hence the need to take over a constituted authority. In light of this, they had to look for other reasons to justify their act of taking over power by force. In the researcher's view, the political ambition of the military is the basic reason for military interventions in most African countries. It is perhaps for this reason that military regimes across the continent would in most cases end up transforming themselves into civilian governments at least by name. Any other reason advanced by the military was just used as justification for taking over power forcefully.

Overall, the reasons for military takeover of government have largely been based on *dissatisfaction with civilian governments and specific grievances and ambitions* of military officers. Politicized militaries often get involved when countries face political, security and socio-economic problems. The most promising way to reduce politicization of the military is through raising professional security forces. Professionalism, for the military, refers to staying out of politics, which facilitates an improved ability to tackle security risks such as rioting, intertribal and ethnic conflicts, drug abuse, increasing crime rates and insurgencies without resorting to excessive force (Abdallah, 2020).

Foreign actors or powers have been instrumental in influencing military Coups in various parts of Africa. Some of the big powers are often accused of supporting failing or dis-functioning civilian or even military governments to secure their own interests. In the same way, they can be engaged in some clandestine activities to directly or indirectly influence or sponsor the removal of any civilian administration in Africa that fails to dance to their whims and caprice. The recent rise in coups in Africa (a pattern not observed in other regions of the world) reflects a waning in regional and international actors' unwillingness to enforce anti-coup norms in Africa. This is a result of a confluence of factors, including a regional democratic recession, an inclination by regional bodies to negotiate compromises with coup leaders, reticence to mount military interventions, and distractions of international actors with internal crises or with bigger regional or global challenges and other emergencies like the pandemic, among others. International actors, in short, have a critical role in validating coups. By treating coups as unfortunate but normal means of transferring power in Africa, international actors inadvertently provide coup leaders a helping hand across the finishing line to consolidate their putsch (Siegle, 2021).

Russia has also been actively supporting coups in Africa. Often working through the Wagner Mercenary Group Moscow has maintained a close relationship with the military throughout Sudan's democratic transition and reportedly agitated for it to seize power. In exchange for its support, the Sudanese junta is likely to grant Russia naval port access to Port Sudan, giving Moscow a military foothold in the important Red Sea corridor. Wagner interests will also continue to operate in western Sudan in support of gold and other illicit trafficking through the Central African Republic (Siegle, 2021).

The need to consolidate power has opened up for the struggle for power at all levels within society even outside elections. The presence of opposition groups which do not share the same ideology with those in the military has forced at times the military to act under the pretext of being the custodians and guardians of society and the country's peace and security as noted in Egypt a couple of years ago. In developing countries, the lack of democratic means or inability of such means of changing governments has meant that military force has been made an alternative as noted in The Gambia in 1994. This is because the culture of voting for incumbents and people's hesitant to change the status quo is deeply rooted in the political traditions of peoples in many African communities. Let's take the case of The Gambia for instance where Voting for the incumbent has been a long-time surviving trend of the country's every presidential and parliamentary elections ever since it became independent

from Britain more than half a century ago. However, in 2016 this trend was reversed following an unexpected but decisive victory for the coalition of opposition parties against the quasi-military government of former president Yahya Jammeh's ruling Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction (APRC) party. The trend of voting for the incumbent In Gambian elections was quickly resurrected in the 2017 Parliamentary elections conducted under the watchful eyes and auspices of the ruling coalition of president Adama Barrow as the then flag bearer of the United Democratic Party (the UDP), the largest and main political party of the Barrow coalition that unseated President Yahya Jammeh. Thus, the UDP won the majority of seats in the National Assembly during that election. The trend reaffirmed its position In Gambia's political and election culture in the 2021 Presidential Elections during which president Adama Barrow's newly formed party-the National People's Party swept the polls with a landslide victory.

Thus, the reasons for military interventions in politics particularly in Africa and the Middle East are multifaceted and multidimensional as well with ethnic, tribal and ideological differences occupying the center stage. Ideologies such as Marxism are relevant to understand how the military acts as gatekeepers to defend the liberation movements in Southern Africa through open political support and ideological requirements for one to hold the highest office in government as noted in Zimbabwe. As mentioned above the main push factor for the coup in Egypt a couple of years ago was ideologically motivated and the military government that followed the coup is still in power in Cairo showing no signs of interest or readiness to return the country to democratic rule and constitutional order. In the same vein ideologically motivated coup d'etats were staged against three democratically elected governments of Turkey during the period from 1960 to 2016. Former Prime Minister Adnan Mandris was overthrown by the then powerful Turkish military on 27/ 5/ 1960 and subsequently hanged on flimsy charges of taking the country closer to its Islamic past. Similarly, the country's first Islamist Prime Minister Prof. Dr. Najmuddin Arbakan was deposed by the military on 28/2/ 1997 just after one year when he was democratically elected as modern Turkey's first Islamist leader. The biggest quarrel between him and the country's powerful secular military was his (Arbakan) attempt to redirect Turkey towards and bring it closer to the Islamic east.

The biggest surprise regarding the history of military coup d'etats in the Republic of Turkey came on the 15/7/ 2016, when a bloody coup was staged against the current president Rajab Taieb Ardogan- modern Turkey's best known and most successful Islamist politician. The biggest surprise here was not necessarily the coup proper but rather it was the level and magnitude of the popular opposition and resistance to the coup. As soon as the coup was announced hundreds of thousands of people (unarmed civilians) had spontaneously come out onto the streets to vehemently protest against the coup. They confronted heavily armed soldiers in the streets of Istanbul and in other major cities and vowed to fight until the president's safety was assured and that his government would not be forced out by the military and further that president Ardogan had to and would continue to govern the country.

Origin of the Two Military Coup D'etats in The Gambia

For the purpose of this research study and also for emphasis, the paper briefly examines the first military- civilian Coup led by Kukoi Samba Sanyang of 1981 and his members of The Gambia Socialist Revolutionary Party (GSRP) and disaffected staff of the Gambia Field Force. This is preceded by a brief account of the 1980 imminent uprising and precarious security situation that led to the assassination of a senior commander of The Gambia Field Force in October of that year. These two political upheavals struck ostensibly because the Jawara administration was accused of messing up the polity and as such the players wanted a radical and transformative revolution. The ideology of the group was a "wooly and vulgarized form" of Marxist and radical pan-Africanist thinking. They spoke of "Victory for the Gambian revolutionary struggle under the stewardship of the proletariat and the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party" and of "Death to neo-colonialism, racism and fascism (Hughes & Perfect, 2006) & (Omasanjuwa, &Tarro, 2021

While studying the two coups of 1981 and 1994 as well as the events preceding them in 1980, the paper focuses a lot of attention on

the legacies and impacts created and left behind by the military's involvement and its earlier attempt to be involved in governance in The Gambia.

As has been pointed out elsewhere in this treatise, the first Military Coup occurred in The Gambia on 30th July 1981by a group comprising mainly of radical civilian opposition politicians and few members of the country's Paramilitary Field Force and led by Kukoi Samba Sanyang himself a civilian opposition politician who had earlier in 1980, joined the radical Gambia Revolutionary Socialist party of Gibril Pengu George. The coup was unusual and unique in the history of coup d'etats in Africa in that it was plotted and partly executed by civilians rather than the country's military themselves. This military coup led by Kukoi Samba Sanyang was a follow -up of the alarming political upheaval and security shakeup in October 1980. This was as a result of an unrest in the country's Paramilitary police otherwise known as the Gambia Field Force and thus, signaling an imminent uprising, which later turned into the 1981 coup. Linking this 1980 incident with the 1981 coup is a logical conclusion simply because, the leader of this coup (Kukoi Samba Sanyang), had earlier in 1980 joined a radical political organization formed by Gibril (Pengu) George, whose Gambian Revolutionary Socialist Party was somehow involved in or influenced the 1980 unrest in the Gambia Field Force. (Hughes, & Perfect,2006)

Pengu George was a well-known opponent and fiercest critic of the Jawara-led PPP administration during the mid- 1970s and early 1980s. He was one of the young Gambian radicals attracted to the political ideas of the first generation of African radical-nationalist leaders of the 1950s, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Ahmed Seku Toure of Guinea (Hughes, & Perfect, 2006). The Gambia Field Force was created in 1958 to replace the former colonial security company known as international Royal West African Frontier Force which was abolished for financial reasons. Consequently, The Gambia was left without a regular army and hence the formation of the Paramilitary Field Force, which started with a modest number of about 140 personnel but at the time of the 1981 coup the Force had between 350 to about 500 members. (Hughes, & Perfect, 2006).

Since its establishment in 1958, The Gambia Field Force had remained politically inactive and dormant throughout its existence, although there had been few unsubstantiated rumors of internal discontent within the Force in the late 1960s.There were also rumors of likely insurrection in the 1970s and as such the Field Force and the government had to take precautionary measures to avoid and prevent any likely imminent danger. The situation became more worrying when news circulated that there were Gambian dissidents receiving military training in Libya preparing to bring down the PPP-led government. Upon receiving firsthand information on the Libya training story from an eyewitness in 1979; the Gambian authorities became more convinced that there was a looming threat to the government's existence and thus more stringent preventive measures were taken to ensure internal stability and security.

Consequently, tensions within the ranks of the Field Force continued to rise as some of its officers came under suspicion and were accused of providing sensitive information to the perceived enemy. Subsequently, the officers whose loyalty to the Force came under suspicion were discharged or dismissed from the Paramilitary Police while others suffered banishment to faraway and remote areas on postings. (Omasanjuwa & Tarro.2021) & (Hughes, & Perfect, 2006). Despite the rising tensions within the ranks of The Gambia Field Force, The Gambian Paramilitary Police continued to maintain its passive and politically non-active characteristic at least in the eyes and perceptions of The Gambian people.

However, this general belief and perception by most Gambians that the Paramilitary Police or the Gambia Field Force was passive, peaceful and politically dormant was turned upside down, on the 27 of October ,1980, when the nation learned with considerable shock that the deputy commander of the Field Force, E.J. Eku Mahoney was gunned down by an insubordinate soldier of the very Force , Mustapha Danso, on that fateful day at the Bakau Depot .The reason for this horrible killing was never explained and the Jawara government was definitely and rightly so very worried although it initially and seemingly tried to downplay the situation by describing the incident "as a solitary murderous act of mutiny by a drug-intoxicated constable" (Hughes, & Perfect, 2006). On the contrary the Jawar administration reacted rapidly by invoking a

1965 mutual assistance treaty with the Republic of Senegal and called in the Senegalese army.

Thus, on the 30th of October, 1980 a contingent of 150 Senegalese soldiers arrived in The Gambia and were deployed in various strategic areas of the capital Banjul and its surroundings to protect key installations and also to prevent the disaffection spreading further among the ranks of the Field Force. Having stayed in the country for one week the visiting Senegalese soldiers succeeded in stabilizing the situation and returned to their country. (Hughes, & Perfect, 2006).

Some of the precautionary measures taken in the wake of commander Mahoney's assassination included the forced retirement of Assistant Commander Ousman Bojang of the Gambia Field Force on suspicion of his involvement in causing or stirring up disaffection in the Field Force. This decision to send Commander Bojang onto forced retirement angered him and as a result, his ensuing resentment undoubtedly led him to join the subsequent 1981 coup. This is clearly a good example of how the 1980 unrest in the Field Force had served as a prelude to the 1981 coup. I have already explained above the connection between the coup leader and the radical revolutionary movement led by Pengu George.

However, it should be clarified at this juncture that commander Bojang was not personally attracted to or sympathetic with the revolutionary aspirations of Gibril (Pengu) George and Kukoi Samba Sanyang- the main characters of the coup. Rather, he (Bojang), a member of the majority Mandinka ethnic group, was said to have been unhappy with the Wolof/Aku dominance of the Field Force leadership and in his view, this was what led to his ousting. (Hughes, & Perfect, 2006).

To conclude this section, it is clearly shown from the above discussion that the 1980 events and the unrest in the country's paramilitary police had resulted into the following outstanding legacies that The Gambia and its people will never forget:

a. The assassination of the most senior military commander in the country, which was perhaps the first ever high-profile case of a politically motivated killing in the history of independent Gambia. Use of assassination as a weapon against one's enemies is still not known to Gambians of all walks of life.

b. The first ever deployment of foreign troops in parts of the territory of the sovereign Republic of The Gambia since independence from Britain in 1965.

c. The 1980 events served as a prelude to and culminated into the first ever coup d'etat or unconstitutional toppling of a legitimate and democratically instituted government in The Gambia since independence i. 1965.

In other words, in the 1981 coup, whether you call it "a coup attempt "or an abortive coup d'etat, "a rebellion or insurrection "as done by many authors and writers on Gambian affairs, (E. J Ceesay, 2006), (Hughes& Perfect 2006), (A. Hughes,2000) and many more, the coup makers actually brought down the Jawara government, announced a provisional ruling council and would have taken over control of the whole country if Senegal didn't intervene militarily. Thus, in my view, it was a successful but a short-lived coup/takeover. This was why the casualties were heavy on the side of the intervening Senegalese soldiers.

Suffice it to point out here that at the time of the coup, former President Sir Dawda Jawara was in London attending the wedding of the then Prince Charles the Prince of Wales (now King Charles) to Lady Diana Spencer and upon learning the new development at home, Sir Dawda flew to Senegal within the next twenty-four hours to successfully invoke the relevant provisions of the 1965 Defence Treaty with the Republic of Senegal, already referred to above. Thus, former President Jawara prevailed upon former President Abdou Diouf of Senegal to send troops into The Gambia to reverse the coup, dislodge the rebels from Banjul and surroundings and have him (Sir Dawda) reinstated. (Hughes & Perfect, 2006). The 1965 Defense Treaty provided for direct intervention in the event of attack against or "if power was to be seized in either country". (E.J. Ceesay, 2006). Consequently, Senegal intervened heavily by sending troops into the Gambia despite having to confront a very hostile and anti- Senegalese environment and landing on a risky and dangerous battlefield. This is because only few hours after the coup were launched the coup makers were able to take over the Field Force Depot in Bakau to obtain much

needed weapons and ammunitions and also, they took over the Radio Gambia Building, which was close to the military Depot, the Yundum International Airport and the State House in Banjul. Thus, with all these strategic institutions and targets under their control, the rebels had actually taken over the country and had achieved almost complete success in their mission albeit very briefly.

However, this momentum could not be maintained by the coup makers because as Hughes and Perfect have explained, despite those "initial successes the insurgents quickly ran into serious difficulties and began to disintegrate into uncoordinated elements. (Hughes & Perfect, 2006). Bloody infighting within the coup makers' leadership coupled with stiff resistance from the Jawara loyalists and the subsequent killing of two senior members of the coup leaders (commander Ousman Bojang and Gibril Pengu George) as casualties of both the infighting and the resistance together with Kukoi's (the coup leader)'s inexperience in military operations were the main factors behind their weakness and eventual disintegration into uncoordinated elements of a fighting force.

One of the earliest actions of the coup makers, which later turned out to be a dangerous act and a huge liability against them, was to take over the prison at Mile Two and free Mustapha Danso, who earlier in October,1980 murdered Deputy Commander Eku Mahoney and who had his appeal against his death sentencing for Mahoney's killing, rejected by the Court of Appeal in Banjul. This was a very serious miscalculated gambling because first, all other prisoners were released alongside Danso and second, as Hughes and Perfect aptly put it some of these freed prisoners "acquired weapons and turned what the rebels intended as a popular insurrection into personal vendettas and criminal forays" (Hughes & Perfect, 2006) & (Omasanjuwa and Tarro. 2021)

This was therefore a scenario that went against both sides of the conflict. For the loyalists resisting the coup the situation was both confusing and frustrating, whereas for the coup leaders the activities of the freed and loose armed criminals further undermined their patriotic credentials and eroded the popular support they started receiving. At the same time, when civilian supporters of the coup were supplied with weapons to fight alongside the rebels, widespread looting and criminal activity was going on in and around the capital and thus further justifying the Jawara government's decision to call in Senegalese soldiers to help quell the coup and the ensuing unrest.

As alluded to above, the government of Senegal agreed to intervene and thus former President Abdou Joof sent in a contingent of seaborne troops, airborne and ground forces into Banjul and surroundings to finally quell the rebellion and reinstated Sir Dawda Jawara in his presidency. During the insurrection, the coup makers had taken many senior Gambia government officers and some prominent Senegalo-Gambia personalities hostage. There was an estimated number of 105 people taken hostage including one of President Jawara's two wives, Lady Chilel and ten of his children, Dembou Jatta the Minister of Education, Commander M.B. Khan the deputy inspector general of police, Seydou Nourou Bah the then Excessive Secretary of the Senegalo-Gambia Permanent Secretariat and an official of the Senegalese High Commission in Banjul. The hostages were safely released without any casualties by a small team of the British Special Air Service, (SAS), who had earlier on managed to successfully infiltrate the military camp in Bakau where the hostages were being held. (Hughes & Perfect, 2006) & (Omasanjuwa, and Tarro, 2021)

Despite having been successful in safely rescuing all the hostages, neither the visiting SAS nor the intervening Senegalese army could save the country from the large-scale destruction of life and property it had suffered from as a result of the weeklong mayhem and its suppression. Although the exact number of people killed during the fighting could never have been determined, the Gambia government estimated that five hundred lives were lost whereas the Senegalese army admitted losing thirty-three soldiers. The actual figure of both civilian and military casualties, as well as the extent of damage to property, was believed to have been higher than what was officially reported. However, it could still be argued that although the scale of the violence, damage and destruction to life and property befallen the country during the mayhem, was beyond the experience and comprehension of The Gambian people, the level of destruction of life and property here was modest and very much on the low side if compared with what usually comes out of coups, or failed coups, counter coups and similar domestic conflicts in

sub Saharan Africa.,.(Hughes & Perfect, 2006) & (Omasanjuwa and Tarro, 2021)

To conclude this section, it is clearly demonstrated here that both the 1980 and 1981 events signaling the imminent, on one hand and marking the actual beginning, on the other, of the military's involvement or attempt to get involved in governance and state management in The Gambia have left behind some landmark and iconic legacies in the history of governance and state system of The Gambia, which will be discussed in the next sub-heading.

The Second Military Coup D'etat n The Gambia

The second major Military Coup D'etat occurred in The Gambia on July 22nd 1994 under the leadership of Lt. Yahya A.J.J Jammeh of the Gambia Armed Forces. It was on Friday July 22, in 1994 that a group of junior officers of the Gambia National Army launched another coup d'etat against the democratically elected government of the founding father of the sovereign republic of The Gambia Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara. This time and unlike the 1981 short lived takeover/abortive coup, the military successfully and decisively overthrew President Jawara and his People's Progressive Party (the PPP) government and immediately created the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council otherwise known as AFPRC to replace the PPP government. To avoid a repetition of one of the fatal mistakes of the 1981 coup makers in delaying the formation of a new government immediately after the coup was announced, the 1994 coup leaders wasted no time in forming a new government replacing the PPP government which included civilian ministers and many senior public servants immediately after the coup took place.

The 1994 takeover came at a time when the circumstances were more favorable and the political environment more conducive for a successful military coup due mainly to the following reasons:

a. This time the country has already had a standing regular and professional army some of whose members were already exposed to the use and application of techniques and strategies of warfare after serving in the ECOMOG peacekeeping mission in Liberia...

b. Unlike the 1981 coup, which was planned and executed mainly by radical civilian politicians supported by a few members of the country's paramilitary Field Force, the 1994 coup was absolutely and entirely a military affair.

c. Unlike the 1981 coup which had been planned for a considerable period of time by a group of radical civilians who led it with support from a few members of the Paramilitary Field Force, in 1994, the coup was essentially spontaneous. As Hughes and Perfect explained the coup was triggered by an incident on July 21, when a senior Nigerian Commander of the GNA and the Gambian director general of the National Security Service (NSS), ordered a public search for weapons of the guard of honor who had gone to the airport to greet the president on his return from a month's long visit to London. This group of soldiers who included Sana Sabally and Edward Singhateh but not Yahya Jammeh, were subsequently disarmed and sent back to the barracks. Interestingly enough the group of soldiers so disarmed were not arrested and detained and for this reason at this moment both Sabally and Singhateh were able to convince a number of soldiers that the incident at the airport was a prelude to their subsequent arrest and possibly to be tried as coup suspects and therefore they had to act fast. Subsequently the coup was planned that very night with Yahya Jammeh joining both Sabbally and Singhateh together with other discontented lieutenants of the army such as Sadiou Hydara and others. (Hughes & Perfect, 2006) Also, (E. J. Ceesay, 2006).

d. By 1994, there was significant discontent among junior members of the Gambia National Army and high-level resentments from them against the Nigerian commander's domination of the senior officer corps of the GNA. They were resentful of the fact that their food, accommodation and general living conditions at Yundum Barracks were clearly inferior to those of their

senior officers, particularly the Nigerian commanders. Similarly, there were wide differences between the salaries and allowances of the Gambian officers and those of their Nigerian counterparts. Furthermore, the army rank and file corps shared the grievances of the junior officers about their living conditions. There were also additional complaints from those soldiers who served with ECOMOG in Liberia that the Jawara government was reluctant to pay them their allowances for the Liberia mission.

e. By 1994, the popularity of the PPP government in the Gambia had apparently sharply declined to its lowest level. This was due mainly to two reasons. First, there was a widespread belief that after staying in power for almost three decades, the Jawara administration had become complacent and out of touch with public opinion, especially with the younger generation. It was an ailing government that had become increasingly unpopular and ineffective to or even unable to achieve or bring in any meaningful development for the people of The Gambia. Second, it was also widely believed that many, if not most ministers, senior civil servants, heads of parastatal organizations and leading pro- government businessmen were involved in large scale and high-level corruption and the party leader and president Sir Dawda Jawara was unwilling to take the necessary and decisive measures to hold them to account.

f. The relationship between the government of Senegal and The Gambia, particularly between the two leaders of Diouf and Jawara was at a very low level as the Senegalese people and their government had not yet recovered from their devastating disappointment over the failure of the Senegambia Confederation due mainly to foot dragging tactics by the Gambian side. Needless to say, the Confederation was a special project that Senegal had obviously spent a lot in anticipation of realizing a long-standing territorial ambition in or over The Gambia.

g. Both the Nigerian Army Training Team with their most senior officer serving as head and Commander of the Gambia National Army, and the American war or tank landing ship, *La Moure County*, then visiting The Gambia chose not to intervene militarily to quell the coup.

h. The absence of almost total resistance from the Jawara loyalists against the new military government when the coup was announced went in favour of the coup leaders.

i. The 1994 coup in The Gambia was believed to have been influenced by the spillover effects of military rules in the country's Anglophone neighbors. In Sierra Leone for instance, Captain Valentine Strasser seized power from president Joseph Momoh in May 1992 and Nigeria the Gambia's giant and most important Anglophone neighbor and ally was by November 1993 under full military rule under the stewardship of General Sani Abacha who later become like a mentor and strong ally of the military ruler in Banjul. In the same way, the most direct model for Jammeh, the new military ruler in Banjul was perhaps provided by Lieutenant Flight Jerry Rawlings the then military ruler and later President of Ghana who was obviously a strong influence on Jammeh and a strong supporter as well. (Hughes & Perfect, 2006) Also, (E. J. Ceesay, 2006).

Now that the new military rulers are in firm control and a new government machinery created with the establishment of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC) headed by Lt. Yahya Jammeh, serious business had to start in earnest.

As alluded to earlier, the new military government included many civilian ministers and senior public servants including the last finance minister of the deposed PPP government, Hon. Bakary Bunja Darboe. On the other hand, the provincial governments of the five regions of The Gambia, the Banjul City Council and the Kanifing Municipal Council were headed by military commissioners and Mayors. (E. J. Ceesay, 2006).

To start with, the AFPRC government had to prepare and present to the Gambian people a

genuine transitional program to return the country to a democratic constitutional order and barely after spending about three months in office, the new military ruler Lt. Yahya Jammeh at a rally to celebrate his junta's first 100 days in office at the Independence Stadium in Bakau in October 1994, announced a four year transitional timetable meaning the continuation of fully fledged military rule in The Gambia until 1998. This four-year transitional period was spontaneously and unanimously rejected by both The Gambia's development partners including the EU and the USAID and the Gambian people because they deemed it too long.

In view of the spontaneous and widespread rejection of his four-year transitional plan, Lt. Jammeh had no option but to backdown on the four-year period and in late November 1994, he declared that his government would set up a National Consultative Committee (N.C.C) whose main task would be to re-examine the four-year time span keeping in view the possibility of reducing it to a shorter period of time acceptable to the Gambian people. Consequently, a twenty-three-member consultative committee was appointed by the military ruler headed by Dr. Lenrie Peters- a distinguished Gambian writer and outstanding surgeon. The NCC membership included representatives from the Gambia Press Union, the Bar Association, Trade Unions, traditional rulers or Chiefs and other professional organizations.

The NCC started work in December,1994 holding consultation meetings in all parts of the Gambia and after a five- week period of hard work and national consultations the Committee completed its work. On January 27 1995, the NCC submitted its report to Lt. Jammeh and as expected the report recommended a substantial reduction of the transitional time from four to a two-year life span as recommended by the majority of Gambians and international donor organizations and countries consulted. On his part, Lt. Jammeh accepted the recommendation of reducing the four-year period to two years but the military ruler and his junta rejected outright another critical recommendation by the NCC for them (the military) to hand over power to an interim government pending the elections. (E. J. Ceesay, 2006).

The setting up of the NCC marked the beginning of a long process of expansion, reorganization or restructuring and realignment, and renaming of existing state institutions as well as establishing and creating new institutions within the machinery of governance and state management in The Gambia not only as part of the transition process to return the country to democratic constitutional order but also or perhaps most importantly, to pave the way for the military's continuous involvement in the business of governance and state management in the Gambia. Thus, in April 1994 the AFPRC set up a Constitutional Review Commission (C.R.C) to review the country's First Republican Constitution of 1970 with a view to producing a new constitution for the Second Republic and by December 1995, the CRC was able to complete work on a draft new constitution which was then submitted to the AFPRC Chairman Lt. Jammeh. The AFPRC government was accused of having doctored the CRC's findings and recommendations in the draft new constitution to create space for the military ruler and his junta not only to be able to contest but also to win both the presidential and parliamentary elections scheduled to take place in September and December of 1996 respectively. This perhaps was why the military did not publish the CRC's findings and recommendations immediately after the draft constitution was submitted to the government. Instead, it took about four months before the military government finally published the draft constitution together with the Committee's findings and recommendations in March 1996. (E. J. Ceesay, 2006).

In the same way and in December 1995, the AFPRC Chairman and head of State Lt. Jammeh appointed an eighteen-member Provisional Independent Electoral Commission (PIEC) tasked to supervise the referendum on the draft new constitution which would establish the Second Republic, and also to be in charge of conducting both the Presidential and Parliamentary elections scheduled for September and December 1996 respectively. This provisional election supervision body was later to become a new government institution created by the military within the provisions of the 1997 Second Republican Constitution of The Gambia called " the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).(sections 42-49 of the 1997 Constitution of The Gambia).Around the same time, the AFPRC government promulgated three controversial decrees which raised serious questions about the military's genuine intention to return the country to democratic civilian rule.

These decrees, known as decrees 70 and 71 which ordered individuals wishing to establish newspapers to execute a bond of 100000 Dalasis - representing a 100 % increase from what was only 1000 Dalasis. As for third decree-decree 89 which banned all pre-coup major political parties from participating in the upcoming elections, it had definitely tainted the process of transition to democracy in the Gambia under the watchful eyes of the military rulers who seemed to have acted as judges in their own course. (E. J. Ceesay, 2006, Saine 2009). The above development had clearly shown that the military who were now in full control of the country had no plan or even intention of handing over the government of The Gambia to civilian authorities and returned to Barracks. Rather, they were going to stay for as long as God permits. Thus, the following section examines the political and socio-economic impacts of the military's involvement in governance in The Gambia beginning with the 1980 and 1981 political events and followed by the aftermath of the 1994 coup d'etat and their subsequent control of government in the country. This includes the two periods they governed; both under the system of full-fledged military rule as from the 22nd of July 1994 to the 31st December 1996 and under diluted or quasi military rule which covers the period from January 1997 to January 2017. This is preceded by a short account of the causes of the two military camps in the country.

Brief Account of the Causes of the Two Military Coups in The Gambia

As alluded to above, the 1981 coup was preceded by a series of events that resulted from sharp differences and serious misunderstandings among members and various factions of the then Gambia Field Force. This unfortunate situation culminated in the assassination of Deputy Field Force Commander Ekundayo Mahoney by Mustapha Danso of the same force on the 27 of October 1980.

Following this horrible incident, the Jawara government, fearing that an uprising was imminent, called on Senegal for assistance and on October 31,1980 a contingent of the Senegalese military arrived in Banjul and were deployed to Bijilo, Yundum and in other strategic locations of the capital and its surroundings. The Senegalese troops, after having stayed in the country for about one week, restored order and left. (Omasanjuwa & Tarro, 2021) This political scenario is further discussed in more detail in the following section.

In an interview with Hassoun Ceesay, (Standard Newspaper, 2021), he provides a clue to the prevailing socio-political and economic situations in The Gambia before the 1980 security shakeup and the 1981 coup:

> *"The writings were literally and figuratively on the walls. There was a looming disaster and all Gambians knew something terrible will befall our nation. In the period 1979-1981, there was a youth revolt led by the various antigovernment subterranean groups like Black Scorpions, Movement for Justice in Africa (MOJA), and The Gambia Socialist Revolutionary Party of Pengu George etc. These groups organized youths into resistance mood, and there was arson such as the burning of President Jawara's yacht, the MV Mansa Kila - ba; the burning of markets, street graffiti and sustained insults on state leaders including Jawara and denigrating of state institutions like The Gambia Commercial and Development Bank" (H. Ceesay, 2021)."*

In short, a lot of damage had been done to the nation, the PPP government was under sustained attacks and its authorities severely undermined, while the morale of the people of the country was very low, seeking for who will salvage the terrible situation, thus, Kukoi's coup was the coup de grace as a lot of damage had been inflicted on the state already. (H. Ceesay, 2021 & Cham, 2021)

In the same way, the Yahya Jammeh led Coup of 22nd July 1994 was caused principally by the delegitimization of the Jawara led-government, the lack of accountability, its overall ineffectiveness, and the rampant corruption that prevailed in the country. (Hughes & Perfect, 2006). President Jawar, practiced liberal democracy with a one-party monopoly state, where power was centered around him and his People's Progressive Party (PPP) and also with their full control over government and state resources to the detriment of the opposition parties and the civil society, leaving them vulnerable and weak.

The PPP government was reportedly entangled in several accusations of electoral malpractices and misconduct, including vote-buying, intimidation of the opposition, and election tampering. And with no term limit set for the presidency, President Jawara was able to perpetuate himself in office as president of The Gambia for about thirty years, until the Yahya Jammeh-led military coup of 1994 swept him out of imperial government (Falola, 2021 & Hughes & Perfect 2006).

Again, the Jawara government was embroiled in a scandal involving three high-ranking government officials accused of embezzling millions of dollars from union funds in late 1993 (Hughes & Perfect 2006). Jawara and his government were reluctant to investigate this scandal and once the officials' guilt was proven they were even more reluctant to punish them, except for seizing and auctioning their houses. This made many citizens very angry at the Jawara government's complacency with corruption and corrupt officers, this public anger eventually translated into a strong domestic pressure which later resulted in the establishment in June 1994 of a commission of enquiry to investigate the corruption allegations. However, this move, seen by many as a last-minute attempt by President Jawara to regain the trust of the people, came far too late; as the commission could not reach a conclusion to save the Jawara government before the military struck on the 22nd of July in 1994 (Hughes & Perfect 2006).

The Impact and Legacies of the Two Military Coup D'etats in The Gambia

The Gambia as a country had experienced two outstanding military coups that reshaped the trajectory of its socio-political and economic development. These Coups were the 30th July 1981 military -civilian rebellion led by Kukoi Samba Sanyang and the 22nd July, 1994 military coup led by Yahya A.J.J Jammeh. The 1981 coup was preceded, in October 1980, by an alarming political upheaval and security shakeup as a result of an unrest in the country's Paramilitary police otherwise known as the Gambia Field Force and thus signaling the imminent happening of an uprising, which culminated into the 1981 coup. The military is not by inclination trained to rule, but to defend. However, when the situation arises which brings the military into the corridors of power, it could be an aberration. However, taking into consideration the nature of their calling, a dedicated and disciplined military could bring sanity into the body politics and other sectors of a nation. Indeed, the various controversial military coups d'etat might be undesirable, yet they recorded some landmark successes. It is in this wise, that this paper examines the impact of these military coups d'etat on the socio-political and economic development of The Gambia.

The first Military Coup in The Gambia under the leadership of Kukoi Samba Sanyang had far-reaching impact on the political and economic trajectory of the country. One of the outstanding fallouts of the first Military Coup in The Gambia was the formation of the Senegambia Confederation 1st February 1982 between Senegal and The Gambia. It was a loose Union following an agreement between the two countries signed on 12 December 1981 with the intention to promote cooperation between the two countries. However, the union was dissolved by Senegal on 30 September 1989 after The Gambia's failure to move closer toward a real Union (Hughes, 1992). It could be argued at this point that the Senegambia Confederation was a child of exigency and would not have been formed if the 1981 coup had not taken place.

Be it as it may, the Senegambia Confederation occasioned by the first civilian – military coup in The Gambia had brought some positive changes in the process of the entente of the two nations. The pact between Senegal and The Gambia promoted closer political ties as demonstrated by the establishment of a Confederal Cabinet, Confederal parliament, a Confederal army and a Confederal Permanent Secretariat. Interestingly, the lion shares of political power and authority went Senegal's way because as per the 1981 agreement, Senegal would for good assume the presidency of the Confederation while the tiny but independent sovereign Republic of The Gambia relegated permanently to the position of vice president of the union. This mode of division of executive power and political authority was probably not properly checked and critically examined particularly by the Gambian side and it therefore, later turned out to be a major problem between Jawara and Joof.

On the other hand, both countries agreed to coordinate their defense and foreign policies. The confederal parliament began meeting for one month annually from 1984 while the

Senegambia Permanent Secretariat was tasked with the responsibility of implementing the various agreements of the two countries (Phillips, 1987).

In the same vein, the Confederation Parliament was established and it stipulated that as a Representative Parliament of the Confederation, it shall be called The Confederal Parliament. Its members shall have the title Members of the Confederal Parliament and one-third of members of the Confederal Parliament shall be selected by the House of Representatives of The Gambia from among its members, and the other two-thirds shall be selected by the National Parliament of Senegal, from among its members. The Confederal Parliament shall elect its President from among its members, it shall establish its rules of procedure and related rules and guidelines. This permutation is believed to have prompted harmony and cordiality among members in the handling of the affairs of the Union.

As already referred to above, one of the good aftermaths of the Senegambia Confederation was the creation of a standing National Army for The Gambia, or The Gambian military, which was named as The Gambia National Army and The Gambia National Gendarmerie in 1983. In the second republic it came to be called "The Armed Forces and the National Intelligence Agency, (sections 186- 191 of the 1997 second republican constitution). As a result of the establishment of a new standing army in 1983, part of the two Units, (the National Army and Gendarmerie), became part of the Confederate Army which consisted of two-thirds Senegalese and one-third Gambian soldiers (Dwyer, 2017). As The Gambia government was unable, probably due to very limited financial resources, to heavily invest in the country's new military establishment to match Senegal's security spending, the Confederal Army remained Senegalese-dominated and the Gambians stayed in as junior partners. The provision of security for Key positions in The Gambia such as the airport, the Banjul Port or harbour, and even the protection of president Jawara himself thus, remained the responsibility of Senegalese soldiers. Ironically, this caused opposition parties to claim that the confederation was threatening the Gambia's national sovereignty and economy (Dwyer, 2017).

Another significant landmark of the Senegambia Confederation was the formation of the Confederation Army; that is a combination of the Senegalese military, and the Gambian military. While the latter two remained national forces, the Confederate Army was organized from 1983/84 as an integrated force of the confederation. As already mentioned, it was composed of two-thirds Senegalese and one-third Gambian soldiers, and was supposed to be deployed anywhere within the confederation. In the Gambia, the Confederate Army quickly assumed a position of prestige. This is because the living costs were much higher in Senegal than The Gambia and the pay grade in the Senegalese military was higher than in The Gambian military. It was therefore, necessary for the Confederate Army's pay grade to be adjusted to fit the Senegalese standards, meaning that Gambian troops in the Confederal Army were paid better than those in the National Gambian Military (Dwyer, 2017)

One of the consequences of the Kukoi Samba Sanyang forceful intervention in the governance of The Gambia was the deployment of foreign forces (Senegalese Soldiers) in and around the country. For the first time ever in the political history of independent Gambia foreign forces were deployed in and around the territory of the sovereign Republic of The Gambia, first to protect and safeguard the PPP led government and second, to restore order, internal security and stability for the whole country. There was therefore a necessity, in the wake of the coup, for the Jawara administration to seek for and rely on Senegalese security shield at least for a short term. However, in view of the fact that the government's need for security was a long-term issue, the Jawara administration had to put in place a new mechanism or a strategy which was the establishment of The Senegambia confederation; which was also discussed as one of the impacts of the first coup in The Gambia.

The need for a closer formal relationship between The Gambia and Senegal and given the dire need for the Jawara government to secure a long-term security guarantee from his country's powerful neighbor coupled with Senegal's long standing extra territorial interests and expansionist ambitions, the two countries discussed and agreed to create a lose form of union to be called "Senegambia Confederation "otherwise, known as the Kaur Declaration. The treaty of the confederation was signed in December, 1981, in Kaur, a small peri urban settlement in the northern region of

The Gambia about three hundred kilometers away from the capital Banjul. Thus, the 1981 cancelled coup d'etat was, as E. J. Ceesay aptly puts it, the "midwife to the Confederation, which was signed in February,1982" (E.J. Ceesay,2006).

Similarly, while the treaty or agreement to establish the Senegambia confederation between the two countries was made on 14 November 1981 and ratified by their respective Parliaments in December 1981, the treaty itself entered into force and therefore the confederation came into being on 1st of February 1982. The confederation treaty , while introducing a closer union between the two countries stressed that the sovereignty of both nations remained intact, it had guaranteed the PPP government the permanent stationing of Senegalese security forces on Gambian soil and as Hughes and Perfect argue, the presence of the Senegalese soldiers in The Gambia, " however controversial and unpopular in certain quarters, allowed the Jawara government to reestablish itself and return to electoral politics and governance. It also enabled Jawara to reorganize his security forces totally." (Hughes & Perfect, 2006).

On the economic scale, the Kukoi Samba Sanyang violent coup, which led to the formation of the Senegambia Confederation had in turn strengthened economic ties between The Gambia and Senegal. Trade and tariffs were liberalized and transportation networks of the two countries were facilitated, mercantilist control of their economies and a protective network of industrial tariffs were encouraged as there was transborder free access. It is worth mentioning at this point that The Gambia found its economic niche in a free trade policy, and lower tariffs. Before the confederation and also after its collapse, the border between the two former British and French colonies remained one of the starkest examples of colonial geographical bartering, and it continues to serve a dual function as a bridge and a barrier in the social, cultural, political and economic relations of the two countries- the two neighbors between whom a union is more naturally and readily available than between other neighbors anywhere else on the planet. (Khan, 2019). Obviously, Gambia's economy was re-oriented by the confederation, ostensibly for the better.

The military intervention in 1981 in Gambia helped in the creation of a Standing National Army for the country. It is worth mentioning at this point that The Gambia did not have a regular and standing army before the 1981 abortive coup d'etat. Rather, the country's internal security was entrusted to and entirely being handled by a Paramilitary Police Force, otherwise, known as the Field Force, which was instituted in 1958 to replace the Gambia Company of the old inter -colonial Royal West African Frontier Force following the latter's abolition on excuses of financial reasons. Thus, the discredited or defunct Gambia Field Force gave birth to the present-day Gambia National Army and with Senegal's heavy influence and almost full control of the force, it emerged with two countervailing military formations, with one of them bearing trademarks of the French system.

The first formation, the Gambia National Army, which consisted of the remnants of the former Field Force together with new recruits, was set up in 1983-84 by a small British training team, The British Army Training Team. The British trainers were later replaced by a much larger Nigerian mission in 1991. The other formation, The Gambia National Gendarmerie, consisted of a paramilitary second line of support for civil policing. This particular force, established in 1986, was based on the Francophone model and trained by the Senegalese army. (Hughes & Perfect, 2006) & (E.J. Ceesay, 2006). The move by President Jawara to create a national army for the first time in the political history of The Gambia was criticized by many concerned Gambians who felt that there was no guarantee that the formation of a new standing army could prevent another coup. They rightly argued that by creating a standing army President Jawara was actually planting the seeds for his eventual political demise and this was exactly what happened in 1994 when Sir Dawda was overthrown by the very national army he had created for his survival. (E.J. Ceesay, 2006).

The opinions of Huntington and that of Finer and Morris Janowitz cited above summed up that of Omo-bare. Fundamentally and unlike the second coup in 1994, what made the Gambian first coup situation exceptional (unique) is that the prime movers of the insurgency were civilians who co-opted some members of the paramilitary Field Force into their ranks and executed the coup. In other instances, in Africa and in other climes, it is unconventional for civilians to play major roles in executing a coup plot let alone being the

instigators. Also, in all cases of either attempted or successful overthrow of regimes, the execution stage is strictly a military affair (Omasanjuwa & Tarro 2021).

As for The Second Military Coup in The Gambia, which was entirely a military affair and led by Yahya A.J.J Jammeh, it has a meaningful and sustainable impact on the country. Yahya Jammeh who was born on 25th May 1965, came in as a young military officer and later a politician who served as both head of state and Commander in Chief of the Gambian Army from July 1994 to January 2017. During the period of full-fledged military rule , from July ,1994 to December,1996, he was called the Chairman of the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council (AFPRC) and then as President of The Republic of Gambia from January 1997 to January 2017. This is what one would describe as the period of diluted or quasi- military rule in the Gambia. Contrary to the view held by some of his critics and perhaps enemies, Yahya Jammeh was seen by many as both a savior and transformer of his country as aptly captured by Nnaocha & Bojang: "The interesting rise of Yahya Jammeh from a Junior Army Officer to a Head of State, president and transformer of the polity in The Gambia is one of the greatest phenomena in the history of the country (Nnaocha & Bojang, 2018).

On assumption of office as the military Head of State, Jammeh on 17 October 1994, announced a four-year transition period for the country to revert to civilian rule. In November 1994, he appointed a National Consultative Committee (NCC) following the widespread rejection of his four-year plan, to review the transition process, and the Committee submitted its report on 27 January 1995, recommending only a two-year transition period. Let. Jammed then appointed The Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) in April 1995 to work on a new constitution and the CRC reported to the government in November 1995. Its report was published in March 1996, and the resulting draft constitution was put to a national referendum on 8 August 1996. The new constitution, which provided for multiparty periodic elections, an independent electoral commission, the incorporation of all the AFPRC decrees promulgated during the days of full-fledged military rule into the laws of the Gambia (section 7 paragraph c of the 1997 Constitution), and originally a term limit of two five-year presidential terms, as well as a lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18, (section 39 paragraph e of the constitution), and a couple of other new institutions and processes, was approved by a majority of 70% of the Gambian electorate and in turn this opened the floodgate for multi-party politics and marked the formal beginning of a second republic for The Gambia.

One of the milestone achievements of Jammeh's military government was the establishment of the Provisional Independent Electoral Commission (PIEC) on the 20th of December 1995, charged with the responsibility of conducting and supervising public elections and referenda in The Gambia among other things during the transition period. The PIEC embarked on a Voter Registration exercise, from 13th May to the 22nd of June 1996. The result of this exercise was crucial for the conduct of the referendum and elections that followed it in September and December of that year. On the 8th of August 1996, a referendum on the Revised Draft Constitution was conducted and supervised by the PIEC. Shortly afterwards the Presidential and National Assembly elections were held in September and December 1996 respectively. The PIEC has now become a permanent election conducting and supervising watchdog, called the Independent Electoral Commission (the IEC) for all elections and referenda in The Gambia.

In the same sentiment, after The PIEC was dissolved and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) was formed on the 17th of April 1997. The IEC inherited the mandate of the (Provisional Independent Electoral Commission (PIEC), but peculiar to the IEC was its permanent status and a reduction of its membership from seven to five members, as provided for under Sections 42-49 of the 1997 Constitution of the Republic of The Gambia.
The Mandate of the PIEC was clearly stated in section 6 of the PIEC Decree, (Decree 62 of 1995).

In 1996, the military government ushered in a new political party in The Gambia, perhaps the last or one of the last political parties to be established in the dying days of the First Republic of the Gambia. For the first time ever in the political history of The Gambia a political party was formed by the military and as shown in the abbreviation of the name of the new party (APRC), which sounds like a slight amendment of AFPRC the name that the military was known for during the period of full-fledged military rule in the country, it gave the

impression that the business of governing the country would still be a military affair. In other words, this was a clear signal of what the nature of the incoming government should be if the military party should win the September 1996 presidential elections, that is to say, it was going to be diluted military rule and this was exactly what happened from January,1997 to January, 2017. APRC is the short form of "Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction" (APRC), which was a good turning point in the history of the country. In late 2001 and early 2002, the Gambia completed a full cycle of presidential, legislative, and local government elections for the second republic, which foreign observers deemed free, fair, and transparent. President Yahya Jammeh, who was elected as president for a second term, took the oath of office again on 21 December 2001. Jammeh's Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction (APRC) maintained its strong majority and domination in the National Assembly till the end of his reign in January 2017.

In order to upgrade the status and guarantee more autonomy and responsibilities to the six Administrative Divisions of The Gambia and as part of the process of restructuring, reorganization, realignment and creating of new institutions, he had started immediately after the coup to strengthen the country's government machinery, Lt. Jammeh changed the status of the provinces from Divisions to regions and the titles or positions of administrative heads from Commissioners to Governors. He also renamed McCarthy Island Division as the Central River Region and its regional capital from George Town to Jangjandbure.

Thus, status and names of the five provinces became as follows: from: Western Division to West Coast Region, North Bank Division to North Bank Region, Lower River Division to Lower River Region, McCarthy Island Division to Central River Region and Upper River Division to Upper River Region. These changes were introduced in 2007 and as mentioned above the positions of Commissioners for the former Divisions were upgraded to Regional Governors who are directly answerable to the President of the Republic. The Council for the City of Banjul (BCC) and the Kanifing Municipal Councils (KMC) are headed by mayors. In the past and before Jammeh the latter was headed by a chairman whose position has now been upgraded to Mayor/ Mayoress. (see Sections 192 to 194 of the 1997 Constitution of the Republic of The Gambia and Parts 1 & 2 and Schedule 1 together with section 123 of the Local Government Act, 2002- As Amended.). I now quickly and briefly highlight the state and parastatal institutions established by the AFPRC/ APRC government from 1994 to 2016.

The Second Republic of The Gambia under the stewardship of Lieutenant and later President Yahya Jammeh had immediately after the 1994 coup, began a massive campaign of state institutions building and strengthening both in the form of creating new state institutions and parastatal organizations as well as restructuring or revamping, reorganizing and renaming existing institutions to strengthen both the structure and functioning of the machinery of state management and governance in The Gambia.

In the views of a Gambian historian and author, Hasoum Ceesay, he argues strongly that "One of the unsung realities of the much-chided Jammeh era from 1994 to 2016 is the attempt made at building institutions and extending the frontiers of Gambian diplomacy and State outreach. During this period there was a steady effort to strengthen the reach of the State through regional administration innovations; there was a serious attempt to extend Gambian diplomatic outreach through the opening of Missions." Ceesay further posits that there was also "an attempt at state strengthening through the multiplication of state institutions. This fact is usually overlooked in the scholarship on the Jammeh era." (Hasoun Ceesay 2023)

Thus, the main sectors of government affected by this campaign of state institutions building from 1994 to 2016, include Ministries, government agencies, parastatal organizations, the foreign service sector and the civil society sub-sector.

New ministries Created:

The new ministries created by the Jammeh administration from 1994 to 2016 include the following:

Ministry of Defence- 1994

Ministries of Fisheries-1997

Ministry of National Assembly Matters-1997

Ministry of Presidential Affairs- 199

Ministry of Higher Education, Research, Science and Technology-2002

Ministry of Climate Change-2012

Ministry of Gambians Abroad-

Ministry of Energy and Petroleum.

Government Departments, Agencies and Parastatals created Under Yahya Jammeh:

The government Agencies and Parastatal enumerated below were created by the AFPRC administration between 1994 and 2016.

National Sport Council

National Youth Council

Public Utilities Regulatory Authority, PURA, 2002

Alternative Dispute Resolution Services, ADRS

National Enterprise Development Initiative-NEDI

Gambia Import Export Promotion Agency, GIEPA; this agency was revamped and transformed from the former National Investment Board- NIB inherited from the Jawara administration.

The Gambia Standards Bureau

National Agency Against Trafficking In persons NAATIP

National disaster management Agency

The University of The Gambia

The Gambia Tourism Board, 2001

The Gambia Livestock Marketing Agency

The Gambia National Petroleum Company

The Gambia radio and TV Services GRTS

Police paramilitary-1995

The Gambia Revenue Authority

National Audit Office

Directorate of National Treasury

Independent Electoral Commission, 1996

National Youth Council (NYS)

Office of the Ombudsman

Provincial Divisions upgraded and renamed Regions-1997

Constituencies increased from 36 to 43-1997.

National Roads Authority- NRA.

Gambia International Airlines. (GIA), In the first republic it was known as Gambia Airways.

Expansions in the Frontiers of Gambian Diplomacy and the Foreign Service

The military rulers in Banjul, governing the country from 1994 to 2016 have also left their footprints and indelible marks in the country's foreign service and diplomatic field. The Jammeh administration had both increased and strengthened diplomatic ties with the following countries through the opening of new Gambian Missions, or establishing of formal diplomatic relations etc:

Cuba- Gambian embassy opened in Havana in 1999

Venezuela- Gambian embassy opened in Caracas 2007

Iran-Gambian embassy opened in Tehran in 2000, although this mission is now temporarily closed.

Guinea Bissau- Gambian embassy opened in 1999

Kuwait- Gambian embassy opened in 1999

The Gulf State of Qatar

Morocco-Gambian embassy opened in 1999

Malaysia- Gambian embassy opened in 2015

Russian Federation - Gambian embassy in Musco opened in 2012

Mauretania- Gambian embassy opened in 2005

Turkey-Gambian embassy opened in 2010

Ties with Belarus were established in 2002

South Africa- relations established with an embassy still functioning, in 1998

Relations with Mauritius were established in 2003

Addis Ababa- Gambian embassy opened in 1998

UAE-Gambian embassy opened.

Ukraine-established ties in 1999.

Relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan were established in 1995; while the Gambian Embassy in Taipei was opened in 1996.

However, The Gambia has since 2013 severed ties with Taiwan and Immediately after that the country began negotiations with Beijing to resume ties with Communist China. Thus, The Gambia r-established ties with the People's Republic of China since 2014. It may be worth mentioning at this juncture that negotiations for The Gambia's resumption of ties with China was started by the author of this article in early 2014 when he served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Gambians abroad. In early January 2014, the then Gambia Foreign Minister traveled to Dakar the capital of Senegal for a couple of missions including to meet with the Chinese Ambassador for formal talks on the resumption of bilateral diplomatic relations between the two countries and the meeting was held at the Chinese Embassy in Dakar. Consequently, and after a long and difficult discussion the Ambassador of China started to back down and announced that his country would agree to resume diplomatic ties with The Gambia based on conditions contained in a document that was handed over to the Gambia Foreign Minister by the China Ambassador. The document contains five principles that the Ambassador described: as the directive and governing principles of Chinese diplomatic relations with all countries and actors in the international system.

The Ambassador then requested from The Gambian Minister to respond positively to those five points via an email to be sent to him for onward transmission to the Foreign Ministry in Beijing. After returning to Banjul the Gambia Foreign Minister responded positively to the Chinese conditions via an email sent through the Gambia Embassy in Dakar for onward transmission to the Chinese authorities. The unedited versions of both the document containing the five Principles on the basis of which China Gambia diplomatic relations were to be restored and the subsequent email from the government of The Gambia are attached as annexes to this article. Notwithstanding the annexes, here is a brief summary of those principles which govern the People's Republic of China's International relations with all countries in the world.

According to the document the Chinese authorities handed over to the Gambian delegation, comprising the Foreign Minister of the time- the author of this article, the Former Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs Hon. Kebba S. Touray and the former Ambassador of Gambia to Senegal H. E. Samba Fall, fifty years had passed since the five principles of China's foreign relations with the international community were established. The document further explained that history has proven that the five principles are norms for handling state-to- state relations and that the People's Republic of China has strived to develop relations of friendship and mutual cooperation with other countries on the basis of those principles. Thus, upon The Gambia's positive response to and formal acceptance of China's terms and conditions for the resumption of ties, diplomatic relations between Banjul and Beijing were restored in 2014.

The Military Government and the Education Sector in The Gambia:

Contrary to expectations and predictions of many critics of military rule in Africa, the Gambian Military ruler had given a huge attention to education and scientific research as demonstrated in several major projects embarked upon and achieved by his

government throughout the period of both full-fledged and diluted military rule in the country. The Jammeh administration made tremendous and huge successes in the Education sector from 1994-2016. Education was at a lower ebb during The Gambia's First Republic under Sir Dawda Jawara. For instance, during the First Republic, there was only one government high school in the country, that is Armitage High School founded in 1923 in Georgetown, the provincial capital of the Central River region of The Gambia. All the other schools in the rest of the country were missionary-based schools. But with the ascendancy of Jammeh's administration, he built 123 High Schools across the tiny West African country. (Waan, 2019). It could also be added here that the number of High Schools in the Kanifing Municipality Council (KMC) were very few before the APRC-AFPRC government came into power, but today KMC has over forty- one (41) High Schools. The West Coast Region has about forty- three (43) High Schools. Moreover, during the time of the PPP government, the North Bank Region was not having a single High School but currently it has about nineteen (19) High Schools, while the Lower River Region which was having only one High school now got eight (8) High Schools. Likewise, the Central River Region has jumped from one to twelve (12) High Schools and the Upper River Region which was having only one High school in those days, now has ten (10) High Schools (Waan, 2019).

More on the education sector, 'twenty years on, the number of lower basic schools increased from 250 to 590, while the number of upper basic schools increased from 22 to 196, and senior secondary schools from 12 to 103. The total number of schools increased from 284 in 1994 to 889 in 2014, excluding madrassas-Islamic schools based on the conventional model. "Correspondingly, the total enrollment from lower basic to senior secondary increased from 132,591 in 1994 to 411,443 in 2014 with the lower basic increasing from 105,471 to 274,939. Enrolment in the upper basic increased from 17,899 to 87,391 and in senior secondary from 9,221 to 49,113. Similarly, the number of teachers increased at the lower level from 3,158 in 1994 to 7,464 in 2014, while in upper basic schools it increased from 666 to 3,154 and in senior secondary schools from 460 to 1971 (The Point Newspaper, 2014).

Not only that, the number (ratio) of student's enrolment in both primary and secondary schools increased but President Jammeh granted Free Primary Education for girls on October 17, 2002. The Scholarship programme was administered by a secretariat and it covered the cost of tuition fees and books for girls in all schools both public and private within the West Coast Region and the Greater Banjul Area (GBA). However, the support to girls in privately-run schools would be pegged to the costs in public schools and their parents were expected to pay the difference. Accordingly, literacy level in the country appreciably increased under Jammeh.

When Yahya Jammeh came to power in 1994, being a university graduate, a lawyer or a doctor was mainly the preserve of the elites in Banjul and its surroundings and for one to have a university education he/she has to travel to either Sierra-Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, United Kingdom or the United States and few other friendly countries including the Arab world. Jammeh was obviously not happy with this status quo and he quickly set up a commission to look into the feasibility of pioneering the country's first-ever university after 30 years of nationhood without a University under Jawara. The so-called experts committee told Jammeh that having a university was not feasible for The Gambia at the time but as expected the former military Head of State was not convinced and therefore, he rejected the conclusion. The military ruler went ahead and started a university system - the first of its kind in The Gambia in partnership with Saint Mary's University in Halifax, Canada. Many people spread rumours that the graduates would not be recognized abroad but the rest, as they say, is history with the university now producing the country's home-grown doctors, lawyers, educators, economists and accountants as well as top academic scholars that went on to do graduate studies in top universities around the world.

Consequently, University Education in The Gambia, its foundation, development successes, and achievements can only be attributed to the military's involvement in governance in the country in general and to the indefatigable efforts of former Let. and later President Yahya Jammeh and his visionary leadership in particular. Under his government, he established the University Extension Programme (U.E.P) in 1995, which was aptly described as First World Education in a Third World. In 1995, the country began a partnership with Saint Mary's University of Canada to

provide undergraduate degrees for Gambian citizens for the first time in their own country.

This programme was called the Saint Mary's University Extension Programme (U.E.P), Nova Scotia, Canada, in The Gambia. Professors from Saint Mary's travelled to The Gambia to teach, and also qualified Gambian instructors were hired as adjunct professors (Waan, 2019). Under this programme, the first local intelligentsia or cohort of intellectuals graduated and are now contributing meaningfully to the socio-political and economic development of the country. This partnership with Saint Mary's University ultimately led to the founding of the University of The Gambia on March 3rd 1999 following an Act of Parliament passed by the National Assembly of the Gambia, and the University now operates as an independent degree-granting institution. The credit of the founding of the University of The Gambia (UTG), as already alluded to, goes to the astute leadership of Yahya Jammeh as a military ruler. The University is now playing a key role in personal and national development and granting all levels of academic degrees-from undergraduate diplomas to graduate and postgraduate degrees including doctoral degrees. The military government was in its early days granted a loan of $35 million by the Republic of China on Taiwan and another £ 10 million from Libya. It was with this money that the military ruler Lieutenant Jammeh and his AFPRC government engaged in a number of development projects including massive infrastructure and institutions building. (Ceesay, 2006). Thus, it is Crystal clear from the above exposition that the successes of the military government in the education sector have contributed significantly to the socio-economic development of Gambians in particular and their country in general.

The Military Government and Infrastructure Department in The Gambia

The Jammeh administration embarked upon massive infrastructure development in the nooks and crannies of The Gambia. By infrastructure here reference is made to health, transportation, telecommunications and information and technology (IT) infrastructure across the length and breadth of the country. Regarding the health infrastructure, Jammeh built major hospitals at Farafenni in the North Bank region, Bwiam in the West Coast region and Serrekunda in the KMC region. Alongside with the building of hospitals was also the establishment of more health centres in the Kombos and rural areas of the country. As regards health facilities,prior to 1994, there were a total of 28 health facilities throughout the country, with only two referral hospitals in Bansang and Banjul. At the present, there are 91 health facilities out of which 6 are major referral hospitals strategically located around the country to ensure universal health coverage for all people living in The Gambia. (The Point Newspaper, 2014).

These hospitals drastically reduced the high rate of mortality in the country and it can be added here that the Gambia, under Yahya Jammeh, had one of the best Primary Health Care systems in West Africa. Further, the two colonial-built hospitals in Bansang and the Royal Victoria Hospital (RVTH), now Edward Francis Small Teaching Hospital (EFSTH) were expanded and thoroughly modernized as crucial hospital equipment and facilities were installed to address the challenge of health care delivery in the country. According to Jeffrey Smith, an international consultant who had closely worked with Gambian NGOs and civil society actively working in the relevant field, The Gambia achieved one of Africa's highest vaccination rates, which should certainly be applauded, and counted as one of the major successes and a credit for the military government. (Nnaocha Bojang, 2018). The former Royal Victoria hospital in Banjul was further upgraded and converted into a research and teaching hospital and attached to the university of The Gambia, hence the change of name to Edward Francis Small Teaching Hospital (EFSTH).

It is acknowledged that one of the most important steps taken by the military government to advance the Gambian cause was the introduction of requisite basic infrastructure upon which any development can meaningfully take place. To this effect, the military ruler constructed and rehabilitated a number of road networks including a couple of ultramodern highways such as the Kombo Coastal Roads, Serrekunda-Mandinaba, Mandinaba-Soma, Brikama-Sanyang, Essau-Kerewan, Kerewan-Farafenni, Farafenni-Laminkoto, Westfield-Sukuta, Barra-Amdalai, Trans-GambiaHighway,Soma-Basse-Sabi,Basse-

Velingara,Mandinaba-Seleti,Brikama-Dimbaya-Darsilami, Sukuta – Jambajelly etc., and also laying the foundation and actually starting the construction of the Trans-Gambia or the Senegambia Bridge, which was completed and inaugurated during the time of President Adama Barrow. The construction of the Lamin Koto Passemas road was also started by the quasi-military government after having done all the necessary groundwork including securing the funding and the relevant technicalities.

Under Yahya Jammeh, the mileage of tarred and paved roads in the country increased significantly, as the provinces now are linked with the coastal areas. Road networks are one of the critical links in the rural - urban road networks and they provide access to a large population of the communities in the KMC, the West Coast and the Northern regions (Jallow, 2015).

In terms of Air transportation, the military led-government built the new terminal building at and expanded the Banjul International Airport, in Yundum, in 1996. The airport was originally a World War II Allied airfield which served as a port of call for Allied naval convoys and an air stopover for the U.S. Army Air Corps. After World War II, Yundum airport was used for passenger flights. Both British South American Airways and the British Overseas Airways Corporation had services in Yundum, although the former later moved its service to Dakar, which had a concrete runway (as opposed to pierced steel planking of Yundum) (West Africa Hansard, 1947). The airport was rebuilt in 1963 and the building is still in use today. After building the new airport the military government converted the 1963 building into a Hajj terminal for those passengers heading to the holy sites in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to perform the annual Hajj or pilgrimage. The Banjul International Airport of today has the nature and facility of a modern Airport which serves as the gateway to other parts of the world.

In February 2001, Ghana Airways commenced a flight from Banjul to Baltimore, which originated in Accra. Cooperation among Ghana Airways, Gambia International Airlines, and the Ghanaian and Gambian governments gave rise to the service. (Ghana Airways - Baltimore flight Touched Down in Banjul, in 2001) No doubt, the Banjul International Airport built by the military government plays a vital role in supporting the tourism sector, (another important source of revenue for the country), and it meets travel needs of both Gambians and other nationals transiting via Banjul. Reinvigorating the Tourism Sector meant that it became the second-highest contributor to GDP in The Gambia (currently between 12 and 16 percent). It directly supports over 35,000 jobs (and indirectly supports 40,000) and generates $85 million in foreign exchange earnings. Despite going under diluted military rule, The Gambia was still regarded and chosen as a destination by a lot of tourists all over the world, thus boosting the revenue of the country. (. The Independent. Accra, 13 February ,2021.) As mentioned above, the country's national carrier, called Gambia Airways in the past, was upgraded and renamed Gambia International Airlines (GIA) by the APRC led government.

Similarly, under Yahya Jammeh, the Banjul Port was expanded and refurbished with modern equipment and facilities. Principal facilities included the Banjul Wharf and the New Banjul Jetty and Extension; a container terminal, freight terminal, bonded warehouse complex, oil boom, workshops and a document handling centre. Expansion plans include jetty expansion; a new ferry terminal and head office building; new computer cabling and a new car and truck terminal area (Gambia Ports Authority History, 2021). It is most significant to note that more Crossing -Points were established and more Ferries injected into the sea transportation of the country. In 2001, the management and operations of the ferry service were taken away from the Gambia Public Transport Corporation (GPTC) and handed over to the Gambia Ports Authority (GPA0. Included in the transfer were the other eight ferry crossing points in the country.

In the power sector, Jammeh's Quasi military government made remarkable achievements. Before he came into office electricity was concentrated only in Banjul, the Capital, and some parts of the Kombos. The APRC government improved and expanded the Kotu Power Station by introducing generating plants and also built Regional Power stations in all the six administrative regions of the country, Under the credit of the military, electricity is dotted in all the nooks and crannies of The Gambia. Though consumers pay a high cost for power in The Gambia – the average tariff of $0.23/kilowatt hour (kWh) is one of the highest in the world. This is a result of high costs to produce and supply electricity, driven by

expensive imports of HFO for NAWEC's generators (Gambia, The - Country Commercial Guide Date?). Be it as it may, electricity supplies improved under Jammeh as at independence.

On IT infrastructure development, President Yahya Jammeh's designation of 2012 as the year of Science, Technology and Innovation (STI) in the Gambia was seen by many as part of his main development agenda to transform the country into an economic success story backed by a well-structured and functioning IT infrastructure.

This initiative by the military ruler in Banjul was similar to Egypt's declaration of 2007-20016 as a decade of science and technology in the middle eastern country. President Jammeh was also on the same page with African ministers of science who earlier designated 2007 as a year for science, technology and innovation in Africa as well as their declaration of 2011- 2020 as the decade of science in the continent.

The Jammeh government identified education, training, scientific and innovative research as the roadmap that would assure the achieving of his year of science dream. One of the main targets of the year of science, technology and innovation declaration was to enhance the implementation of a couple of higher education projects and initiatives that were already underway. These included the development of a higher education observatory and quality assurance mechanism and the submission of a tertiary education act to cabinet for approval. These two major targeted objectives were all achieved. The Gambia Tertiary Education Act and the Quality Assurance Authority were enacted into law by Parliament and assented to by President Jammeh before he left office following his ousting by a coalition of opposition parties in the December 2016 Presidential elections. The Tertiary Education Act focuses on a number of strategies including improving access and relevance, avoiding duplication of programmes and increasing efficiency, effectiveness and sustainability in the delivery of higher education. (Sawahel, 29 January, 2012). Suffice one to add that the University of the Gambia is definitely working on this track. The country's quality assurance mechanism is functioning effectively and efficiently as well.

The military government first prepared the ground for the IT infrastructure of the country by introducing the relevant IT/ ICT regimes in The Gambia. It is worth mentioning at this point that there were no such policies in the country before the advent of the AFPRC/APRC administrations on the 22nd of July in 1994 and on first of January in 1997.

In January 2011 the military ruler ushered in two major IT/ICT projects and as such laying the foundations and structures for the IT and ICT infrastructure of the Gambia.

The first one was the fiber optic cable construction project funded by the World Bank at the tune of 27 million American dollars. This cable enables the population of the Gambia to access the latest generation of high- speed internet. The fiber optic cable can also stimulate economic development by enabling Gambia's enterprises to create and develop new businesses on the web. (the Infrastructure Consortium for Africa- ICA, 20 January 2011).

The other project was The Gambia Submarine Cable Company (GSC). This is a consortium of companies whose membership comprises all licensed operators-both mobile and fixed lines as well as a couple of internet service providers (ISPs) in the Gambia. The GSC manages the ACE Submarine cable capacity for all stakeholders in the country. It plays a very important and strategic role in reducing the digital divide in the country, it also helps in the development and use of Information and Communication Technology throughout the Gambia. The GSC is described as "the unique gateway for incoming and outgoing communications to and from The Gambia" (info@gsc.gm).

The above initiatives have been described as "a success story of public private partnerships (PPP) where the private sector works hand in hand with the public sector to deliver efficient communications services." (info@gsc.gm). The ACE cable landed in the Gambia on the Bijillo beach from France on the 12 of September 2011.

Furthermore, all the existing GSM companies and service providers in the Gambia were ushered in by the military government. Thus, Gamcell- a state-owned GSM company, was established by the Jammeh administration in November2001. The private GSM companies, Africell, Comium and Qcel, were all established

after having been issued licenses by the military government in 2001, 2006 and 2009 respectively. (for more information on Gambia's private GSM companies, you can visit their respective websites). Similarly, there has been a proliferation of internet service providers (ISPs) in the Gambia during the lifespan of the second republic- 1994 to 2016.

The above expose has clearly shown that laying down the foundations and subsequent development of the current IT/ICT infrastructure and regime are a legacy of the military government in the Gambia and should be counted as one of the great achievements of the former Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces and military ruler of the Republic of The Gambia then lieutenant/ major and later President Yahya Jammeh.

On information flow and broadcasting, it can be safely and fairly argued that one of the iconic and outstanding achievements of the Jammeh administration was the establishment of the Gambia Radio and Television Services (GRTS) TV Station in 1995. In December 1995, the AFPRC Government under the stewardship of Lieutenant Jammeh commissioned the Gambia Radio and Television Service (GRTS) TV station. GRTS is The Gambia's only public service broadcaster and under the umbrella of Gambia Telecommunications Company (Gamtel). The new television station was to perform test transmissions from a 5KW transmitter situated at Abuko covering the Greater Banjul Area. For better transmission, GRTS acquired state of the art Satellite for a broad-based transmission of information. Later, a couple of transmitting stations were erected in the provincial towns of Bansang and Jara Soma inland to achieve better national broadcasting coverage (GRTS, 2009). However, despite these earlier efforts some areas of The Gambia, in particular the Upper - River regions still remain outside the full airing range of GRTS. Notwithstanding this and many other challenges, GRTS was able to go global during Yahya Jammeh's time and it was available within and could be monitored or followed on the family of the international satellite systems. Gambians in the diaspora all over the world were able to receive the Television signals and watch its various programmes continuously.

The Independent Media and Press Freedom Under the Military in The Gambia:

On the question of independent media practice, both print and broadcast media and on the question of human rights protection in general, I must admit, the military government had not been doing well in terms of granting press freedom and free flow of information to the media practitioners, right from the onset in 1994 to its downfall in 2016. The relationship between the private media and the Jammeh administration was always problematic with most of the blame being placed on the government although there were times that the media was to blame for certain frictions between them and the government. Nonetheless, any objective study that takes a right based approach to the relationship between the military government and the independent media in The Gambia from 1994 to 2016 would arrive at the same conclusion. ie; that the military government's performance in this sector was very poor and didn't leave anything to be desired for the future of the country.

There were numerous instances and so many cases of arbitrary arrests and detentions of journalists, court cases instituted and jail sentences handed down by the courts against journalists and independent media organizations. There were also many cases of closing down of and arson attacks against newspapers, radio stations and journalists mainly around the Greater Banjul Area and other media outlets elsewhere in the country. The government also kept on changing the rules and regulations concerning the establishment and payment of registration fees for establishing new media organizations.

It will be very useful at this point to briefly revisit press laws in The Gambia during the days of military rule in the country making a reference to one of my previous articles published by the university of Pretoria in South Africa In 2012.

Press Laws in The Gambia:

"The print media in The Gambia is governed by the Newspaper Act 1944. Thus, registration, printing, publication and distribution of Newspapers in The Gambia continue to be

governed by the Act throughout the First Republic (Sections 3, 4 and 5 of the Act). Section 2 of the Act defines newspapers as "any paper containing and reporting any public news, intelligence or occurrences or any remarks, observations or comments thereon printed and published for sale in The Gambia periodically or in parts or numbers but does not include any such paper published by or under the authority of the government. According to this definition, government controlled or owned papers are not newspapers. Thus, apparently the Act is meant to govern the privately owned print papers. Despite a 1990 amendment the main provisions of the Act remained the same throughout the First Republic. Section 7 of the Act provided for a mandatory registration fee of only 1000 (One thousand Dalasis about 19 US Dollars) for anyone who wished to establish a newspaper. Similarly, Section 13 imposes a maximum of 1000 Dalasis fine for an offence under the Act. In 1996, the Armed Forces Provisional Ruling Council under the watchful eyes of its Commander-in-Chief then, Captain Yahya Jammeh introduced a drastic amendment to that Act. This amendment known as Decree No 71 of (the Newspaper Act Amendment No 2, 1996) increased registration fee from 1000 (One thousand Dalasis) to 100, 000 (One hundred thousand Dalasis) that is from about 19 US Dollars to about 1800 (one thousand eight hundred Dollars) for anyone wishing to establish a newspaper. This was a crucial turning point in the relationship between the new military government that had set out to establish the Second Republic and the independent media organizations of the time.

As for the broadcast media, there was no specific legislation regulating private radio and television stations. From the inception of the First Republic to 2005 the privately owned broadcast media continued to be governed by the provisions of the Telegraphic Stations Act 1913, which was very fairly favourable to the independent broadcast media. In July 2001 the Gambian parliament which was dominated by the ruling party of the military (the APRC) passed a highly controversial law to be called the National Media Commission Act, as stipulated in Section 210 of the 1997 Constitution. The independent press cried foul and argued that the new law was too draconian and that it violated the 1997 Constitution. The government, on its part, believed that the passage of the new law was a significant gain in the country's democratization process as it would not only regulate media practice as a profession and a means of communication and expression but it would also ensure better protection of the freedom of the press including free speech and press freedom as well as ensuring honesty and truthfulness in reporting, publishing and broadcasting in The Gambia (Daily Observer: June 2004). The Gambia Press Union then filed a lawsuit before the Supreme Court of The Gambia challenging the constitutionality of the new Act. Among the most controversial clauses of the Act were the following: there was a provision on annual licensing of journalists, which also gave the Commission powers to renew or not to renew the operating licences of journalists and media houses. Other controversial provisions were:

- The Power of the Commission to force journalists to reveal their sources of information
- That all decisions of the Commission are not contestable in any local court
- That the new regulations would not be applicable to the government owned or controlled media
- That the composition of the Commission had among its eleven members only two persons with media background who included the director general of the Gambia Radio and Television Services (GRTS) (Johnson 2004:413-416, also see Section 52 of the defunct Act).

The media houses in The Gambia resolutely refused to comply with different deadlines set by the Commission for their registration. On October 19, 2004 the State television announced the government's intention to repeal the Act during the November sitting of the National Assembly. During its sitting in December 2004, the National Assembly finally repealed the National Media Commission Act 2001. The provisions of the Constitution which had provided for the setting up of the Commission were subsequently repealed (Section 210 of the 1997 Constitution). Repealing the National Media Commission Act did not bring an end to the struggle by authorities to use the law to control or even suppress the private media. Rather as a replacement, the National Assembly further amended the Newspaper Act and the Criminal Code Act late in December 2004 and July 2005 respectively. This latest amendment to the Newspaper Act increased the registration

fees/bondage of Newspapers / publishers and managers of broadcasting institutions from D100, 000 to D500.000 (five hundred thousand Dalasis) which is about $9800. This increase in a country where the average salary for a civil servant range between US 40 and US 70 is deemed by many as unfair and unreasonable and thus, it is fair to argue at this juncture that its constitutionality could be successfully challenged before the Supreme Court of The Gambia under whose jurisdiction falls the interpretation of the constitution. Sections 3 and 4, as amended, have brought broadcasting institutions (Radio and T.V stations) into the jurisdiction of the Newspaper Act.

Like the 1944 Act, the 2004 Act (amendment) has excluded broadcasting institutions owned or operated by or under the authority of the government from the application of the Act. Similarly, Section 7 has been amended to include broadcasting stations. Based on the Act, no person should be allowed to operate a broadcasting station or cause it to be operated unless he/she gave and executed and registered in the office of the Registrar General a bond in the sum of five hundred thousand Dalasis with such surety or sureties as may be required and approved by the Attorney General. Section 7 (a) cancelled any bond given and executed before coming into effect of the newly amended Act in the sum of D100, 000. Furthermore, the Criminal Code (Amendment) Act 2004 had introduced mandatory prison terms for seditious publications, libel and defamation without the option of fines (Section 52 of the Act). As for the 2005 amendment of the same law, it provided for a fine of not less than fifty thousand Dalasis and not more than two hundred and fifty thousand Dalasis or imprisonment of a term of not less than one year or to both fine and imprisonment, for anyone who is found guilty of seditious publication (Johnson 2004:236-238 and Conateh 2000: paper presented in June of the same year)."

This brief survey of press laws in The Gambia has shown that successive governments of The Gambia and the people as well do not recognize or may not necessarily be conscious of the rights dimension of press freedom and of the fact that it is a prerequisite for or a pillar of a democratic system. Many human rights activists and media practitioners of the time had argued that the use of restrictive laws by the state to control the private media was one of the main reasons why press freedom was very weak in The Gambia.

Notwithstanding this restrictive and unfriendly regime of press laws during the years of full-fledged and Quasi-military rule in The Gambia, the broadcast media proliferated under the military and the number of radio stations significantly increased from about three to close to forty stations spreading across the length and breadth of the country although the majority of them were concentrated in the Greater Banjul area and the West Coast region. (Senghore,2012 & 2018).

Youth and Women Empowerment Under the military government in The Gambia

On Youth and Women Empowerment, the AFPRC/APRC led-government under Let. Jammeh played a significant role in supporting and empowering the youth and women throughout the country. The youth and women empowerment programs of the military government touched on diverse areas and various sectors of life in the country- be they political, social, economic, cultural and the list goes on. Under Sir Dawda Jawara in the first republic, the voting age stood at 21 but this was reduced under Jammeh to 18 years, thereby enfranchising more youths of The Gambia (Waam, 2019). Women were given their pride of place in The Gambia as enshrined in the 1997 republican constitution of the Gambia. Likewise, human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals and groups were guaranteed to all Gambians- men and women alike by the same constitution.

The Jammeh administration also demonstrated serious commitments to empowering women and reducing gender inequality, including by establishing the National Women's Council within the Department of State (now Ministry) for Women's Affairs, which acts as a forum for women to access legal support. The ensuing adoption of the Women's Act (2010), the Sexual Offences Act (2013), and the Women's Amendment Act (2015) banning female genital mutilation also signified further progress in advancing the rights of women in the country. In addition, in 2012 The Gambia adopted a National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, recognizing the impact that conflicts in

neighboring countries have on Gambian women directly or indirectly.

The Gambia is a party to various international human rights treaties-both global and regional instruments including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) as well as the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC). The military government, like the Jawara government, had committed itself to taking appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect women and children from all forms ofviolence, abuse, neglect or exploitation, including sexual abuse.

The military government therefore fulfilled part of its international obligations, when it enacted special legal instruments and formulated policies for the protection of women and children in The Gambia including the passing of the Children's Act of 2005 amended in 2016 to prohibit child marriage in the Gambia (Gambia Education Policy, 2004-2015). Under Jammeh, the girl-child care was paramount and he was on course to achieve one of the goals of the SDGs, which is to "achieve full and productive employment, and decent work, for all women and men by 2030." To achieve this goal in the Gambia, the Jammeh administration promoted skills development training and education programmes, especially for youth, who make up more than half of the population.

On Security Sector Reforms (SSR), the military government of former Lieutenant and later President Yahya Jammeh, had given considerable attention to that sector and had implemented its reforms program in various ways covering mainly the military, the police and intelligence services. This was largely in the form of expansion of the security sector, including the establishment of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) in 1995. During Jammeh's tenure, it must be admitted, the state security machinery was strongly controlled by him and it largely served to protect his government and of course to also ensure internal security, Peace and stability of the country. It should also be pointed out here that both former presidents Jawara and Jammeh were suspicious of the military and each deliberately limited their influence and could have done more on the development of a professional officer corps. The security landscape in The Gambia was identified as a legacy of the Jawara administration and hence, the necessity for the reform undertaken by the Jammeh government.

Agriculture was another key component of the development programs of the Jammeh administration. In what he termed "Green Revolution", the former military ruler of the Gambia embarked upon massive agricultural projects such as "Operation Feed Yourself' (OFY) and "Back -to- the Land" and "grow what you eat" or "eat from what you grow". In this regard, Jammeh, (the former Chief Farmer) launched the Tidal irrigation system, which regularly supplied water to farm fields. Other irrigation projects, which developed and ran in the same year, were the Jahally & Pacharr Smallholders Project (JPSP), funded by the African Development Bank and the World Bank, and the Irrigated Rice Development Project (IRDEP), financed by the African Development Bank (Ndow, 2013). The JPSP developed 849 hectares of tidally irrigated land and 560 hectares of pump-irrigated land, but the 242.6 hectares developed by the IRDEP were all pump-irrigated. In order to guarantee food security, he launched two five-year US$24 million projects, called the Gambia Growth and Competitiveness Project (GGCP) and the West African Agricultural Production Project (WAAPP). Agriculture has ever since been the traditional pillar of the Gambian economy, contributing 26.2 percent of the country's GDP and providing employment and income to the majority of Gambians (Darboe, 2011).

Taking the WAAPP project as an example, it was meant to provide financial support to West African Agricultural research programs of all countries of the region. The project therefore contributed significantly to the improvement of national agricultural research programs of member countries of the subregion including The Gambia by injecting the badly needed funds into those projects. The 2017 status report of the project provides us with the following explanation regarding the overall objective and ultimate benefits of the WAAPP project;

"WAAPP supports the generation, dissemination, and adoption of improved technologies; the creation of enabling conditions for regional cooperation; and the development of human and institutional capacity across the subregion; along with the creation of youth employment, the

participation of women, and adaptation to climate change. Consequently, the program supports a comparatively large number of recipients, both at the country and regional levels. These include research agencies, extension agencies, universities, the private sector, research coordination bodies, NGOs, farmers' organizations, international research institutes, and more. (For an overview of agricultural research spending and capacity trends in West Africa," the 2017 status report concluded as follows:

"WAAPP has injected significant funding into West African NARSs since 2008 and made substantial progress in addressing the subregion's most acute agricultural research challenges. The program has invested extensively in the construction and rehabilitation of research infrastructure and in the provision of laboratory equipment for predefined priority commodities. As such, it has strengthened the position of West African countries to perform high-quality, priority research over the coming years. WAAPP has also invested in postgraduate training for more than 1,000 young scientists across West Africa—30 percent of whom are female—which has significantly contributed to offsetting impending large-scale human capacity losses due to the retirement of senior researchers."

As mentioned above, the WAAPP project was initiated by the military government and launched in 2011 although part B. of the project in which The Gambia is included was approved in 2010. (ASTI Status Report, 2017).

During Jammeh's tenure, he encouraged horticulture and livestock production among women by giving them loans and incentives as part of his encouragement package. He encouraged several agricultural projects such as the National Agricultural Land and Water Management Development Project (NEMA) and livestock and horticulture development projects. This latter project specifically works to aid women, youths and even adults in The Gambia and would in no small measure, reduce poverty rates in the country. By implementing sustainable land and water management practices, productivity will increase among this group. The sector goal is not only to contribute to food security but also to reduce poverty and subsequently, improve the quality of life and the living standards of the group concerned. Thus, the overall objective of this project was to increase, on a sustainable basis, the production and marketability of horticultural and livestock products and by-products, nationwide.

For a more detailed study and critical analysis of the situation of human rights, the media and press freedom as well as the general question of democratic governance in The Gambia under the military government- both under full-fledged and diluted military rule in The Gambia, reference can be made to my previous studies on the subjects including the following peer-reviewed and published academic journal articles:

Human Rights and Democracy in The Gambia: is The Gambia a Democratic State? By Aboubacar Abdullah Senghore PhD. In: The Gambia: Perspectives on Contemporary Issues and Future Direction (s): 1965 – 2016; Continuity or Change (New Jersey: Africa World Press and CODESRIA Dakar, 2017).

Finally, I must, with all sincerity, admit at this point that the former military government in Banjul did not do very well in the area of human rights protection and democratic governance in general as compared to its outstanding achievements in other areas of socio-economic and political development. Despite having introduced drastic changes into the governance and state management system of The Gambia by adding numerous new institutions and revamping, reorganizing and restructuring a couple of the existing institutions and despite having done extremely well in infrastructure development and in terms of ensuring and maintaining internal security, domestic peace and stability, the military government's performance in the domain of respect for, promoting and protection of human rights and full adherence to the principles of democratic governance was fluctuating and in many occasions disappointing. There were many instances of high-profile cases of government failures to protect human rights, as well as cases of abuses and violations of fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals and groups. One of the biggest challenges the military authorities were grappling with was the democratic principles of respect for the rule of law and the authority and supremacy of the law and the independence of the judiciary. It is always difficult for military rulers and military commanders in general anywhere across the continent to come to terms with and wholeheartedly accept and submit to the democratic reality that decisions of the justices of the courts are superior to and therefore

should prevail over any administrative decisions or executive directives and orders including orders from the Military High Command, that they can be reviewed by or challenged before and set aside by the courts. Our experience with the military has repeatedly shown that a military ruler cannot simply come to terms with or accept the fact that there exists in the state or in the very government he is heading a higher authority that can definitively nullify, invalidate or set aside an administrative order or decision of his government or even his own executive directives. For the military authorities, orders from the Military High Command are superior orders and must therefore be obeyed by all at any cost. To reconcile this culture of authority and command in the military tradition with the principles of democratic governance and state management (such as constitutional rule, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the rule of law , independence of the judiciary and the supremacy of the constitution and the laws in general etc…), is one of the biggest and most difficult challenges facing the modern day political phenomenon of military rule and the possible attempts to normalize or legitimize military takeovers of power and their involvement in governance and state management across the globe. The military ruler in Banjul was obviously not an exception to the above challenge.

The December 2016 Presidential Elections and The Resulting Political Impasse in The Gambia-December 2016 to February 2017.

The overall outcome of the first of December 2016 Presidential elections is perhaps the biggest and the most towering political legacy of military rule in The Gambia. For the first time ever in the political history of independent Gambia a sitting or an incumbent government was defeated and ousted from office by a coalition of opposition parties in a largely free and fair democratic elections. Throughout the entire lifespan of the first republic-1970 to 1994, the government of the founding father of independent Gambia, Sir Dawda Jawara, never lost a presidential election. Likewise, since the inception of the second republic in 1997 following the transition from fully fledged to diluted or quasi- military rule, Yahya Jammeh, President and Commander- in- Chief of The Gambia Armed Forces has been winning every presidential election except of course for the historic December 2016 elections. Thus, in the 2016 Presidential elections, the longest surviving political and electoral trend of voting for incumbent presidents in Gambia elections was abruptly brought to an end and hastily buried alive. However, only a few months later in 2017 during the Parliamentary elections, this political and electoral trend in Gambia elections, proving itself to be a very stubborn challenger, successfully resisted death and came out of its grave to be reinstated into the forefront of the political process and the electoral traditions of The Gambia. This was clearly demonstrated by the outcome of the 2017 parliamentary elections during which the United Democratic Party (UDP)swept the polls. This is because during the early days of the Barrow- led administration most Gambians understood or believed it to be a UDP government and this was a logical conclusion on the part of the populace due to several reasons including the following:

- That President Adama Barrow came from and was nominated to head the coalition on behalf of the UDP. So, he came into power from a UDP platform and on the party's ticket.

- That the UDP leader, Lawyer Ousainu Darboe, was not only serving in the coalition government in a senior ministerial position but also, he commanded a huge influence in and became the political heavyweight and most influential political player in the Barrow led- coalition government.

- That before the beginning of campaigning for the parliamentary elections, Barrow the President and Darboe the UDP leader, travelled together on an extension tour of the country. This was seen by many observers as a strategic support from the president for and a special solidarity with the United Democratic Party so that the latter can win sympathy and more votes from the electorate in the forthcoming Parliamentary elections.

- Many appointments were made by the new government from within the UDP camp to fill in several senior positions in the civil service, diplomatic missions and elsewhere in the government of The Gambia led by President Adama Barrow.

> These and many other developments in and around the coalition government supported the understanding or assumption and conclusion by many Gambians that the Barrow- led coalition government was largely a United Democratic Party government, hence the majority of the Gambian electorate voted for them during the 1997 Parliamentary elections.

The second component of the biggest political legacy of military rule in The Gambia that emanated from the 2016 Presidential elections was the resulting political impasse ushered in by the incumbent's refusal to accept final results and concede defeat by his opponents in the general elections. This was the first time ever in the political history of this tiny but beautiful and blessed country that its people were experiencing a political impasse. Initially, the incumbent president, Yahya Jammeh admitted defeat and called to congratulate the president-elect Adama Barrow but he suddenly changed his mind and rejected the election results describing the entire process as fraudulent and he went further to annul the election results and called for a fresh election.

Many observers including the former IEC Chairman, Alhagie Mustafa Criol, blamed the IEC for failing to make a careful calculation and accurate tallying of the final results before declaring them. In other words, if the IEC did not declare two different final results, President Yahya Jammeh wouldn't have found any ground to renege on his decision to concede defeat to and congratulate his opponent in the general elections, the coalition leader and president-elect Adama Barrow.

In any case, the refusal by Jammeh to leave and peacefully hand over power to the president-elect generated a new political and international legal crisis for the subregional grouping - the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS which had already assumed the role of human rights and democracy policing in West Africa. The Organization had earlier succeeded in restoring peace, stability and democratic rule in Liberia and Sierraleone. Thus, a political impasse quickly evolved and the subregional body had no choice but to act quickly to resolve the crisis and end the Impasse.

Consequently, ECOWAS began to mobilize and dispatch delegation upon delegation to Banjul to mediate and mace for mediation and peace. Most of the missions dispatched by ECOWAS were unsuccessful. At this level, Senegal, a giant neighbor with longstanding territorial ambitions over Gambia never came in directly but of course its Head of State, Macky Sall, who never trusted Jammeh as he saw the strong military man in Banjul as his biggest antagonist in the region, kept on shuttling between Dakar and Abuja, Dakar and America, Paris and London until use of force to dislodge Jammeh was kind of endorsed or accepted by the relevant political authorities in those capitals. Thereafter, ECOWAS did not immediately start preparations for the use of force but rather the organization threatened to take military action should Jammeh insist on his refusal to accept peaceful negotiation for peaceful transition. After several weeks of difficult negotiations with the military ruler in Banjul without any progress in its efforts to convince Jammeh to accept peaceful solutions, ECOWAS constituted ECOMIG to deliver the use of force mandate.

ECOMIG was the name given to the combined forces drawn from the ECOWAS member states that had agreed to contribute soldiers, namely Nigeria, Liberia, Ghana, Togo, Ivory Coast, Mali and Senegal (the Arch rival and untrusted negotiator), to confront Jammeh's troops right away on his own soil, with the backing of the international community. While all this was happening, there was a major legal obstacle on the ground confronting the newly constituted subregional peace enforcement and peacekeeping mechanism, namely the absence of a properly constituted Gambian legal authority to allow the foreign forces to enter the country and fight. This is because Barrow- the president elect was living in exile and therefore not sworn in yet, and Jammeh- the president who lost the election had lost legitimacy and hence did not have any legal authority any more.

To temporarily remove the above-mentioned legal obstacles, ECOWAS leaders innovated a new practice in the art or business of governance, state management and international relations and thus the president - elect Adama Barrow was sworn in within the premises of The Gambian Embassy in Dakar the capital of the republic of Senegal given that the embassy was an extension of Gambian territory. In international legal relations embassies are

considered as part of the extra-territorial jurisdiction of sending states. This was the first time ever in the political history of The Gambia that an incoming or newly elected president has been sworn in on a foreign land and this becomes one of the most important and indelible legacies of military rule in the country. Immediately after having been sworn in the new president, acting under the authority of his nation's constitution as the legitimate president of The Gambia, now formally invited ECOWAS troops to The Gambia and he also called for the UN's backing to restore peace in the Gambia under his legitimate watch. At the same time the new president pronounced Yahya Jammeh and his forces as rebels who should be treated as terrorists/insurgents, should they continue to resist the legally constituted authority and control by the legitimate government. This consent by president Barrow and backed by relevant international instruments from the subregional bloc as well as the tacit endorsement obtained by ECOWAS from Abuja, London and Paris constituted the basis for ECOWAS's decision to opt for military intervention and subsequent peacekeeping operations to stabilize democracy in The Gambia. The ECOMIG troops have continued to be stationed in the country till today (about eight years now), not necessarily for the sake of keeping Jammeh at bay any more but most importantly to protect President Adama Barrow anywhere he goes and comes.

Notwithstanding, the role played by ECOWAS to surmount the conflict that could have spilled to a civil war in the Gambia had succeeded in peacefully ending the political impasse in the country. It was initially meant to be a mediatory process through dialogue for a peaceful settlement of the crisis but this did not work and hence the military option. When the going got tougher with The ECOWAS authorities in their efforts to reach a peaceful solution to the crisis and as a last-minute attempt, they invited other negotiators in the region such as the former president of Guinea Conakry, Alpha Conde and the former president of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Abdulazeez Obeed to mediate with Jammeh (a friend of theirs), for a peaceful settlement.

This time, the mediation worked and the two presidents succeeded in convincing Jammeh to peacefully give up and repatriate to Equatorial Guinea. Consequently, the long awaited and much talked about military intervention was, at the very last minute, averted and the first ever political impasse in the history of independent Gambia ended peacefully. (Omotosho &Senghore 2018). The 2016/2017 political impasse and its peace and security implications on The Gambian economy as well as the international legal justifications for/ against Ecowas intervention have been studied in a more detailed and comprehensive manner in another article that I co-authored with a UTG colleague of mine, Dr. O. F. Omotosho and published in 2018.

Overall, the political culture of unconstitutional change of government was the creation of the military. The use of unconstitutional means of changing a democratically elected government is a legacy of the military's attempts to involve itself in politics and governance in The Gambia. Thus, the 1981 experiment was successfully repeated in 1994, when the democratic government of the founding father of the sovereign Republic of The Gambia, Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, was overthrown by the very national army he created in the wake of the 1981 abortive coup commandeered by the then Captain Yahya Jammeh who, two years later transformed himself into a civilian politician and his administration into a civilian government, although and as argued above, the Jammeh administration was right from the onset in 1994 till its ousting in January 2017, was either a fully -fledged or quasi/ diluted military government.

Throughout the two decades of Jammeh's rule as a civilian president there were numerous instances of reported coup attempts, all of which he survived. Likewise, the present democratically elected government of President Adama Barrow reported a coup attempt earlier in 2023 and up to the time of writing this article, there is no guarantee that there will be no more coup attempts in the country. Thus, Military coup d'etat was not in The Gambia's political dictionary before 1981.

Conclusion

This research has focused on the legacies and impact of military coup d'etats on The Gambia in regard to the country's socio-

political, economic and infrastructure development and its transformative effect in the country. The Gambia had experienced two polity-changing and outstanding Military coups in 1981 and 1994 respectively; under the influence of Kukoi Samba Sanyang and Yahya A.J.J Jammeh. The first military coup of 1981 had a landmark effect of leading to the formation of the Senegambia Confederation in 1982, which altered the political trajectory of Senegal and Gambia as far as it lasted (1982-1989). Within the period it lasted, it strengthened both the political and economic ties of Senegal and Gambia, the climax of which was the formation of the Senegambia Confederation government and trade liberalization (free trade without tariffs) between the two countries. Another important political legacy and fallout was the formation of the country's first standing and regular army known as Gambia National Army (GNA). In the same vein, Yahya Jammeh's military coup of 1994 was a turning point in the history of The Gambia as it brought a total transformation of the socio-political and economic system of the country. As the first successful and uninterrupted coup in the history of independent Gambia, it resulted into the introduction of full-fledged military rule in the country for a period of two and a half years. This was followed by the inception, in 1997, of a new (Second Republic), with a new Republican Constitution that introduced several key democratic institutions such an office of Ombudsman, system of presidential executive and a bill of rights and liberties, an independent election supervision authority and a couple of new governance mechanisms. Another interesting development in the early days of the military in politics in The Gambia was the formation of a political party by the military themselves to contest the first democratic elections of the new political dispensation. The military was thus preparing the country's New Republic for an indefinite period of diluted and quasi-military rule, which is no more or less than running democratic institutions in the military style or governing militarily within the framework of a democratic system. Notwithstanding the problematic nature and public outcry of Yahya Jammeh government, he introduced key infrastructure for sustainable development, such as education, health, agriculture, telecommunications and road networks in various parts of the country and he established new government institutions that strengthened the act of governance in the country.

Thus, the outstanding legacies and indelible footprints left behind as a result of military rule and their attempts to be involved in governance in The Gambia include but not limited to the following:

First, and probably the only politically motivated assassination of a senior military commander in 1980, deployments of foreign forces in the sovereign territory of the Republic of The Gambia in 1980 and 1981, Creation of a regular standing army (The Gambia National Army), a civilian- led and dominated coup d'etat in 1981, formation of the Senegambia Confederation in 1982, another but this time around a successful coup d'etat in 1994, ushering in a new (second) republic in 1997 with a new republican constitution which introduced a clear cut system of presidential executive, formation of a new political party by the military (APRC) and introduction of key governance institutions which had the potential of strengthening the country's democracy and ensuring good governance. Such democratic institutions include a bill of rights, an Office of Ombudsman, an independent election watchdog body (the IEC), Gambia's first National University, a tertiary education quality assurance agency, the country's first and only state-owned television station, creation of new key ministries of higher education, research, science and technology, petroleum and energy, Defence, women's affairs and a host of other important ministries and government agencies and institutions. Furthermore, Combining two incompatible systems of governance (military rulers running or governing with democratic institutions but in the military way and style of management), Voting an incumbent president out of office in a free and fair democratic elections by a coalition of opposition parties, a political impasse, swearing in a new president (president elect) on a foreign land and the circumstances leading to and the actual establishment of a Truth, Reconciliation and Reparations Commission (TRRC) together with the Commission's findings are all among the indelible and unforgettable legacies of military rule in the Gambia.

The development achievements of the military administration under Yahya Jammeh clearly indicates the facts that as much as the civilian government can positively impact the development of the country, the military can also do better and qualitatively, if they stay on course and continue to maintain and ensure security, stability, discipline, respect for human

rights and rule of law in the polity. This research posits that despite the hue and cry about military coups and governance in The Gambia, there have been landmark achievements in the country. Viewing critically the two military coups in The Gambia under the microscope of economics of development and their numerous fallouts in the country, the coupists had left permanent imprints in the sands of time in The Gambia.

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WORKPLACE GENDER INEQUALITY: ASSESSING INTERSECTIONAL BARRIERS EXPERIENCED BY WOMEN OF COLOUR IN REACHING UPPER MANAGEMENT POSITIONS IN THE WORKPLACE

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KEYWORDS
gender inequality, women of colour, intersectionality, workplace, upper management

ABSTRACT
Workplace gender inequality affects women of colour both due to their gender and their race. This poses significant challenges within organizations and hinders their progress towards achieving gender equity and diversity. This study aims at assessing intersectional barriers experienced by women of colour in attaining upper management positions in the workplace. Both Intersectionality and Black Feminist theories were adopted for the study. The findings show that women of colour - Hispanic or Latino, Asian, Black or African women, face unique challenges due to the double jeopardy of experiencing gender and racial discrimination simultaneously, which can hinder their progression to upper management positions and they are significantly underrepresented in senior leadership positions. They are also far less likely than others to be promoted to managers. They also experience glass ceiling, intersectional bias and stereotyping, as well as gender and racial biases; wider pay gap and lack of role models and mentors in the workplace. The study recommends the implementation and enforcement of robust diversity and inclusion policies, development and implementation of programs that provide equal opportunities for career advancement and leadership development for women of colour, ensuring transparent hiring and promotion processes to prevent bias and favouritism.

Introduction

Gender inequality refers to the condition wherein men and women are not afforded equal rights and opportunities in various social, economic, and educational settings (Zhu, 2021). Gender inequality is banned by international laws (Save the Children, 2023) and the Sustainable Development Goal 5 aims to achieve equality and empower women and girls and further emphasized that gender equality is a human right (UNICEF, 2015). Gender inequality reinforces power imbalances and perpetuates harmful stereotypes and biases, limiting the potential of individuals to thrive and contribute fully to their societies. Gender inequality occurs everywhere and at every stage of life. It presents itself in personal, family and social relationships and also in institutions and in public policies (UNICEF, 2015) as well as in communities, nations and the global societies. United Nations Development Programme {UNDP} (2022) enumerated manifestations of gender inequality to include: uneven access to

education, lack of employment equality, job segregation, lack of legal protections and lack of bodily autonomy. Others include poor medical care, lack of religious freedom, and lack of political representation, racism and societal mindsets. Gender inequality is evident in the unequal distributions of men and women across industries and occupations (International Labour Organization, 2018).

Women encounter various types of job limitations in 86 countries, and in 95 countries, equal pay for equal work is not ensured (The World Bank, 2022). Studies show that in the European Union (EU), there was a gender employment gap of 10.8 percentages in 2021. This disparity is primarily due to lower female labor market participation rates in these countries (European Commission, 2022). Men hold a higher percentage of managerial positions compared to women, and the gender gap is prevalent in terms of human capital and educational attainment (Lean In, 2023; AFDR, 2015). In 2022, the global percentage of women in senior management positions reached a record high of 32%, indicating progress in their representation. However, despite this growth, women continue to be inadequately represented in leadership roles (Forbes, 2023). Among Fortune 500 corporations only 7.4%, or 37 Chief Executive Officers, were women (United Nations, 2020). In Asia, New Zealand recorded the highest representation of women across various company levels in the region, including 32% women on the board of directors, 28% at the executive level, 34% in senior management, and 43% in the overall workforce. Singapore has the highest proportion of women in C-suite positions, with 14% female CEOs and 26% female CFOs, along with the highest percentage of women in the overall workforce in the region, reaching 44% (Equileap, 2022). In the United States of America, 32.5% of all senior managers are women, while 67.5% are men (Zippia, 2023). In the United Kingdom as reported by the BBC men occupy 62% of managerial positions, while women hold only 38% and in male-dominated fields women are more likely to experience "imposter syndrome," which arises from a lack of adequate representation and leads to self-doubt regarding their own professional capabilities (Indeed, 2023). Women's participation in the formal workforce is lower than that of men, with the global female labor-force participation at around 40 percent, varying across countries (Jacobsen, 2011). Biases and stereotypes contribute to the underrepresentation of women in high-level positions, and women often face challenges in recruitment, training, compensation, and career advancement (Lee, 2021; Wani, Ruchi & Dastidar, 2019; Stamaski & Son Hing, 2015).

Gender inequality in the workplace takes various forms, including occupational gender segregation, employment discrimination, glass ceiling barriers, gender pay gaps and lack of mentorship (Holgersson, 2012; Oakley, 2000). Female employees experience gender pay gap. Women often earn less than men for performing the same work or work of equal value (European Commission, 2023). The gap can be attributed to factors such as occupational segregation, discrimination in pay practices, and limited access to promotions and high-level positions (African Association of University Women, 2020). Discrimination and bias against women in the workplace can also lead to unequal pay. According to the World Health Organization (2019), gender-based discrimination plays a significant role in preventing women from pursuing higher-paying medical specialties and assuming leadership positions. The limited progress in women's career advancement cannot be attributed to a gender disparity in educational attainment. In several countries, including the United Kingdom, France, Sweden, Denmark, Japan, and the United States, the number of college-educated women actually surpasses that of college-educated men. Despite women's impressive educational achievements, the persistent underrepresentation of women in advancing their careers has raised significant concerns among scholars, practitioners, and policymakers across various Organisation for Economic Co-operation Development countries (Kato & Kodama, 2017). Furthermore, women and men tend to be concentrated in different industries and occupations, with some sectors offering higher salaries than others. Women and men tend to be concentrated in different industries and occupations, leading to wage disparities (Blau & Kahn, 2017). Women often face barriers to career advancement, including limited access to promotions and leadership positions. Discrimination and biases in hiring, promotion, and pay decisions contribute to the gender pay gap (England & Bearak, 2014). The unequal distribution of caregiving responsibilities between men and women can affect women's ability to work full-time or pursue higher-paying careers and impacts their earning potential (Budig & England, 2001). Also, lack of flexible work arrangements also affects

women in the workplace. Limited availability of flexible work arrangements can hinder women from balancing work and family responsibilities, affecting their career progression (Kossek & Thompson, 2016). Discrimination against women is also linked to human resources management (HRM) policies and practices that are inherently masculine in nature, as they have been traditionally developed by and for men (Munongo, Shallone, Pooe & David, 2021). These beliefs and practices continue to exert their influence on workplaces, leading to discriminatory experiences for women (Smith & Wesson, 2020; Johnson et al., 2018). Additionally, there is a common assumption that women possess lower mental capacity than men, which in turn contributes to the perception that woen are less suitable for upper-level managerial roles (Mordi, Adedoyin & Ajonbadi., 2011; Kellie, Blake & Brooks, 2019).

While women, in general, face gender inequality in the workplace, women of colour experience additional and distinct forms of discrimination. Native American, Latina, and African women, in particular, encounter heightened levels of gender inequality. Women of colour are faced with the challenge of intersectionality at work. U.S Government Accountability Office also reported that in the United States, Hispanic or Latina women earned approximately 58 cents for every dollar earned by White men, resulting in a pay gap of 42 per cents. Similarly, Black or African American women earned around 63 cents (a pay gap of 37 cents), while White women earned roughly 79 cents (a pay gap of 21 cents) for each dollar earned by White men (GAO, 2022). According to Zippia (2023) white individuals make up the largest proportion (67.9%) of senior managers, with Hispanic or Latino individuals comprising the second largest group (14.9%). Asian individuals represent 6.3% of senior managers, while Black or African American individuals make up 6.1%. Workplace gender inequality remains a pervasive issue globally, with women often facing systemic barriers in accessing upper management positions. Within this broader context, the intersectional experiences of women of colour represent a critical yet often overlooked dimension of inequality. This conceptual clarification seeks to delineate the nuanced dynamics of workplace gender inequality faced by women of colour, particularly in their pursuit of upper management roles. The objective of this study therefore, is to assess intersectional barriers experienced by women of colour in reaching upper management positions in the workplace.

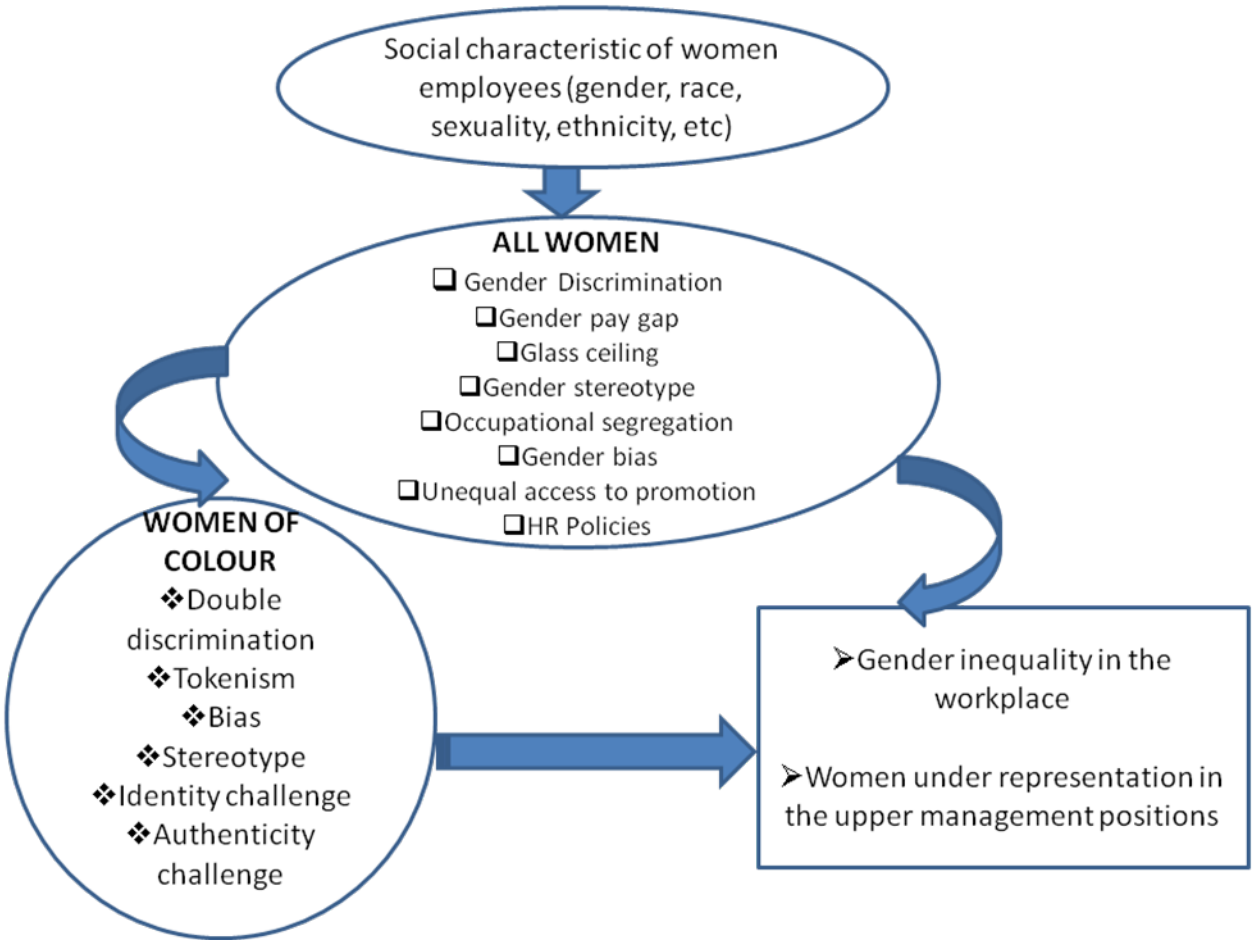


Fig 1: Conceptual Framework using Intersectional Theory: Source Modified from Intersectionality Theory by Crenshaw (1989).

Fig 1 shows the conceptual framework, modified from Intersectionality Theory, for understanding the nature and manifestation of gender inequality in the workplace and which affects all women employee in the workplace due to their gender and doubly affect women of colour for being women and for their race and skin colour as well and thus leads to their underrepresentation in the upper management position of organizations.

Research methodology

Secondary data was utilized for this study. The data were obtained from recent reputable sources of information such as academic articles, industry database and other online empirical publications. This approach was to ensure a comprehensive analysis of workplace gender inequality and to assess intersectional barriers experienced by women of colour in upper management positions in the workplace.

Theoretical framework

Intersectionality framework which was propounded by Crenshaw (1989) was adopted to support this study. The framework recognizes that individuals hold multiple social identities (such as gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation and more), and these identities intersect to create unique experiences of privilege and oppression. Intersectionality helps to explain how the challenges faced by women in general are compounded for women of colour due to the intersection of gender and race, leading to a more complex form of discrimination and disadvantage. The intersectionality theory also helps us understand that although women face

the problem of underrepresentation in the upper management position; women of colour experience more challenges in the context of leadership and upper management roles due to a complex interplay of gender and racial discrimination.

Black feminist Theory: The black feminist perspective came into being between late 1960's and early 1970's and as a result of the activities of political activist (Burnham, 2020). It is a dynamic and evolving framework that challenges mainstream feminist theories and provides a crucial lens for understanding and addressing the unique experiences and struggles of Black women within the society. Its purpose is to analyze the challenges faced by Black women while also uncovering strategies for liberation. The theory does not only focus on the oppression faced by Black women but also celebrates their lives and accomplishments across African diasporic contexts. Black feminism argues that sexism, class oppression, and racism are interconnected and cannot be separated (Burnham, 2020). Black feminism emerged as a response to the limitations of mainstream feminism, which often failed to adequately address the specific challenges faced by Black women within patriarchal and racist systems. The black feminist perspective emphasizes the importance of amplifying the voices and experiences of Black women, who have historically been marginalized within both feminist and civil rights movements. Moreover, Black Feminist Theory highlights the need to address not only the numerical representation of Black women in leadership but also the lived experiences and perspectives they bring to the table. It recognizes the value of diverse leadership and the unique contributions that Black women can make to decision-making processes and organizational success. By applying Black Feminist Theory to assess gender inequality and the intersectional intersectional barriers experienced by women of colour in reaching upper management positions in the workplace**,** organizations can gain a more nuanced understanding of the intersecting factors that perpetuate these disparities.

Discussion

Women of colour experience gender inequality differently and most times they have worse outcomes. Furthermore, women of colour may face unique challenges due to the double jeopardy of experiencing gender and racial discrimination simultaneously, which can hinder their progression to upper management positions (Avery, Hernandez, Hebl, Wyland, Ryan & Earl, 2018). Bahn and McGrew (2017) revealed that like other women of colour, Latinas face multiple structural barriers in the U.S. labor market, including both gender discrimination and racial and ethnic experience discrimination. Empirical evidence suggests that these dual barriers extend beyond their individual impacts, potentially leading to heightened economic challenges specifically for Latina women.

The 2018 Women in the Workplace Study which studied 664,000 staff members of 279 companies reported that women of colour are significantly underrepresented at work; far less likely than others to be promoted to managers, more likely to face daily discrimination and less likely to receive support from their managers. The study further found out that for every 100 men promoted to manager, only 60 black women are promoted to managers; 40% of black women have had their judgment questioned in their area of expertise while only 27% of men mentioned that; also 35 percent of black women indicated that their managers promote their contributions to others as against 46% of men who indicated same (Lean In & McKinsey & Co, 2018 cited in Hunter-Gadsden, 2018).

According to Zippia (2023) white individuals make up the largest proportion (67.9%) of senior managers, with Hispanic or Latino individuals comprising the second largest group (14.9%). Asian individuals represent 6.3% of senior managers, while Black or African American individuals make up 6.1%. Women of colour are significantly underrepresented in senior leadership positions, with only one in every five holding such roles, and only one in twenty-five being a woman of colour. In England, for instance, Manchester (2021) reported that approximately 1.2 million black and mixed-race women of black heritage are employed across various sectors and organizations. However, these Black Professional Women in England face significant barriers to career progression, irrespective of their valuable contributions, due to a strong glass ceiling.

Additionally, women of colour often face a wider pay gap, which exacerbates their vulnerability to poverty. In the United States women earned about $.82 for every dollar men earned (GAO, 2022). In 2021, the gender pay

gap in the European Union (EU) amounted to 12.7%, and there has been very little change in this figure over the past ten years. This signifies that, on average, women earn 13.0% less per hour compared to men (European Commission, 2023). In the United States women earned about $.82 for every dollar men earned (Government Accountability Office, 2022). In rural Africa, women experience a significant gender pay gap of 40 to 46 percent compared to men. In rural areas, the gender pay gap varies, ranging from a statistically insignificant 12 percent in Tanzania to a substantial 77 percent in Nigeria (Van den Broeck, Kilic & Pieters, 2023). The gender pay pertains to disparities in the average earnings between men and women including compensation, whether in the form of monetary payment, non-monetary benefits, net earnings from self-employment, or total earnings from both employment and self-employment (Oelz, 2013).

The National Science Foundation (2016) in African Association of University Women (2020) reported that black women received over 33,000 bachelor's degrees in science and engineering while 24% of Black women have doctorates in STEM; however, only 5% of managerial roles in STEM were occupied by both Black women and men. Also, stereotypical assumptions and biases about women of colour's competence, leadership style, and suitability for leadership roles can undermine their credibility and opportunities for advancement. This is because women of colour are more likely to have their expertise questioned, be required to provide additional evidence to prove their capabilities and experience in the workplace (Lean In, 2023).

Women of colour often experience subtle forms of discrimination and microaggressions in the workplace (Lean In, 2023) which includes racialized or gendered comments, exclusion from informal networks, and differential treatment in performance evaluations and assignments. Additionally, Limited representation of women of colour in leadership positions results in a lack of role models, networks, and advocacy within organizations, hindering their visibility and access to career-enhancing opportunities. Due to the lack of role models and mentors who share their racial and gender identity, it becomes more challenging to find support and guidance for career advancement (Padilla, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2018).

Intersectional bias and stereotyping create additional barriers for women of colour, as they face both gender and racial biases in the workplace (García-Rodríguez & Mendoza-García, 2021). Furthermore, as reported by European Network Against Racism (2016) some Black women have been mistreated and discriminated against because of their hair type and styles and are subjected to the imposition of uniform codes that do not allow them to wear some black hairstyles and classify them as unprofessional hairstyle. Also, Rozina (2016) revealed that some religious minority women face discriminatory stereotypes surrounding their religion because they are referred to as being conservative. Women of colour are differently affected by inequality in the workplace because they are significantly underrepresented; far less likely than others to be promoted to manager, more likely to face daily discrimination and less likely to receive support from their managers. They also experience mistreatment which relates to gender, race, ethnicity, religion in the workplace as well as harassment, stereotypes and micro-aggressions (European Network against Racism, 2016).

Another challenge faced by women of colour is limited access to networking opportunities, such as professional associations or social connections, can impede them from building relationships and accessing influential networks that facilitate career advancement (Cech, Blair-Loy & Hegewisch, 2020). Biases in performance evaluations and promotion processes can disadvantage women of colour, leading to lower recognition of their contributions and fewer opportunities for advancement (Roberts & O'Reilly, 2018).

Shonwumi (2023) in her study in higher education reported that white women do not offer unequivocal support to their Black colleagues and may even undermine their career progression. When Black women gain leadership roles, the traditional characteristics associated with leaders often conflict with the stereotypical expectations of Black women. It is also important to note that Bahn and Cumming (2021) admitted that there is limited research on the experiences and obstacles women of colour face in terms of employment, opportunities for career advancement, and earnings in the U.S. labor market as they are filtered through the interplay of race and gender. Also, McGrew (2018) revealed the discriminatory nature of the workplace

segregation faced by African American women as workplace segregation is seen as profoundly distortionary as it negatively affects Black women's wages and affects their total growth.

The study by Hypolite (2019) which studied "Black Women's Journey to Executive Leadership" reported that black women in leadership position experienced the presence of glass ceilings and sticky floors but they were able to succeed due to their resilience and social networking and they also acknowledged the role of faith, family and friends as well as the support they received from their respective institutions where they work as important factors to their attaining the leadership position

Studies have shown that gender inequality in the workplace affect women of colour differently and often face worse outcomes. Barriers include the lack of role models and mentors who share their racial and gender identity, biases in performance evaluations and promotion processes leading to lower recognition and fewer advancement opportunities.

Conclusion

In all, the consequences of gender inequality are far-reaching and affect not only individuals but also communities and societies as a whole. Gender inequality affects women and girls' rights, economic progress and the human development as well as affects their work and education (UNICEF, 2022). Gender inequality limits countries' chances of progress as they forfeit potential growth that could have come from women including women of colour, who are excluded from the growth processes, education, work and healthcare while limiting the extent to which growth can impact on the poverty status of women (African Development Report, 2015). The intersectional barriers faced by women of colour in reaching upper management positions encompass a complex interplay of gender, race, and other intersecting identities. The barriers which include double discrimination as women of colour are confronted by both gender-based discrimination and racial/ethnic discrimination, leading to compounded disadvantages in career advancement**.** The findings of this study on gender inequality and underrepresentation of women of colour in upper management position is in line with the beliefs and principles of the Intersectionality framework and Black Feminist Theory which acknowledges that the social characterizations of individuals based on race, gender and class creates unique experiences of discrimination as well as privilege.

Recommendations

The study findings infer that women of colour suffer dual effects of gender and racial discrimination in the workplace and thus recommends the implementation and enforcement of robust diversity and inclusion policies, development and implementation of programs that provide equal opportunities for career advancement and leadership development for women of colour, ensuring transparent hiring and promotion processes to prevent bias and favouritism as well as regularly accessing the effectiveness of the diversity and inclusion initiatives and readjust where and when necessary. Addressing workplace gender inequality and the intersectional barriers faced by women of colour in reaching upper management positions requires a multifaceted approach that acknowledges the complexity of intersecting identities and systems of oppression. Strategies to provide mentorship and sponsorship opportunities, and promote diverse representation at all levels of organizational leadership are recommended. Moreover, cultivating intersectional awareness and advocacy is essential for creating workplaces where women of colour can thrive and advance on an equal footing with their peers. Additionally, organizational management should prioritize the attainment of decent work because gender discrimination not only destroys human talent but also undermines economic advancement of societies (International Labour Organization, 2019).

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EFFECT OF VENTURE CAPITAL FINANCING ON THE FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE OF SMEs IN CROSS RIVER STATE

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KEYWORDS

ABSTRACT

This study examined the effect of venture capital financing on the financial performance of small and medium scale enterprises (SMEs) in Cross River state, Nigeria. Specifically, the study sought to determine the effect of venture capital financing on the Net sales, net profit and Return On Assets of SMEs in cross river state. The study anchored significantly on pecking order theory. Descriptive survey research design was used for the study. The population of study comprised all the SMEs in Cross River State that registered with Corporate Affairs Commission and have used venture capital. The sampling technique adopted was a two-staged sampling technique which are purposive and simple random sampling technique. Primary data were collected from respondents through structured questionnaires. Data collected were analysed using descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviation. Correlation test and analysis of variance (ANOVA) were also used. The findings therefore revealed that there was significant difference in net sales, net profit and return on assets after using venture capital financing. Hence, it was concluded that venture capital financing has significant effect on the financial performance of SMEs. Based on the finding and conclusion, it was recommended among others that fund managers should intensify the advisory role to ensure that businesses take advantage of increase their turnovers.

Introduction

In recent times, there has been an increase in attention towards Startup enterprises within developing economies as they are deemed as key drivers of economic growth and an avenue for foreign direct investments (Mogiro, 2012). venture capital (VC) financing has subjugated debates on global financial markets for the perceived momentous influence to inspire small- and medium-sized enterprises' (SMEs) performance. Empirical evidence, essentially from developed countries such as the United States of America, Canada, Europe and China, recognises VC as a viable financing model with

the proficiency to escalate access to finance for SMEs' growth (Agyeman 2010; Gomper& Learner 2004; Muriithi 2017; OECD 2018; Shanthi& Schneider 2018). Similarly, the growth of small and medium-sized enterprises (SME) has an effect on the global economy and contributes to wealth generation (Arouri, 2018).

However, majority of SMEs face financing challenges because most financial institutions and specifically banks perceive SMEs as borrowers having inherent risk given that majority of them are first timers in business (Vita, Mari &Pogessi; 2014). These financing challenges seem to have continuously persisted and constrained the growth of SMEs despite accessing venture capital financing. Similarly, Muniech and Mondi (2017), submits that SMEs are a very important segment in most economies, particularly in developing countries and thus SMEs growth accounts for the majority of global businesses and are important contributors to job creation and global economic development.

Thus, according to the World Bank (2017) report, SMEs represent about 90% of businesses and more than 50% of employment worldwide. Formal SMEs contribute up to 40% of national income- Gross Domestic Product (GDP). These numbers, however, are significantly higher when informal SMEs are included. According to World Bank estimates, 600 million jobs will be needed by 2030 to absorb the growing global workforce and this makes SME development and growth a high priority development item for many governments globally (Beck, Dermiguc-Kunt& Levine, 2015).

The Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) defines SMEs as having a maximum of 100 employees and less than $3 million turn over in revenue while in Europe, they are defined as having manpower fewer than 250 employees and United States define SMEs as firms with employees less than 500 (Natarajan&Wyrick, 2011). The World Bank (2018) defines SMEs as those enterprises with a maximum of 300 employees, $15 million in annual revenue, and $15 million in assets. The same variations with regards to SME definition has been realized in Kenya as well and are yet to be consolidated. For example, a national baseline survey of MSEs carried out in 1999 defines a small enterprise as one which employs between 6-10 people while a medium one is expected to have between 11-100 employees (CBS et al., 1999).

The UNDP (2015) study report classifies and defines an SME into three categories: Micro enterprise is defined as any firm, trade, service, industry, or a business activity, formal or informal that has an annual turnover that does to exceed Ksh 500,000 and employing between one and twenty workers in a year. Small enterprises are those firms, trade, service, industry or business activities, formal or informal that post an annual turnover of more than Ksh 500,000 but less than Ksh 5 million and employing between twenty-one and fifty workers in a year. Medium enterprise as any firm, trade, service, industry or business activities, formal or informal employing between fifty-one and two hundred and fifty workers with an annual turnover of between Ksh 30 million to Ksh 150 million. This study has therefore adopted the UNDP (2015) definition. The prospect of the SMEs growth is premised upon the type of financing that various investors are willing to inject into the new venture. In growing economies, SMEs growth is essential not only as avenue of revenue generation but also successful SMEs offer employment to unskilled workers, who are overly plentiful in those developing countries (Ndesaulwa, Kikula& Chao, 2017).

For SMEs to grow, they require affordable financing models that would give them enough time to invest their capital in the production of competitive products with capability of meeting the requirements of consumer demand of various markets. According to Ongore and Kusa (2012), most financial institutions and intermediaries are hesitant to offer credit facilities to SMEs because majority of them lack collateral and most importantly they are considered as risky borrowers given that they are new start-ups in business whose products and services have not been test marketed. The usage of venture capital as a financing model targeting start-up entrepreneurs has been considered as a success determinant for the growth of SMEs (Savaneviciene, Venckuviene, Gidduaskiene, 2015). It bridges the financing gap experienced by budding entrepreneurs in the financial market since its operations is backed by legal and regulatory framework in most countries observes East Africa Venture Capital Association (EAVCA, 2016).

Therefore, venture capital financing is key in a background where both investors and

entrepreneurs encounter an information asymmetry such as moral hazard and uncertainty (Shoghi&Safieepoor, 2013). Venture capital bridges the gap of financing through provision of seed capital in the essential stages of early expansion and progress of many firms. They are useful for directing the flow of funds from savers to investors for investment projects that would yield the highest returns.

According to a survey done by Deloitte (2016), VC firms are increasingly showing interest generally on Africaowing to a vibrant private sector and ease of doing business deals. Despite increased efforts to secure VC financing, past statistics indicate that 40% of such startups fail by the second year with at least 60% shutting down by the 4th year (KNBS, 2017). This is because businesses in this part of the world suffer challenges that affect their growth beyond the inceptions stage while others go out of business prematurely. There is a high failure rate of startups range between 50% and 95% within the five years of operations primarily in emerging economies. The above indicates that the increasing venture capital investments have not resulted in better growth among startups hence examining how venture capitals influence growth of startups within Nigeria especially in Cross River State thus filling the knowledge gap.

Venture capital financing provides funds to young but promising entrepreneurs and it goes beyond provision of pure financial capital for small or startup firms (Ndesaulwa, Kikula& Chao, 2017). According to Sichie and Bohnstedt (2013), venture capital financing is characterized by complex and very secretive information exchange with standards, processes and logistics controlled by the venture capitalists. According to Dagogo and Ollor (2009), venture capital firms have some unique characteristics. Venture capital depends on their potential and capability to invest in businesses that yield profits in a competitive market (Gikomo, 2013).

Venture capital though relatively a small financial intermediary, promotes employments to a large number of working population globally through financing of promising entrepreneurs. From a hypothetical approach, many firms that start the operations as embryonic would hope to progress into large organizations. Practically, this is often an elusive dream to many entrepreneurs as more than 70% of newly started SMEs rarely see their firth birthdays (Kaplan & Lerner, 2012). To overcome this practical challenge, venture capital is a critical financial intermediary which needs to address the gaps exhibited by burgeoning SMEs with regards to varying levels of risk and uncertainty.

Statement of the Problem

Lack of finance is predominantly regarded as one of the major problems contributing to slow development and high mortality rates of small businesses in Africa (Muteti, 2005). The World Bank report (2003) states that SMEs do not experience greater difficulty that other emerging countries (surveyed by world bank) in obtaining finance and argues instead that in Nigeria, lack of adequate financial management support is the second biggest weakness in the national environment for entrepreneurial activity. The small and medium enterprises have been said to be one of the answers to Nigeria's economic problems given the proper funding support. Venture capital financing have remained one of the key managerial problem decisions that affects SMEs in Nigeria today even in business environment too. Currently, the SMEs have almost $7.4 billion with a complement of 2.8 million owners and employing 2.9 million people. Most of the SMEs experience difficulties in accessing capital financing across Nigeria government financial disposition. Tucker and Lean (2013) have documented those small businesses often have difficulties in obtaining funding from financial institutions to expand on their fixed assets and working capital.

As pointed out by Blanton and Dorman (2014), SMEs are often undercapitalized. In other words, requirements for loans approval for SMEs are not met, and even when SMEs do receive loans, usually they are short-term. Hence, SMEs have no alternative but to depend on credit from friends as well as family members to finance their long-term requirements, for example, the procurement of new equipment (Riding and Short, 2017). Despite all this, a lot of studies have shown that there is no inconsistency in most of their findings such as Mansa, (2011); Mbhele (2011); Njoroge (2011) and Dagogo and Ollor (2019) also did a study on the effect of venture capital financing on the economic value added profile of Nigerian SMEs.

Theoretical Framework

The study anchored significantly on pecking order theory. According to Pecking Order Theory of financing, firms and individuals will use personal funds before acquiring external debt and equity. Pecking order theory (POT) was originally devised to examine the financing of large corporations, but it has also been applied to small and medium-sized businesses. It is a framework for examining firm financing that states that firms attempt to reduce information asymmetries and maintain ownership by first using internal financing, followed by external debt and equity (Myers, 1984; Berger &Udell, 2003).

Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of the study was to determine the effects of venture capital financing on the financial performance of SMEs in cross river state. Specifically, the study sought to:

1. Determine the effect venture capital financing on the Net sales of SMEs in cross River state.
2. Determine the effectsVenture Capital Financing on the net profit of SMEs in Cross River State.
3. Ascertain the effect of Venture Capital Financing on the Return on Assets of SMES in Cross River State.

Research Questions

The research questions for this study are:

1. How does venture capital financing affects the Net sales of SMEs in cross River state?
2. How does Venture Capital Financing affect the net profit of SMEs in cross river state?
3. How does Venture Capital Financing affect the return on assets of SMEs in cross river state?

Hypotheses

The following are the hypotheses for this study:

HO1: venture capital financing does not have significant effect on the Net sales of SMEs in cross River state

HO2: Venture Capital Financing does not have significant effect on the net profit of SMEs in cross river state

HO3: Venture Capital Financing does not have significant effect on the return on assets of SMEs in cross river state

Literature Review

The literature review is based on conceptual and empirical review of some critical factors regarding the variables of the study.

Conceptual Review

Venture capital

Venture capital is defined as "as capital provided by firms who invest alongside management in young companies that are not quoted on the stock market. The objective is a high return on the investment. Venture capital is one of the least understood forms of financing as some think it is meant for early stage financing of small rapidly growing technology companies. Panday (2003) argues that venture capital is a significant innovation of the twentieth century. It is generally considered as a synonym of high risk capital. It is a commitment of capital, or shareholding for the formation and setting up of smallscale enterprises. The focus of the venture capitalist is to see small businesses growing in to larger ones. Hisrich and Peters (2002) view venture capital finance as a professionally managed pool of equity capital. Frequently the equity pool is formed from resources of wealthy limited partners. Mucherjee (1999) also define venture capital as funding mainly for development of existing businesses with sound management and high growth potential but with especially attractive start-ups. In terms of definition, Wright and Robbie (1997) state that venture capital can be defined broadly as the investment by professional investors of long-term, risk equity finance where the primary

reward is the eventual gain, rather than interest income or dividend yield.

In another definition, Lerner (2000) defines venture capital as equity or equity-linked investments in young privately held companies, where the investor is a financial intermediary who is typically active as a director, advisor, or even a manager of the firm. A similar definition, according to Cumming and MacIntosh (2001), is that venture capital investors are financial intermediaries (in essence a kind of specialized mutual fund) which receive capital contributions from institutional investors or high net worth individuals across the economic spectrum, and invest the pooled deposits in small, private and mainly high technology businesses or entrepreneurial firms with potentially high growth.

Venture capital finance is also viewed as early stage financing of new and young ventures seeking to grow rapidly (Ross and Wester, 1990). It is actually an alternative form of equity financing for small and medium term business. William (2002) also looks at venture capital as a process by which investors fund early stage, more risk-oriented ventures. Kibiriti et al. (2000) view venture capital as basic risk capital of an enterprise. Unlike investment in secured debt which tend to be risk averse, venture capital seek significant returns to compensate the high risk of loss of entire equity investment. It involves building and financing self-sustaining companies from scratch and also assist revive their enterprises by merger and reconstruction. These definitions imply that venture capital involves the provision of equity finance to ventures that are typically small in size. Thus the working definition of venture capital in this study is early stage financing of small and medium term business seeking to grow.

William (2004) argues that venture capital differs substantially from 'traditional' financing in the following ways: One, funding provided to new or existing firms with potential of above-average growth. Two, often provided to start-up and 31 other emerging enterprises because they lack the collateral, track record or earnings required getting a loan. Three, the investment, typically requiring a high potential of return, is structured so that it can be liquidated within a three to seven-year period, then an initial public offering may take place, or the business merges or is sold, or other sources of capital are found. Four, the entrepreneur typically relinquishes some level of ownership and control of the business. Five, venture capitalists typically expect a 20-50% annual return on their investment at the time they are bought out. Six, typical investments range from $500,000 to $5 million and management experience is a major consideration in evaluating financing prospects. Panday (2003) also notes that conventional financiers generally support proven technologies with established markets, however high technology is not a necessary condition for venture financing.

Venture Capital Investment Process

The venture capitalists follow a clearly defined procedure (Tyebjee& Bruno, 1981) in investing their funds in SMEs as given below and also illustrated in figure 2. a) Deal origination: venture capitalists require a flow of deal, which may originate in various ways like referral system, active search and intermediaries. b) Screening: initial screening of all projects on the basis of some broad criteria is carried out. Venture capitalists obviously seek to attract desirable propositions yet many unwanted proposals are received; these have to be weeded out as quickly as possible. There is broad agreement that proposals are assessed first in relation o the quality of their business plans and the basic concept of the project and personality and track record of the entrepreneur and/or management team is vital, however venture capitalists are more concerned with market acceptance. c) Due diligence: ones a proposal has gone through initial screening; it is subjected to detailed evaluation or due diligence process. The aim of this part of the investment cycle is to minimize investment risk by conducting a thorough investigation of the information presented in the business plan, with special attention usually paid to the qualities of the entrepreneur or management team. The quality of an entrepreneur is evaluated before appraising the characteristics of the product, market or technology. Most venture capitalists ask for business plan to make an assessment of the possible risk and return on the venture. The final decision is taken in terms of the expected risk-return trade-off. d) Deal structuring: once the venture has been evaluated as viable, the terms of the deal are negotiated, in terms of amount, form and price of the investment. The agreements also include the protective covenants, and earn-out arrangements. Venture capitalists generally negotiate deals to ensure protection of their investment. e) Post

investment activities: ones the deal has been structured and agreement finalized, the venture capitalists assumes the role of a partner and collaborator. The capitalist gets involved in shaping the direction of the venture. f) Exit: venture capitalists aim at making medium to long-term capital gain within a period of five to ten years and then exit. A venture may exit in any of the following ways; initial public offering, acquisition by another company, purchase of the venture capitalists' shares by promoter and purchase of 39 venture capitalists' shares by outsider.

Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs)

There is no globally recognized definition of SMEs but the definition varies from country to country, region to region and sector to sector (Report on Business Advisory group of 2004; Storey, 1994; Bolton Committee Report, 1971; EU Report, 2003). In the Business Advisory Report of 2002, SMEs are defined as businesses with fewer than 20 employees. Copper et al (2005)'s study on textile and clothing manufacturing SMEs in the United Kingdom defined SMEs sector as those that employ less than 250 people and with a turnover of not more than £22.8 million.

A Study by Liedholm and Mead (1987) covering developing countries reveals that SMEs are privately owned, in sole proprietorship and in terms of employment, but of this proportion family workers generally form the largest component. According to the statement by United States Committee for Economic Development (1997), a small business has two or more of the following characteristics: i) Management: the business is managed and operated by the owner(s). The entrepreneur or founder of the business acts as both manager and worker who does decision making. ii) Resources: A small business often has limited resources. This is especially true for new starts-up due to a lack of track record on the business to convince potential investors and bankers. Thus, it is highly dependent on the ability of the owner to generate resources. iii) Organizational Structure: For a small business, the structure is often flat and informal. The owner has to do almost everything and the workers are normally expected to be able to function as generalists since there is no clear demarcation of tasks. iv) Flexibility of Change: The business has more flexibility to adapt to changes in the environment due to its size and informal structure. It is also vulnerable to develop in the business environment. For instance, any changes in technology or government policy might have a great impact on the business because immediate changes normally require additional capital or resources.

This might become a constraint to the business to compete and sustain itself in the market. In Japan small and medium-scale enterprises are defined as: those in manufacturing with 100-million-yen paid-up capital and 300 employees, and those in the retail and services sector with 10-million-yen paid-up capital and 50 employees (Grey et al., 1996).

As a result of this heterogeneity in the definition of SMEs in different sectors or regions, it is often necessary to modify the various offerings in definition according to particular sectoral, geographic or other contexts in which the businesses in the sector are examined. The implication for research is that researchers are likely to have to continue using their own definitions of small-to-medium enterprises which are appropriate to their particular 'target' group (Storey, 1994).

Whilst this research is not in one way or the other focused on the 'grounded' definitions of SMEs as presented in the Bolton Committee Report (1971) and EU Report (2003), the study however, acknowledges the different characteristics represented in these reports and sets its target group of businesses in the SMEs sector as those that employ six to fifty people and 24 with a turnover of not more than Kshs 50 million. This definition has been used by studies ((Grey et al., 1996)) on SMEs in Kenya and this study will adopt it as a working definition. SMEs have become more important in the economic matrixes as seen in recent years across the globe through increased deliberate government policies and legislation aimed at nurturing SMEs as engines of economic growth and employment creation. It is also estimated that SMEs constitute over 90 percent of total enterprises in most economies with a high rate of employment growth. They are also a vehicle for increased industrial production and exports (Copper et al 2005). . However, there are challenges that they face.

A recent study by Wanjohi (2005) reveal that most people in Kenya work in the agricultural sector with majority practicing subsistence farming while a very small number practice large-scale farming. Some people work

as wage labourers in coffee farms or tea plantations where they are paid small wages and life become rather unbearable at times. There are all sorts of small businesses related to Agricultural sector and finance is said to be the major challenge in whichever business one undertakes.

Performance Measurement

Performance refers to a degree of accomplishing a task that make up a specific job. It reflects the degree of fulfilling the requirement of a job and it is measured in terms of results (Joubert, 2002). The word performance is an evasive concept and may be interpreted differently by different people. Performance can be defined as ability to perform or capacity to achieve desired results (Langdon, 2000). Performance then needs to be measured during a time period in line with an expectation, promise or target. Measurement has been recognized as a crucial element to improve business performance (Sharma et al., 2005) particularly focusing performance from a financial perspective to a non-financial perspective.

Kaplan & Norton, (1992) devised the balanced scorecard as a measurement framework for strategic, operational and financial measures. Although extensive 28 research has been carried out to investigate the needs and characteristics of performance measurement in large organizations, there is a distinct lack of published research on issues related to SMEs (Hudson et al., 2000). Fitzgerald (2007), examined the performance measurement in for-profit services, and concluded that performance measures fell within two broad categories: end results and means or determinants. Results were further subdivided into competitiveness and financial measures while means or determinants were subdivided into four broad categories namely quality of service, flexibility, resource utilization and innovation. The discussion above then implies that performance measurement can be looked at from many dimensions and this study considered financial and management governance measures among others.

To measure the success of an enterprise and to guide executives through the benefits realization process, an appropriate performance measurement model is needed. It is common practice to measure the performance of any business on a financial scale. Return on Investment (ROI) and Return on Capital Employed (ROCE) sales, profitability among others are the most common ways of measuring the financial success of a business (Kaplan and Norton, 2000; Kaplan and Norton, 1996; Kaplan and Norton, 1992).

Empirical Review

In this subsection, a brief summary of previous empirical works on the impact of venture capital on the performance of small and medium scale enterprises is provided. Biney (2018) investigated the impact of venture capital financing on small and medium enterprises' growth and development in Ghana. The study applied both propensity score matching and difference-indifference estimation techniques to determine the effects of venture capital financing on SMEs' growth and development in Ghana. The result showed a positive and significant correlation between venture capital financing and SMEs' growth in the context of employment and sales in Ghana. Achugbu, T.U. (2017) investigated the impact of venture capital (VC) financing on the growth of innovative start-up companies in Nigeria. Qualitative data were analysed using content analysis method. A sample of 30 start-ups from a total population of 120 start-ups in Onitsha, Awka, Nnewi and Abuja was randomly drawn using systematic sampling technique. It was found that venture capital financing had an impact on the growth of innovative start-ups. The use of VC financing increased profitability, spurs employment growth, boosted asset base, and improved the quality of management for VC-backed startups.

Similarly, Dalić, Terzić & Novarlić (2017) examined the role of venture capital in the development of the sme sector in the Republic of Srpska. The result showed that the companies (83.96% of the ample) regularly introduced new technology which is a good sign of the willingness to keep pace with the economy trends. Also, the research showed that they were willing to fund their ventures through venture capitals (77.36% of the sample). Half of the companies (51.89% of the sample) focused more of their attention on venture capital funds. The research concluded that newly-established companies that funded their early-stage business ventures through venture capital investments had greater chances of success. Manyani (2014) investigated effect of venture financing on small and medium scale enterprises in Bindura Urban,

Zimbabwe. The research focused on SMEs operating in Bindura town under Mashonaland Central Province. A target population of 356 registered SMEs operating different types of industries in Bindura was used in this study. Data were analyzed by content analysis and the results indicated that the majority of SMEs in Bindura used their own savings, family and friends to finance their businesses. The results also indicated that the financing options available to Bindura SMEs are impracticable to support the capital required for their operation because of stringent requirements and lack of collateral security. The study also concluded that SMEs do not only need financial support from government but also need support in research, quality assurance, marketing, financial management and technology.

Gikomo (2013) investigated the effect of venture capital financing on the growth of SMEs in Kenya. The study adopted descriptive cross sectional research design. The target population was the top 100 mediumsized companies in Kenya. Stratified sampling was adopted where a 30% sample was chosen to give a sample size of30 SMEs. The SMEs were chosen though purposive sampling whereby firms were chosen on the basis that they had received venture capital financing. The study collected secondary data from 2008 to 2012. The data was analyzed through a regression model to establish the form of relationship between the dependent and the independent variables. The study found out that there was a positive and significant relationship between growth in SMEs and venture capital financing. The study concluded that increased venture capital financing improved SMEs credit rating, marketing and distribution networks, technical expertise and management skills which in turn enhanced growth in these firms.

Memba, Gakure&Karanja (2012), studied the impact of venture capital on growth of Small and Medium Enterprises (SME) in Kenya. A descriptive statistical analysis was carried out on annual profit figures. The findings revealed that venture capital had an impact on growth of SME they financed and that use of venture capital can be profitable in Kenya even in an inauspicious political and economic climate. The study concluded that SMEs that use venture capital experience improved growth. The economic impact of venture capital was realized by SME in sales growth, profit, asset and improvement in management of finance and other resources.

Dalberg Global Development Advisors (2012) assessed the impact of Multilateral Investment Fund's Venture Capital Program in Latin America. Time-series analysis using t-test statistical tool was used to isolate the impact of Venture Capital on companies' revenue and job growth. The analysis compared the growth of companies, after they received VC funding with companies' counterfactual growth had they not received Venture Capital backing. The study concluded that Venture Capital-backed firms in the sample under analysis typically outperformed their national peers in economic, social and environmental terms. On the average, revenue increased by 23% annually among venture capital-backed companies during the average investing timeframe of 5.2 years. On average, full-time employment increased by 13% annually among Venture Capital-backed companies during the average investing timeframe.

Afua (2011) studied the impact of venture capital financing on SMEs in the Tema Metropolis in Ghana.50 copies of questionnaire were administered to Managers/SME owners operating within the Tema Metropolis with focus on Elsa Foods Ltd using convenience sampling techniques. The researcher adopted frequency counts and percentages as main statistical techniques for the interpretation of data. It was generally observed that SME‟s prefers self-financing and occasionally received support from financial institutions. The findings further showed that SMEs continue to rely on many financing options both at their conceptual and expansion stage. Majority of the SMEs were however not aware or had little knowledge about venture capital financing as an alternative financing option. Firms that had benefited from venture capital financing stated that they did not only receive capital inflow but was accompanied with monitoring, technical skills and expertise, access to management, marketing and distribution and reputation for attracting further finance.

Moreso, Memba (2011) examined the impact of venture capital on performance of SMEs in Kenya. The target population of this study consisted of 200 SMEs that have used venture capital. The research utilized a sample of 100 SMEs that have been financed by venture capitalist in the major towns of Kenya (Nairobi, Kisumu, Nakuru& Mombasa). Data was collected through semi structured questionnaire. Tests like ANOVA, chi-square, correlation analysis were carried out. The

findings revealed that venture capital had impact on the performance of SMEs they financed. Management style improved when firms used venture capital. The study concluded that SMEs that used venture capital experienced improved performance.

Juha (2010) examined the effect of venture capital investment on small and medium enterprises in Finland. Regression analysis was used to find out the effects of several determinants. Regression models were formed based on the presented theories. SMEs with and without venture capitalists were considered separately. The result showed that venture capitalists have a positive effect on SMEs in Finland. Yap (2009) analyzed the effect of venture capital firm's reputation on its start-up company's long term operating performance and survivorship in Singapore. Cross sectional econometric regression method was adopted. The result showed that venture capital companies' market share and IPO share have strong and positive association with the post-IPO long-term performance metrics, and the effects are statistically significant even after accounting for self-selection bias.

Dagogo&Ollor (2009) examined the effect of venture capital financing on the economic value added profile of Nigerian SMEs. Paired t-tests and multiple regression analysis were conducted to investigate the proportion of variation in the dependent variable explained by the regression of the independent variables. The result showed that the percentage growth of average economic value added by Venture Capital -backed SMEs from 2003 to 2007 was 1,678 percent, whereas there was a reduction in the average of economic value added non VC-backed SMEs by 3.3 percent. The result of the multiple regression analysis indicated that management support was the major driver in the high performance of VC-backed SMEs.

Thus, Balboa, Martí&Zieling (2006), in their work titled "does venture capital really improve Portfolio Company's growth in continental Europe?" examined 250 Spanish Venture Capital backed companies at the expansion stage. The results of the random effects panel regression showed that sales and employment growth of VC-backed companies at the expansion stage were not significantly different from that of comparable non-venture capital-backed companies prior to the investment, while it was different from that moment on. It was therefore concluded that the positive impact of venture capital was indeed driven by the funding and managerial support provided to portfolio companies. Engel (2001) evaluated the impact of venture capitalists on employment growth of new founded firms in Germany. Differences between high-tech and low-tech industries as well as the impact of other investors were analyzed using econometric models. The estimation results showed that surviving venture-backed firms realize higher growth rates compared to surviving non-venture-backed firms. Moreover, venture capitalists are able to push the firms to a faster and higher employment growth than other investors. In the case of SMEs when they were not trained, the outcomes took longer to be evaluated while others were not evaluated at all. The study shows that when evaluation takes longer, this leads to high mortality rate of the SMEs projects and thus does not contribute to growth of firms.

Methodology

Research design

The descriptive survey research design was used in this study. The researcher decided to use this design because it afforded him to garner opinions and information from the respondents on the effects of venture capital financing on the financial performance of SMEs in cross river stateThis research employed both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Population of the Study

The population of study comprised all the SMEs in Cross River State that registered with Corporate Affairs Commission that have used venture capital.

Sample and Sampling Techniques

A two-staged sampling technique was employed in selecting the sample size. In the first stage, purposive sampling was used to choose threelocal governments, namelyCalabar Municipal, Calabar south and Ikom that had the highest number of registered SMEs in the state. In the second stage, simple random sampling was used to select SMEs from other local government areas.

Data Collection

Primary data were collected from respondents (SME directors/managers and officials of venture capital firms) through structured questionnaires. In order to evaluate the effect of venture capital financing on the performance of SMEs in Cross River State Nigeria.

Findings and Discussions

HO1: venture capital financing does not affect the Net sales of SMEs in cross River state

From the table below, the minimum sales increased from Ksh 290,000 to Ksh 4,000,000. The maximum sales increased from ₦ 70, 800,000 to ₦500, 000,000. The mean sales after use of venture capital are ₦ 139, 043, 076 up from ₦10, 349,661. Generally, there was improvement in sales volume after use of venture capital.

This finding is in conformity with the studies by Steiner and Solem (1988), Cuba, et al (1983), Khan and Rocha (1982), and the United States Small Business Administration (1980) which has used sales growth as a key indicator of small business success and overall performance. Their study reported that there was substantial sales growth by firms that used venture capital. However, availability of finance is no guarantee to increase in sales. Cook (2000) observed that proper marketing strategy, pricing policy, research and development, proper management among others contribute to sales growth. The presence of venture capitalists in a firm provides guidance to all the above hence sales growth.

Table 1: Sales Before and After use of Venture Capital

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Sales before	65	290,000	70,800,000	10,349,661	17,281,467
Sales after	65	4,000,000	500,000,000	139,043,076	137,616,652.

A correlation test was run to test the extent of interdependence of the two variables considered above. The result indicates that there is a significant relationship between the sales before and sales after use of venture capital. The correlation coefficient, r = 0.933 and r^2 = 87% which means that 87% of the variation in sales can be explained by variation in the use of venture capital. A number of factual evidence on the economic impact of venture capital has been published especially for the USA economy which supports the finding of this study.

According to a study carried out by Astrid & Bruno (2004) on venture capital funded firms for the period 1970-2000, the sales doubled, paid almost twice the federal taxes, generated almost twice the exports and invested almost three times as much in research and development as the average non-venture capital backed firms. The European Venture Capital Association (2001) has also established that venture capital backed firms report a high growth in sales as compared to other firms. The result reveals that venture capital leads to growth on sales of the firms that use these funds.

Table 2: Correlations of Sales Before and After use of Venture Capital

		Sales per annum Before	Sales per annum After
Sales per annum before	Pearson Correlation	1	0.933(**)
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0.000
	N	65	65

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

HO2: Venture Capital Financing does not affect the net profit of SMEs in cross river state

Profit Before and After use of Venture Capital

A descriptive statistical analysis was carried out on annual profit figures provided by respondents from the field to further prove that profit upon use of venture capital has shown any change. This analysis showed that the increase in profitability is significant in business growth. The minimum profit before use of venture capital was ₦ 34, 866. Upon use of venture capital, the minimum profit increased to₦600, 000. This shows an increase in minimum profit of 94%. The maximum profit respondents reported before use of venture capital was ₦ 38, 98% 2% Stagnant Upwards 81% 14% 5% Poor Fair Good 76 567,951 which increased to ₦62, 864,152 an increase of 63%. The average profit also increased by 69% (from ₦7,204,653 to ₦12, 202,775).

This finding then implies that firms that use venture capital experience growth in profit. Similar trend was reported by Chaganti and Mahajan (1983) in Indian SME that used venture capital. The important aspect here is not just the finance the venture capitalists provide value creation in the venture. Empirical evidence (Brav and Gompers 1997) confirms that increase in profit by venture capital-backed firms is often attributed to better management teams and corporate governance structures that help these companies to perform better in the long run.

Table 3: Profit Before and After use of Venture Capital

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Profit before	65	34,866	38,567,951	7,204,653	11,544,019
Profit after	65	600,000	62,864,152	12,202,775	18,860,127

The test of ANOVA was also carried out to test whether use of venture capital has any influence on profits. When the test was run at 0.05 significance level, the p value was 0.000. Since the p value (0.000) is less than α (0.05) then the result is significant implying use of venture capital does have a significant difference between profits before and after use of venture capital. A study carried out by Engel and Keilbach (2002) which compared venture capital financed firms with non-venture capital financed firms in Germany indicated that venture capital financed firms showed high profitability. In this study, the findings also indicate that firms that use venture capital realize a general increase in profits.

Table 4: **ANOVA Test Annual Profit After / Before use of Venture Capital**

	Sum of Squares	Degrees of freedom	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.27616	23	9.89614	11736.382	0.000
Within Groups	3.45712	41	8.43210		
Total	2.27716	64			

HO3: Venture Capital Financing does not affect the Return on Assets of SMEs in Cross River State

Net Assets Before and After use of Venture Capital

Net assets were used as measure of growth. Liao, et al (2001) define enterprise growth as a unidimensional construct operationalized by a variety of growth measures which include sales, value of net assets, profit, number of workers, and market share among others. Barmes (1990) also observed that assets are particularly useful indicator of impact because their level does not fluctuate as greatly as others.

Thus net assets are indicators of growth. Table 5 shows that assets of firms grew by a significant amount after use of venture capital. The maximum value of net assets reported increased from N 600 million to N 640 million. The average net assets also increased from N 75.2million to over N 102.5 million. This increase in value of net assets after use of venture capital is a worthy evidence to say that there is growth. Literature (Brigham and Houston, 2001 and Pandy, 2003) confirms that growth in assets can be directly linked with availability of funds as the business expands. Since venture capital is equity capital to the business then net assets also increase.

Table 5: **Net Assets Before and After use of Venture Capital**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Assets Before (N)	65	4,000,000	600,000,000	75,205,056	136,940,638.
Assets After (N)	65	8,000,000	640,000,000	102,547,692	163,907,711.

Return On Assets (ROA) which is a financial ratio that shows how efficient a firm is in generating returns in the business was also calculated shows the return on assets before use of venture capital and after use of venture capital. The minimum returns reported before use of venture capital was 0.2% and the maximum reported was 84 %. After use of venture capital, the minimum reported was 0.9% and the maximum was 123%. The financial returns on asset on average increased from 17% to 20%. This finding then implies that firms were efficient in use of assets and this led to growth in returns after use of venture capital.

The increase in efficiency may be as a result of the presence of the venture capital member in the board of management. Similar findings have been reported by Huck and McEwen (1991) from a survey of 54 Jamaican

entrepreneurs involved in manufacturing and service businesses using venture capital. More specifically, these researchers identified competencies in management, planning and budgeting as most crucial for the efficient operation of a small business.

Table 6: **Return on Assets Before and After use of Venture Capital**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
ROA Before %	65	0.2	84.	17	17
ROA After %	65	0.9	123.	20	22

Conclusion

This study investigated the effects of venture capital financing on the financial performance of SMEs in Cross River State. The article presented one of the most extensive empirical studies exploring the major indicators of venture capital financing and financial performance of SMEs.some of the indicators used for the study include; Net sale, Net profit and return on assets.

The findings revealed that before use of venture capital average sales were ₦ 10,349,661, average Profit was ₦ 7,204,653 and 81% of the respondents confirmed that profits were poor. Average net assets were ₦ 75,205,056 and asset turnover was 0.3 times. Firms employed a total of 9,404 workers. Upon use of venture capital average profits almost doubled (₦ 12,202,775) and 98% of the respondents indicated that profitability trend was upward in majority of the SMEs. The value of assets (₦ 102,547,692) improved drastically (approximately 36% increase) as funds were available for expansion or for diversification and also asset turnover increased to 107 2.9 times on average. Sales drastically increased (₦ 139,043,076). The findings therefore revealed that there was significant increase in net sales, net profit and return on assets. Hence, it was concluded that venture capital financing has significant effects on the growth of SMEs in Cross River State.

Recommendation

Based on the findings and conclusion of this study, it was therefore recommended among others that; since most of the businesses have turnovers low the threshold of World Bank. It is therefore recommended that fund managers should intensify the advisory role to ensure that businesses take advantage of increase their turnovers.

The study also recommends that government should put in place an all-inclusive regulatory framework that addresses the venture capital exit problem wrought in venture capital financing in Cross River state and the country at large.

The study recommends that owners of new start-up ventures should embrace the capacity building proffered by venture capitalists as this would enhance both their managerial expertise in the management of information asymmetry and technical capabilities in a global competitive business environment.

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APPLICATION OF TRADITIONALTHEORIES IN THE AGE OF CYBER COMMUNICATION

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KEYWORDS
Traditional theories, cyber communication, relevance, adaptation, digital age

ABSTRACT
The advent of cyber communication has raised questions about the applicability of traditional communication theories in the digital age. This position paper critically examines the relevance and adaptability of traditional theories in the context of contemporary digital communication platforms. As communication practices have undergone significant transformations with the proliferation of digital technologies, it becomes crucial to assess the suitability of theories developed in the pre-digital era. Drawing upon influential communication theories such, this paper conducts a comprehensive analysis of their fundamental premises and concepts. It explores the extent to which these theories can effectively explain and analyze communication phenomena within the realm of cyber communication, characterized by social media, online forums, instant messaging, and other digital platforms. Through a synthesis of empirical research and scholarly discourse, this paper highlights the challenges and opportunities associated with the application of traditional theories in the digital age. It argues for the need to adapt and modify these theories to account for the unique characteristics of cyber communication, including networked connectivity, user-generated content, and algorithmic influence. A nuanced understanding of the socio-cultural, technological, and contextual factors shaping digital communication practices is emphasized. It underscores the importance of considering the dynamic interplay between technology, society, and communication processes. By bridging the gap between traditional theories and contemporary digital communication practices, this paper aims to enrich our understanding of the evolving communication landscape.

Introduction

The advent of digital technology has brought about a paradigm shift in communication, giving rise to the age of cyber communication. In this digital era, traditional theories of mass communication are being reevaluated and applied to understand the dynamics of communication in the digital realm. Traditional theories of mass communication encompass a range of theoretical perspectives that aim to elucidate the dynamics, effects, and processes of mass communication. These theories emerged during the early stages of mass media development and continue to provide valuable insights into how media messages are produced, disseminated, and received by audiences, influencing public opinion and shaping social behavior (Adekunle, 2021).

One significant theory within the realm of traditional mass communication theories is the Hypodermic Needle Theory, also known as the Magic Bullet Theory. This theory posits that media messages have a direct and immediate impact on audiences, influencing their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors (Nwosu, 2020). According to this theory, audiences are passive recipients of media content, and media has a powerful influence on individuals.

Another influential theory is the Two-Step Flow Theory, proposed by Katz and Lazarsfeld. This theory suggests that media messages are filtered through opinion leaders who interpret and disseminate the information to their social networks (Okafor, 2019). The Two-Step Flow Theory highlights the role of interpersonal communication and the influence of opinion leaders in mediating the effects of mass media messages.

Additionally, the Agenda-Setting Theory, introduced by McCombs and Shaw, asserts that media has the ability to shape the public's perception of reality by determining the salience and importance of particular issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972 cited in Arijeniwa&Nwaoboli, 2023). The media's selection and emphasis on certain topics influence the public agenda and the issues that individuals consider significant.

Furthermore, the Uses and Gratifications Theory, developed by Blumler and Katz, focuses on the active role of audiences in selecting and using media to satisfy their needs and desires (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan &Signorielli, 2002). This theory posits that individuals have specific motivations for consuming media, such as seeking information, entertainment, social interaction, or personal identity reinforcement.

The term "traditional theories" is used to refer to these theories of mass communication due to their historical significance and their foundational role in shaping the field of mass communication research. These theories emerged during the early stages of mass media development and have laid the groundwork for understanding the dynamics of communication in a mass media context.

The label "traditional" distinguishes these theories from more recent and evolving theories that have emerged in response to advances in technology and shifts in media landscape. While these traditional theories have provided valuable insights, it is important to acknowledge that the field of mass communication has evolved and expanded over time, with new theories and perspectives emerging to address contemporary media phenomena and challenges.

Despite being labeled as traditional, these theories continue to have relevance and influence in mass communication research. They form the basis for understanding fundamental concepts such as media effects, agenda-setting, media influence on public opinion, and audience motivations. Moreover, they have served as a springboard for further theoretical development and refinement within the field.

By referring to these theories as traditional, it highlights their historical significance and acknowledges their enduring relevance as foundational frameworks. However, it is essential to recognize that the field of mass communication continues to evolve, and contemporary scholarship incorporates a broader range of theories and approaches to capture the complexities of modern media ecosystems. These traditional theories of mass communication, while formulated several decades ago, continue to provide valuable frameworks for understanding the complexities of mass communication processes and effects. They have been influential in shaping the field of mass communication research.

Understanding Cyber Communication

Cyber communication refers to the exchange of information, ideas, and messages facilitated through digital platforms and technological networks. According to Adeleke (2020), cyber communication encompasses various forms of online interaction, including social media platforms, email, instant messaging, video conferencing, and other digital communication tools. It involves the utilization of internet-based technologies to connect individuals across geographical distances, enabling real-time communication and information sharing. Cyber communication has transformed the way people interact, collaborate, and disseminate information, offering new channels for social interaction, community formation, and knowledge exchange (Adeleke, 2020).

In the context of mass communication, cyber communication refers to the dissemination of media content through digital platforms and online channels. Okafor (2019) defines cyber communication as the transmission of news, entertainment, advertising, and other forms of media content via the internet. It encompasses activities such as online journalism, streaming services, podcasting, and digital advertising. With the growth of internet penetration and the rise of digital media platforms, cyber communication has become increasingly influential in shaping public opinion, disseminating information, and engaging audiences (Okafor, 2019).

Cyber communication can also be understood as the formation and maintenance of social connections and relationships in virtual environments. Okonkwo (2018) describes cyber communication as the networking and interaction between individuals through social media, online communities, and virtual spaces. It involves activities such as social networking, online dating, and virtual communities where individuals engage in discussions, share experiences, and establish connections. Cyber communication platforms provide opportunities for individuals to connect with others who share similar interests, engage in social support, and participate in online communities, transcending physical boundaries (Okonkwo, 2018).

Another aspect of cyber communication pertains to the expression and dissemination of personal opinions, perspectives, and creative works through digital platforms. Nwosu (2020) defines cyber communication as a means for individuals to share their thoughts, ideas, and creative expressions through blogs, vlogs, social media posts, and other online platforms. It enables individuals to have a digital voice and reach a global audience, democratizing the process of self-expression and creativity. Cyber communication platforms provide opportunities for individuals to showcase their talents, advocate for causes, and engage in participatory culture (Nwosu, 2020).

Traditional Theories of Mass Communication

Traditional theories of mass communication refer to a set of foundational concepts and frameworks that have been developed over time to understand and explain the processes, effects, and dynamics of mass communication. These theories emerged in the earlier stages of mass media development and have provided valuable insights into how media messages are created, transmitted, received, and interpreted by audiences.

Traditional theories of mass communication are rooted in the belief that mass media, such as television, radio, newspapers, and now digital platforms, play a significant role in shaping public opinion, influencing social attitudes, and impacting individuals' behavior (Okoro, 2021). These theories attempt to explain the ways in which media messages are constructed, disseminated, and received, and their effects on society and individuals. These theories often explore topics such as media effects, media influence, audience reception, media content analysis, and the role of media in shaping social and cultural norms. They provide frameworks for understanding the power dynamics between media organizations, content producers, and audiences, as well as the role of individual and societal factors in media consumption and interpretation.

Traditional theories of mass communication have been developed and refined through extensive research, empirical studies, and scholarly discourse. They have served as guiding principles for media professionals, researchers, and policymakers in understanding and analyzing the complex interplay between media and society.

Some traditional theories include:

Agenda-Setting Theory:

The Agenda-Setting Theory, proposed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in the 1970s, examines the role of the media in shaping the public's perception of reality (Okoro, 2021). It suggests that the media has the power to influence which issues and topics the audience considers important by selecting and emphasizing certain news stories. The theory posits that the media's agenda influences the salience and priority that the audience assigns to those issues. By determining what information receives attention and coverage, the media can shape the public's awareness and understanding of various subjects. The Agenda-Setting Theory has been widely applied in the field of mass communication to understand media effects, public opinion formation, and political communication.

Critics of the theory argue that it overlooks the active role of the audience in interpreting and filtering media messages (Arijeniwa&Nwaoboli, 2023). They contend that individuals possess their own pre-existing beliefs, values, and interests, which can influence the agenda-setting process. Additionally, critics question the degree to which the media's influence is direct and immediate, as the theory implies. Despite these criticisms, the Agenda-Setting Theory has remained influential in understanding the relationship between media and public opinion, particularly in the context of political campaigns and agenda-building (Okoro, 2021).

In the age of cyber communication, the Agenda-Setting Theory is exemplified by the power of online news platforms and social media in influencing public perception and shaping the issues that receive attention. For instance, social media platforms like Twitter and Facebook curate users' news feeds based on algorithms that prioritize certain stories or topics, thereby influencing the information users are exposed to. When a news story or topic gains significant traction on these platforms, it can become a prominent part of public discourse, influencing public opinion and policy discussions. For example, the Black Lives Matter movement gained widespread attention and support through social media, as users shared news articles, videos, and personal stories related to racial injustice, effectively shaping the public's agenda on the issue.

Media Ecology Theory:

Media Ecology Theory, developed by Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s and 1970s, offers a comprehensive framework for understanding the intricate relationship between media, technology, and culture (McLuhan, 1964 cited in Obi & Okonkwo, 2021). McLuhan argued that media are not simply neutral tools or channels of communication but extensions of human senses and capabilities that shape our perception, cognition, and social organization. According to McLuhan, different media have distinct characteristics that influence how we perceive and engage with the world. For instance, he distinguished between "hot" media, such as print, which provide high-definition information and demand focused attention, and "cool" media, like television, which involve low-definition information and require more active participation from the audience (McLuhan, 1964 cited in Obi & Okonkwo, 2021).

Central to Media Ecology Theory is the notion that media operate as complex ecosystems rather than isolated entities. McLuhan emphasized the interconnectedness of media and society, stating that "the medium is the message." He argued that media environments shape our communication patterns, thought processes, and social structures. For example, the rise of television and electronic media has contributed to a shift from linear, rational thinking to a more fragmented, associative mode of cognition (McLuhan, 1964 cited in Obi & Okonkwo, 2021). Media Ecology Theory highlights the need to understand media as a holistic system, taking into account not only the content but also the medium itself and its influence on our perceptions, behaviors, and cultural norms.

Critics of Media Ecology Theory have raised concerns about its tendency to oversimplify the relationship between media and society. They argue that the theory may overlook other influential factors, such as politics, economics, and power dynamics, which play a significant role in shaping media and its effects (Ogunlade& Ibrahim, 2021). Additionally, some critics contend that the theory lacks empirical grounding and relies heavily on speculative claims and anecdotal evidence. Nonetheless, Media Ecology Theory has had a significant impact on the field of media studies and communication research. It has provided researchers with a framework for analyzing the

effects of media and technology on individuals, society, and culture (Smith, 2016 cited in Ogunlade& Ibrahim, 2021). The theory has been applied to various areas, including media literacy, media archaeology, digital media studies, and the study of media effects and social change.

Media Ecology Theory provides valuable insights into the impact of digital media and cyber communication on perception, cognition, and social organization. The theory emphasizes that different media environments shape our communication patterns and ways of thinking. In the age of cyber communication, the proliferation of digital platforms and technologies has significantly influenced how we perceive and engage with information.

Digital media platforms offer a more interactive and participatory experience compared to traditional media. Users can comment, share, and create their own content, blurring the boundaries between media producers and consumers. This participatory nature of cyber communication has led to a shift in how individuals engage with media, fostering a more fragmented and associative mode of cognition. For example, social media feeds present information in a non-linear and rapid-fire manner, encouraging users to make quick judgments and associations.

Additionally, the rise of digital media has disrupted traditional media hierarchies. Anyone with an internet connection can now create and distribute content, challenging the dominance of established media organizations. This has resulted in a more diverse and decentralized media landscape, where individuals have greater control over the media they consume and the information they encounter. Media Ecology Theory helps us understand how these changes in media environments shape our perceptions, social interactions, and cultural norms in the age of cyber communication.

Symbolic Interactionism:

Symbolic Interactionism, originating from the work of George Herbert Mead and further developed by Herbert Blumer, is a sociological perspective that focuses on the role of symbols, language, and social interaction in the construction of meaning and the formation of self-identity (Blumer, 1969 cited in Adebayo & Mohammed, 2021). The theory posits that individuals interpret and respond to symbols and shared meanings in their social interactions, which in turn shape their behaviors and influence social reality. Symbolic Interactionism emphasizes the ongoing process of meaning-making through the exchange of symbols and the negotiation of shared understandings.

According to Symbolic Interactionism, individuals actively engage in social interactions by interpreting and attributing meaning to symbols. These symbols may include words, gestures, objects, or even nonverbal cues. Through these interactions, individuals develop a sense of self and construct their identities. Mead proposed that the self emerges through a two-step process: the "I" and the "Me." The "I" represents the spontaneous and impulsive aspect of the self, while the "Me" is the socialized and reflective part that internalizes society's expectations and norms (Mead, 1994 cited in Adebayo & Mohammed, 2021).

Critics of Symbolic Interactionism argue that the theory may downplay the influence of broader social structures and power dynamics in shaping individuals' behaviors and interactions. They contend that the theory does not adequately address the role of social institutions, cultural norms, and historical contexts in influencing symbolic meanings (Smith, 2013 cited in Adekunle, 2021). However, Symbolic Interactionism has found broad applications in sociology, anthropology, and communication studies. It provides valuable insights into various aspects of social life, including language and communication, socialization processes, identity construction, and the negotiation of social roles and relationships (Johnson, 2018 cited in Nwosu, 2020).

Symbolic Interactionism remains applicable to the age of cyber communication, as it focuses on the role of symbols, language, and social interaction in constructing meaning and shaping identity. In online environments, individuals continue to engage in symbolic interactions, albeit in a different context. In cyberspace, symbols take the form of text, emojis, memes, and other digital representations. Online communication platforms provide individuals with new ways to express themselves, negotiate meanings, and form social connections. For example, in social media interactions, individuals use likes, comments, and shares as symbolic gestures to express agreement, disagreement, or support.

Furthermore, the construction of identity in the age of cyber communication is influenced by online interactions and the creation of digital personas. Individuals present themselves through carefully curated profiles, status updates, and online activities. These online identities are shaped through the feedback and responses received from others in the online community. The process of self-presentation and identity formation is an ongoing negotiation of symbols and meanings within the online social sphere.

However, symbolic interactionism also raises concerns in the age of cyber communication. The anonymity and reduced nonverbal cues in online interactions can lead to misinterpretation and misunderstandings. Symbolic meanings can be easily manipulated or distorted, and the authenticity of online interactions can be questioned. These challenges highlight the need for considering the complexities and nuances of symbolic interactions in the digital realm.

Uses and Gratifications Theory:

The Uses and Gratifications Theory, developed by Elihu Katz, Jay Blumler, and Michael Gurevitch in the 1970s, focuses on the active role of audiences in selecting and using media to fulfill their social and psychological needs (Adebayo & Mohammed, 2021). This theory asserts that individuals are not passive recipients of media messages but active participants who actively seek out and choose media content that satisfies their specific needs (Nwaoboli, Ezeji& Osife-Kurex, 2022). The theory identifies various gratifications or rewards that individuals seek from media consumption, such as information, entertainment, social interaction, personal identity, and escapism. According to the theory, individuals are motivated to use media to gratify their needs, and their media choices are driven by these motivations.

Critics of the Uses and Gratifications Theory argue that it tends to overlook the power dynamics between media institutions and audiences (Nwaoboli, Adelakun&Asemah, 2023). They highlight that media organizations often shape the available content options and set agendas that influence the range of gratifications that audiences can seek. However, the theory has found practical applications in understanding media consumption patterns, media effects, and audience engagement. It has been used to explore how individuals utilize media to satisfy specific needs in various contexts, such as social media use, television viewing, and online information seeking.

In the age of cyber communication, the Uses and Gratifications Theory can be observed in individuals' active selection and consumption of media content to fulfill specific needs. Social media platforms, such as Instagram and Snapchat, provide various gratifications, such as social interaction, self-presentation, and entertainment. Users actively choose to engage with specific content and interact with others to satisfy their needs for social connection and self-expression (Adebayo & Mohammed, 2021). For example, individuals may use Instagram to share carefully curated images of their lives and seek validation and social approval through likes and comments, fulfilling their need for social interaction and self-presentation.

Diffusion of Innovations Theory:

The Diffusion of Innovations Theory, developed by Everett Rogers in 1962, examines how new ideas, technologies, or innovations spread and are adopted within a social system (Rogers, 2003). The theory identifies key factors that influence the rate of adoption, including the perceived relative advantage of the innovation, its compatibility with existing practices, its complexity, trialability (the ability to experiment with the innovation before fully adopting it), and observability (the visibility of the innovation's benefits) (Ayeni&Nwaoboli, 2023). The theory categorizes individuals into different adopter categories based on their willingness to adopt a new idea: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards.

Critics of the Diffusion of Innovations Theory argue that it oversimplifies the complexity of the adoption process by focusing primarily on individual-level factors and neglecting broader contextual and social factors (Rogers, 2003). They contend that diffusion is influenced by various social, cultural, and economic factors that extend beyond individuals' characteristics (Egbulefu&Nwaoboli, 2023). However, the theory has found practical applications in studying the adoption and diffusion of various innovations, including technology, health practices, and social behaviors. It has been used in fields such as marketing, public health campaigns, and organizational change to

understand and facilitate the adoption of new ideas and practices.

In the age of cyber communication, the Diffusion of Innovations Theory helps explain the adoption and spread of digital innovations and communication practices. For example, the rapid adoption of social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and TikTok can be understood through this theory. Innovators and early adopters embrace these platforms, recognizing their relative advantages such as connecting with friends, sharing content, and building online communities. As more people observe their peers using these platforms and witness their benefits, they are more likely to adopt them as well, resulting in the diffusion of these innovations throughout society.

Cultivation Theory:

Cultivation Theory, initially proposed by George Gerbner in the 1960s and further developed by Gerbner and Larry Gross, explores the cumulative effects of television viewing on individuals' perceptions and beliefs about the world. The theory suggests that heavy and long-term exposure to television content can shape viewers' perceptions of reality, leading to a shared understanding of social norms, values, and behaviors portrayed in the media. According to Cultivation Theory, the repetitive and consistent messages conveyed by television contribute to the cultivation of a particular worldview among viewers. This cultivation effect is often characterized by heightened perceptions of violence, fear, and mistrust in the real world. The theory argues that individuals who consume more television tend to perceive the world as being more violent and dangerous than it actually is.

Critics of Cultivation Theory argue that it oversimplifies the relationship between television exposure and audience perceptions, neglecting other influential factors such as personal experiences, social interactions, and individual differences. Additionally, some critics contend that the theory fails to adequately address the active role of viewers in interpreting media messages and exercising agency in their media consumption. Despite these criticisms, Cultivation Theory has been widely applied in studying the effects of media violence, stereotypes, and social attitudes. It has been utilized to examine how television programming can shape viewers' perceptions of crime, gender roles, and political issues.

In the age of cyber communication, Cultivation Theory is applicable to the cumulative effects of digital media consumption on individuals' perceptions of the world (Katz., Blumler&Gurevitch, 2004). For instance, heavy exposure to social media, which often highlights idealized versions of people's lives, can cultivate unrealistic expectations and foster feelings of inadequacy among users. This can contribute to the cultivation of a social reality where individuals perceive others as happier, more successful, and more attractive than they actually are. Additionally, the consumption of news through online platforms can shape individuals' perceptions of societal issues. If individuals are consistently exposed to news stories emphasizing violence or fear, they may develop a heightened perception of danger in the world around them.

Social Learning Theory:

Social Learning Theory, developed by Albert Bandura in the 1970s, emphasizes the role of observational learning and social modeling in shaping behavior. The theory posits that individuals learn by observing and imitating the behaviors, attitudes, and values portrayed by others, including those depicted in the media. According to Social Learning Theory, media representations of social behaviors can serve as models for individuals to learn from and emulate. The theory highlights the importance of vicarious reinforcement, where individuals learn through the positive or negative consequences experienced by others (Adeleke, 2020). Through exposure to media content, individuals can acquire new knowledge, skills, and behaviors by observing and imitating the actions of media characters or real-life individuals portrayed in the media.

Critics argue that Social Learning Theory does not adequately address the complexities of behavior formation and may downplay the influence of personal factors, such as individual motivations, cognitive processes, and self-efficacy beliefs. Moreover, critics contend that the theory may oversimplify the relationship between media exposure and behavior, ignoring the contextual and situational factors that can influence behavior. Nevertheless, Social Learning Theory has been widely applied to understand media effects, particularly in the context of aggression, prosocial behavior, and advertising. It has been used to examine how media depictions of violence, altruism, and

health behaviors can influence individuals' behaviors and attitudes.

In the age of cyber communication, the Social Learning Theory is evident in individuals' observations and imitations of behaviors portrayed by others, both online and offline. For example, online video platforms like YouTube have popularized tutorial videos, where individuals learn new skills or knowledge by observing and imitating the actions of content creators. Similarly, social media influencers can serve as role models for fashion, lifestyle choices, or fitness routines, and their followers may imitate their behaviors based on the perceived positive outcomes they observe in these influencers' lives. This theory highlights how individuals learn and adopt new behaviors through exposure to media content and the influence of others in the digital space.

Two-Step Flow Theory:

The Two-Step Flow Theory was introduced by Paul Lazarsfeld, Elihu Katz, and Lazarsfeld's colleagues in the late 1940s. It challenges the notion of direct and powerful media effects on individuals and emphasizes the importance of interpersonal influence (Bandura, 1977). The theory suggests that media messages are primarily mediated by opinion leaders or influential individuals who actively interpret and filter media content before disseminating it to others. According to the Two-Step Flow Theory, individuals are more likely to be influenced by these opinion leaders rather than directly by the media itself. Opinion leaders serve as intermediaries who selectively choose, interpret, and transmit media messages to their social networks, which then influence the opinions and behaviors of individuals within those networks.

Critics argue that the Two-Step Flow Theory oversimplifies the complex nature of media influence and neglects the role of social networks, interpersonal interactions, and individual agency. They contend that the theory does not fully capture the multidirectional and multilayered nature of communication processes. Additionally, critics suggest that the theory may not fully account for the impact of new digital media and online social networks on information dissemination and influence. Nevertheless, the Two-Step Flow Theory has been applied to understand the diffusion of information, political communication, marketing strategies, and the spread of public opinion. It has been used to examine how opinion leaders and influencers shape public discourse, consumer behavior, and political campaigns.

In the era of cyber communication, the Two-Step Flow Theory remains relevant, albeit with some modifications. With the advent of digital media and online social networks, the process of information dissemination has become more complex and decentralized. Instead of relying solely on traditional opinion leaders, individuals now have access to a vast array of online influencers, bloggers, and social media personalities who shape their opinions and behaviors.

In the age of cyber communication, opinion leaders can emerge from various online communities and platforms. These individuals accumulate followers and subscribers who perceive them as authorities in specific domains. For example, a YouTube influencer who specializes in technology reviews may have a significant impact on the purchasing decisions of their subscribers. The influencer filters and interprets information from various sources before presenting it to their audience, acting as an intermediary between the media and their followers.

Moreover, the concept of opinion leadership has expanded to include online communities and micro-influencers. Online forums, social media groups, and niche communities have become sources of information and influence. Within these communities, individuals with expertise or a strong following can shape opinions and behaviors through their online interactions. This means that the two-step flow may not always follow a strict linear pattern but can involve multiple steps and interactions within an online network.

Conclusion

The study suggest that traditional theories continue to hold value in understanding and analyzing the dynamics of cyber communication. The cultivation effects theory, for instance, helps uncover the influence of online platforms on individuals' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors. The diffusion of innovations theory provides insights into how new communication technologies are adopted and spread within the Nigerian context.

Moreover, the uses and gratifications theory helps identify the motivations and purposes behind individuals' engagement with cyber communication, highlighting the role of personalized needs and gratifications. The social cognitive theory offers a lens through which the adaptation of cognitive processes, observational learning, and self-efficacy can be understood in the realm of cyber communication.

The study emphasizes the importance of considering cultural and societal factors when applying traditional theories in the context of cyber communication. Nigerian perspectives provide valuable insights into how these theories manifest within a specific cultural setting, enabling a more nuanced understanding of the complex interactions between traditional theories and digital communication platforms.

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DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND THE ROLES OF TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF GOMBE STATE.

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KEYWORDS
Democracy, Traditional, Political, Institutions, Peace, Security

ABSTRACT
The adoption of Western Democracy after independence has come with a lot of changes to the hitherto roles and powers of traditional political institutions of building peace and security generally inNorthern Nigeria and Gombe in particular. Until this time, the Northern Nigerian political traditional institution was no doubt the most powerful and important political institutions that were at the centre of maintaining peace and security of their people. With the advent of democratic rule in Nigeria, the powers and control of traditional political institutions began to dry up and seem to have only opportunity of stakeholders in the state with advisory position because of the systematic enforcement of political leaders who at some time lack the knowledge of their societies and are coming into power by chance which make them to represent their personal interest using democracy as a tool, rather than making their society's interest a priority. This paper will examine the roles of traditional political institution in promoting peace and security in Northern Nigeria and look at the impact of democratic principles on traditional political institution of Northern Nigeria and Gombe State in particular. The study will use both primary and secondary sources of data. The structural functional theory will be employed to explain the topic under discussion. The findings of this study will help in shedding more light upon role of Traditional Political Institutions in Promoting Peace and Security and how the coming of Democracy undermine their power in Gombe States as well as recommend how can this institution be position for effective performance in peace building.

Introduction

Prior to the advent of colonial rule in Nigeria, The Traditional Political Institutions were at the center of governance in Nigeria. This institution provided a system of administration from which law and order. In those days, the institution formed the nucleus of governance and justice. For centuries before the advent of British rule, governance in different parts of present-day Nigeria was synonymous with traditional institutions and their rulers. Local administration generally centered on the traditional ruler who was considered the repository of religious, legislative, executive and judicial functions, with a few exceptions, for example, in the southeastern Nigeria amongst Ibo communities (Afigbo, 2002). Indeed, the Traditional institution had a organized and well established systems of administration where public order was provided and maintained, laws were made and implemented, inter-communal and inter-tribal conflicts were settled. In essence, Traditional Political Institutions have been a significant feature of the people and commanded a large degree of loyalty and respect among them.

However, with the coming of Colonial powers, things began to change especially with the introduction of western democracy. The hitherto powerful institution that was at the center of bringing peace by resolving conflicts between individuals, tribes and communities became powerless. Nigeria since independence in 1960 has witnessed various political crisis that brought about insecurity, destruction of lives and properties as well as disruption of socio-economic life of the people. However, the crisis assumed a different dimension, becoming more sophisticated, more deadly; more militarized with wider international terrorist's connections. The development progressed from activism to agitators that adopted civil disobedience as a means to press for their demands to militancy, with sophisticated military weapons and now on the level of terrorism with weapons of mass destruction.

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As a result of the inability of the political leaders and the elites to tackle the problem of insecurity in Nigeria, there is the need to turn to the traditional rulers for a possible solution to this monster, insecurity. The traditional rulers are traditionally, the head of their ethnic group, clan or community. They hold the highest executive authority in such communities and has been appointed to the position in accordance with the people's culture, custom and tradition. Their office and power has been recognized by the government through the presentation of "staff of office", which is an instrument of power. The traditional rulers having been recognized by the government as the leaders of their people, has been playing a great role in the management of the people and their affairs. Therefore, their role in conflict management, resolution and prevention cannot be over emphasized as they manage people in

their domain and resolve conflicts in the society in order to ensure that, there is peace and stability.

Statement of the Problem

There is no gainsaying the fact Nigeria as a country is facing numerous security challenges that are threatening her development and even survival as an independent sovereign country. The political elites over the years have been finding ways to ensure peace and security but still the security situation is demanding a lot to be done so as to ensure peace in the country.

It is against this that, this research intends to examine the role of Traditional Political Institutions in bringing peace in Nigeria with reference to some selected Traditional Institutions in Gombe State.

Aims and Objectives of the Study

The research seeks to achieve the following objectives

1. To examine the role been played by Traditional Political Institutions in ensuring peaceful coexistence in Gombe State

2. To find out how has the coming of Western Democracy diminished the powers of Traditional Political Institution in peace building in Gombe State.

3. To find out ways to strengthen Traditional Political Institutions to be effective under the current Democratic setting.

Significance of the Research

This research will fill the existing gaps and contribute to knowledge, it will serve as a guide to policy makers for subsequent policies on security related matters and the system of traditional political institutions, the world of academics etc.

Literature Review

Democracy

To start with, the main idea of democracy is widely accepted to have originated from Athens in the 5th century BC. Accordingly, the word 'democracy' is a term that comes from Greek and it is made up with two other words 'Demos' mean people and 'kratien' means to govern, to rule. Democracy can be translated by the following terms: Government of the people or Government of the majority. However, it is difficult to reach a consensus on the definition of democracy, as it happens in many concepts in social sciences. Democracy is commonly defined by Abraham Lincoln as "Government of the people by the people and for the people "If we can put that way, then we can say, the government in Democracy is formed by the people and exercise by the people and for the benefits of the people. The Webster New Encyclopedic Dictionary (1995) defines democracy as a government in which supreme power is invested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through representation.

In a lecture titled "What is Democracy"? Larry Diamond (2004) gave an overview of what in his opinion is democracy. He describes democracy as a system of government with four key elements:

i. A system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections;

ii. Active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life;

iii. Protection of the human rights of all citizens; and

iv. A rule of law in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

Popper as cited in Javie (2006) defines democracy in contrast to dictatorship or tyranny. He places emphasis on the availability of opportunities for the people to control their leaders and to them without recourse to a revolution. In this view, then we can say, in Democracy people are enjoying the full opportunity to actively participate in the decision making process of their countries. Dahl, Shapiro, Cheibib (2003) state that in a representative democracy, every vote has equal weight, no unreasonable restrictions can apply to anyone seeking to become a representative, and the freedom of its eligible citizens is secured by legitimized rights and liberties which are typically protected by a constitution. Based on this, citizens in democratic countries must have an absolute freedom and equal rights to

vote and to be voted for. In furtherance of this, Kelsen (1955) and Barak (2006), assert that representative democracy which allows freedom of political expression, freedom of speech and freedom of the press are considered to be the essential rights that allow eligible citizens to be adequately informed and able to vote according to their own interests. Considering the above, one can conclude that the basic feature of democracy as opined by Nassbaum (2000) is the capacity of all voters to participate freely and fully in the life of their society, and that democracy is a form of government in which all eligible citizens have an equal say in lawmaking (Diamond, 2006).

Traditional Rulers

Ola and Tonwe (2009) defines a traditional ruler as 'the traditional head of an ethnic group or clan who is the holder of the highest primary executive authority in an indigenous polity, or who has been appointed to the position in accordance with the people's culture, customs and tradition of the area concerned by instrument or order of the state government, and whose title is recognized as a traditional ruler title by the Government of the State'. Similarly, Egwurube (1988) describes traditional rulers as individuals or groups of individuals who occupy communal political leadership positions by immorality and are through the consent of community members granted authority and legitimacy to direct the affairs of particular ethno-cultural or linguistic groups in an ordered manner. Also, their office and power has been recognized by the government through the presentation of "staff of office", which is an instrument of power. Having been recognized by the government as the leader of their people, they play a great role in the management of the people and their affairs.

Peace

The concept of peace is traceable to the Latin word pax meaning "freedom from civil disorder". (Oxford Dictionary; retrieved from http;//www.modernghana.com/print/380264/1/1towards-a-natioanl-socialconsciousness).
Peace could also be taken as meaning justice, good health, safety, wellbeing, prosperity, equity, good fortune and friendliness (Wikipedia-free encyclopedia). Oftentimes, peace is often seen as the absence of war, and by logical extension, war is the lack of peace. This view of peace is faulty because it really does not tell us anything about the meaning of peace as reflected above. However, Ibeanu (2005) has explicated peace in sociological terms as a condition of social peace (George, 2013), in which there are no social antagonisms. In other words, "peace is a situation in which there are no social conflicts and individuals and groups are able to meet their needs, aspirations and expectations. Peace in this sense can be explained from the perspective of structural functionalism" (George-Genyi, 2013).

George-Genyi expatiating, and broadening the definition of peace by Galtung (1990), identified two aspects of peace; namely: the negative peace, as "the lack of direct violence, war and fear of the person,country, region and indeed at the international levels"; and," the positive peace as the absence of unjust structures, unequal relationships, justice and inner peace of the person". To George-Genyi peace in sum is, "the lack of fear, conflict, anxiety, exclusion, deprivation or suffering and violence. It is primarily concerned with creating and maintaining a just order in society" (2012: 58).

Security

Security is seen as "the condition of feeling safe from harm or danger, the defense, protection and preservation of values, and the lack of threats to acquire values" (George-Genyi, 2013). For Terriff (1991), Security is about survival and the conditions of human existence. In this study, the concept is adopted to extend beyond the military or the usual conventional dimensions. Therefore, security is broadly seen "as freedom from danger or threats to an individual" or a country (George-Genyi, 2013). It is the ability to protect and defend oneself, be it as an individual or a country, its cherished values and legitimate interests, and the enhancement of their well being (Imobighe, 1990; Mijah, 2007). To be specific, such security values include work, property, territory, franchise and not the least shelter and food. McNamara (1968) and Mijah (2007) both viewed security as being equal to development. Development here suggests the substantive quantitative and qualitative improvements in peoples' standard of living over time to such an extent that the levels of inequality, unemployment and poverty are tremendously reduced. Indeed, "Security is not just about the presence of a military force, although this is encompassed. There can be no development without security". The non-

conventional conception of security lays emphasis on social security. For Fayeye (2011), this suggests the maturation of the structures and processes that can engender and guarantee political space and sufficient conditions for the realization of among other things, personal, group or national aspirations (George, 2013).It is not only useful to point out that "security means much more than the absence of war" (Mamam, 2012) but also, that lasting peace, an inherent ingredient of security that will encompass areas such as education, health, democracy, human rights the protection against environmental degradation and the proliferation of deadly weapons (See Definition of Human Security, retrieved from http://humansecurityinitiative.org/human-security). Indeed, there can hardly be "security amidst starvation, peace building without poverty alleviation and no true freedom built on the foundation of injustice' (Fayeye, 2012, retrieved from http://www.maxwellsci.com/print/crisis/v4190-195 pdf).

Theoretical Explanation

Structural functional Theory

Structural Functionalist Theory views society as a system, it views the society as asset of inter connected parts which together form a whole various parts in the society according to the paradigm are understood in terms of their relationship a to the whole social institution which are analyzed as part of the social system rather than as related unit. (Haralambos, 1980). Functionalism argues that all societies share the same norms and values. These norms and values are embodied in the law and that the social order comprises of the internalization of these norms and values through the roles performed by traditional rulers in their communities. The evolution of the theory, owes much to the wore of Auguste Conte (1798-1857) who in the period or tumultuous change sought to promote social integration while Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) argued that society is like a human body with parts and each contributing to the survival of the entire organism. However, the third pioneer, Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) developed his work more on how the structures that formed society can hang together. Talcott parson (1902-1979) is seen as the father of the functionalist school of thought due to his immerse contribution which will apply to thus study according to parson (1964) for any social system which the community is part to survive, there are four basic functional prerequisites which include: adaptation, goal attainment, integration, pattern maintenance. They can be seen as problems that communities must solve if they are to survive and progress.

Adaptation: This refers to the relationship between the traditional rulers and their communities. In order to survive, traditional institution must have some degree of control over the community.

Goal attainment: This refers to the need for all communities to set goals towards which socio-economic activities are directed procedures for establishing goals and deciding on printers between goals are institutionalized.

Integration: Thus has to do with primary adjustment of conflict in the community. It is concerned with the co-ordination and mutual adjustment of the community members' legal norms define and standardize relations between individual and institutions and so reduce potential for conflict does not lead to the disintegration of the community and its development in general. According to the functionalist perspective, traditional rulers are part of the society who have some functions to perform and contribute to the maintenance of the society (i.e. their communities) such function include the contribution of their quote in the maintenance of the internal peace and security in their domain which is the only way development can take place in the community. They help in revenue generation and community tax assessment, determination of religious matters and settlement of conflict ensuing thereof; they also contribute in community development efforts of their respective communities like building of health centers, town halls, market shop, post office, electricity reconstruction of road network bridges and culverts etc. The functionalist perspective has to be subjected to considerable criticism critics argued that the type of explanation states that the parts of the system exists because of the beneficial consequences for the system as a while. The man objection to this types of reasoning is that it tress an effect as a cause. Therefore, the assertion those traditional rulers embark on development projects in their domain is an attestation of consensus value and institution is a misplace one.

Finally, despite the widespread criticism of functionalism is should not be rejected out of hand, the assumption that society should be seen as an integral whole, that its par fare interdependent, that social institution exists and the social structure directs human behavior. However, these approaches to community development are considered relevant in evaluating the role of traditional rulers in promoting peace and security in Nigeria generally and Gombe State in particular.

In other words, it present traditional rulers as a structure within a given system which has functions to perform in the transformation and development process within local government environment as well as in large society.

Research Methodology

Description of the Study Area

The study area of this research is Gombe State. Gombe State located in North Eastern Nigeria, shared borders to the north and northeast by the states of Borno and Yobe, to the south by Taraba State, to the southeast by Adamawa State, and to the west by Bauchi State. The State was formed from a part of Bauchi State on 1st October 1996 by the then military Head of State General Sani Abacha. The state is among heterogeneous states in Nigeria. Of the 36 states of Nigeria, Gombe is the 21st largest in area covering about 18,768 km2 (7,246 sq mi) and 32nd most populous with an estimated population of about 3.25 million as of 2016 (www.wikipedia.org) and the 2022 projection is about 3,960,122 (NPC, 2020). However, the state has three senatorial zones of Gombe North, Gombe South and Gombe Central which together comprised of eleven Local Government Areas of Akko, Balanga, Billiri, Dukku, Funakaye, Gombe, Kwami, Kaltungo, Nafada, Shomgom, and YamaltuDeba local governments areas. The state is situated in Nigeria's Guinea savannah and Sudan savannah belts. Undulating hills, sandy rocks, and a few volcanic rocks make up the landscape. (www.wikipedia.org.)

Research Design

Descriptive survey research design is the method to be used for this study. Because of its excellent general ability to represent the sizeable population that this study focused on, this research design was chosen. Uniqueness, probability sampling, standardization of measurement, and analysis need are characteristics of survey research designs. Moreover, this research design helps the researcher to study a group of people or items collectively and to analyze data from their representatives in order to obtain an empirical knowledge of contemporary nature. This methodology will involve the use of questionnaires to elicit needed data from respondents on the research topic.

Population of the Study

The target population of this study are eleven (11) first class emirates council of Gombe State which drawn from the three (3) Senatorial zones namely; Gombe North, Gombe Central and Gombe South. These three senatorial zones are made up of eleven (11) Local Government Areas of Gombe State which include: Akko, Balanga, Billiri, Dukku, Funakaye, Gombe, Kaltungo, Kwami, Nafada, Shomgom and Yamaltu-Deba local government areas.

However, the populations to be selected for this study are three (3) emirate council from three Local Government Areas in three senatorial districts respectively that will represent the whole population. The Local Government Areas to be selected include Gombe Local Government representing Gombe North, Akko representing Gombe Central and Billiri Representing Gombe South. The total population of the local governments selected according to the 2022 NPC projection is 1,351,200.

Table 1: Population Distribution of Selected Local Governments Areas

S/No	L.G.A	Population
1.	Gombe	446,800
2.	Akko	565,000
3.	Billiri	339,400
	Total	**1,351,200**

Source: *field survey*

Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

For the purpose of this study, Multistage is employed. First, cluster sampling technique was used to divide Gombe State in three (3) Senatorial districts namely: Gombe North, Gombe Central and Gombe South and one local government area from each of senatorial district has been selected to represent the whole population. Gombe LGA, Akko and Billiri are selected by virtue of their size, population, proximity and border. Thereafter, simple random sampling technique is employed to identify respondents where every member of the population has equal chance of being selected. Interview was granted to some title holders in the selected emirates councils.

Thus, the formula given by Taro Yamane (1967) is being used to determine the sample size of this research. The formula is $n = \frac{N}{\sum 1+N(e)^2}$

Where n = sample size which is unknown

N = total population is

1= constant number

e= margin of error ±5 = 0.05

Thus:

$$n = \frac{1,351,200}{\sum +1,351,200\left(0.05\times0.05\right)^2} n = \frac{1,351,200}{1+1,351,200\times0.0025} n = \frac{1,351,200}{1+3378} n = \frac{1,351,200}{3379} n = 399$$

Sample Size Distribution

The following formula will be used determine the sample size distribution:

$$formula = \frac{\text{LGA Population}}{\text{Total Population}} \times \text{Total Sample Size}$$

Gombe LGA: 446,800÷1,351,200×399= 132

For percentage= 446,800÷1,351,200×100= 33%

Akko LGA= 565000÷1351200×399= 167

For percentage= 565000÷1351200×100= 42%

Billiri LGA= 339400÷1351200×399= 100

For percentage= 339400÷1351200×100= 25%

Selected Local Government Population, Sample Size and Percentage

S/No	L.G.A	Population	Sample size	Percentage
1.	Gombe	446,800	132	33%
2.	Akko	565,000	167	42%
3.	Billiri	339,400	100	25%
	Total	**1,351,200**	**399**	**100%**

Source: field survey.

Sources of Data

This research will rely on both Primary source and Secondary source of data. The primary data will be the data that the researcher will generate from the field while the secondary data is the published document to be consulted by the researcher.

Method and Instrument of Data Collection

Primary Sources: This is first-hand information that will be gathered using the questionnaires and interview. In other word, the primary data will be collected quantitatively and qualitatively. Oral in depth interview will be granted to some council members and stakeholders in the communities. Close-ended questionnaires will be designed following the research objectives and administered to selected areas.

Secondary sources: This is a second hand information which is already in existence. Secondary sources to be use in data collection for the purpose of this study are published materials such as textbooks, articles, journals, government publications, internet etc.

Method of Data Analysis

The data to be generated via questionnaire will be analyzed by the use of simple percentage with stables while content analysis will be adopted in analyzing the data from the interview

Data Presentation

Demographic Data of Respondents

Table 1: Age of the Respondents

Ages	Frequency	Percentage
30-40	57	14.%
40-50	69	17.%
50-60	122	31%
60+	151	38%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: *Field Study*

From table 1 above, 57 respondents representing 14% are of age 30-40 years, 69 respondents representing 17% are aged 40-50, 122 respondents constituting 31% are aged 50-60 and 151 respondents representing 38% aged 60 and above. From the above table, respondents who are aged 60 and above responded more in the field survey.

Table 2: Qualifications

Level	Frequency	Percentage
SecondaryCert.	150	37%
Tertiary Cert.	206	52%
Informal Cert.	43	11%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study.

Table 2 shows that 150 respondents representing 37% hold secondary school certificate, 206 respondents representing 52% have tertiary certificates, 43 respondents corresponding to 11% have informal education.

Table 3: Local Government Area

District	Frequency	Percentage
1. Gombe	132	33%
2. Akko	167	42%
3. Billiri	100	25%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study.

Table 3 above shows that 132 respondents constituting 33% are from Gombe, 167 respondents representing 42% are from Akko while 100 respondents representing 25% are from Billiri. This suggests that Akko local government have the highest respondents.

Table 4: Occupation of the Respondents

Status	Frequency	Percentage
Farmer	149	37%
Civil servant	95	24%
Bussiness	105	26%
Retiree	50	13%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: *Field Study*

Table 4 above shows that, 149 respondents representing 37% are farmers, 95 respondents representing 24% are civil servants, 105 respondents representing 26% hold business, and 50 respondents representing 13% are retiree. This reveals that farmers respondent more than other occupations.

Table 5: Existence of Traditional Political Institutions

Response	Frequency	Percentage
1. Yes	399	100%
2. No	0	0%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study.

In table 5 above, 399 respondents representing 100% positively responded that they are aware of the existence of traditional political institutions where none of the respondents claimed to have not known.

Table 6: In which ways do these Institutions are ensuring peaceful coexistence in Gombe State.

Mode	Frequency	Percentage
a. Sensitizing Citizens	120	30%
b. Resolving Disputes	107	27%
c. Using Religious Leaders	168	42%
d. Others	4	1%

Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study

Table 6 show that 120 respondents representing 30% believe that sensitizing citizens is the way in which these institutions are ensuring peaceful coexistence in Gombe State, to 107 respondents representing 27% is resolving disputes, 168 respondents representing 42% using religion leaders is the way while 4 respondents representing 1% believe there are other ways beside these ones.

Table 7: Do you think the coming of western Democracy had diminished the powers of these Institutions?

Response	Frequency	Percentage
1. Yes	291	73%
2. No	108	27%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study.

Table 7 above, 291 respondents representing 73% responded that the coming of western Democracy had diminished the powers of these Institutions where108 respondents representing 27% believe that it has not.

Table 8: How has the coming of Western Democracy diminished their powers

Mode	Frequency	Percentage
a. By reducing their power	122	31%
b. Establishing Institutions like police and others	109	27%
c. Making them under L.GA	168	42%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study

Table 8 show that 122 respondents representing 31% believe that the coming of western democracy diminished the powers of traditional political institutions by reducing their power, to 109 respondents representing 27% establishment of institutions like police and others diminished their powers, 168 respondents representing 42% polled that making them under local government diminished their powers.

Table 9: What do you think can be done to strengthen Traditional Political Institutions

Status	Frequency	Percentage
a. Giving them recognition in the constitution	259	65%
b. Allocating enough funds	119	30%
c. Others specify	21	5%
Total	**399**	**100%**

Source: Field Study.

In table 9 above, 259 respondents representing 65% recommended that political traditional institution should be giving recognition in the constitution, to 119 respondents representing 30% allocating enough funds to then will strengthen them, and 21 respondents representing 5% hold the opinion that other means beside the identified ones should be adopt in order to strengthen political traditional institution in Gombe State.

Discussion of Findings

Base on the field survey through administration of questionnaire and interview, it is revealed that political traditional institution exists in Gombe State prior to the coming of colonialism and western democracy. This shows that political traditional institutions are well recognized institutions with administrative responsibilities and well-coordinated, and recognize system with accountability and transparency.

It is also revealed from the data gathered in the course of this research that among the ways and roles played by political traditional institution in ensuring peace and security in Gombe state are sensitization of community members, resolving disputes, and using religious means among others. However, the research finds out that using religious means is the most prominent way used by political traditional institutions in ensuring peace and security in their communities.

It is also revealed that the coming of western democracy has diminished the powers of political traditional institution in ensuring peace and security in Gombe State. It also finds out that the powers of political traditional institution were reduced through the enforcement of many policies and democratic principles such as reducing the powers of responsibility, establishing institution like police against the existed traditional police and making them under local government authorities. However, the research finds out that making them under local government is one of the most troubling factor that diminished their powers because even the local government is battling for their autonomy as enshrined in the 1999 constitution.

Finally, among the things to be done in order to strengthen political traditional institutions in Gombe state base on the survey conducted is giving traditional institutions recognition in the constitution. This is expected to give them independence as the institution of the state with recognize powers, roles and responsibilities.

Conclusion

It has been established that traditional political institutions had been in existence for many years and that these institutions played significant role in conflict resolution and peace building. The relative peace experience in the past can be linked to the ability of these

institutions in maintaining peace. However, today, the powers of these institutions have been reduced and this might be the reason why we have been experiencing numerous security challenges in our societies.

Recommendation

Based on the findings of this study, the following are thefore recommended:

1. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria be amended to capture traditional political institutions with their recognized power of ensuring peace.

2. Enough Funds be given to traditional political institutions so as to carry on with their functions.

3. Political leaders should stop unnecessary interference in issues related to traditional institutions

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ISSUES AND CAHALLENGES CONFRONTING STUDENT-MOTHERS ENROLLED FOR NCE PROGRAMME; CASE STUDY OF GOMBE STATE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, BILLIRI

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KEYWORDS

ABSTRACT

The intertwining nature of academic is quite challenging and this is escalated with motherhood responsibilities. The academic community mainly focuses on success, development, and never-ending competition without providing necessary support. This study will investigate the issues and challenges confronting student-mothers in College of Education Billiri. It also aimed at identifying available support system for their inclusion in higher education and also provide proper solution to such challenges so as to support and encourage student-mothers enrolled in such programmed for the betterment of women in the college. The study will adopt a qualitative approach and use purposeful sampling techniques to select 22 student-mothers age 21-40 years, Drown from college of education Billiri. Data will be collected through focus group discussion and semi-structure interview. Data generated will be analyze using qualitative content analysis. Which include Personal and educational need experiences of student-mothers at both school and home settings. The length of the survey should be question that will cover personal, marital, parental and educational information. Quantic survey data is to be analyst thematically in order to arrive at a description of student-mothers' educational needs and experience. Relatively this research will investigate inclusive education measures for the student-mothers in the college. The current paper aims to address this issue. The research will be of paramount important to stakeholders like: Student-mothers, lecturers, parents, husband, and government at large in providing support services such as childcare and counselling for mothers to ensure their academic success.

Introduction

Education is believed to provide knowledge and resources that is capable for economic empowerment for betterment of life among all genders. Education is considered as the most important tool for development, poverty alleviation, improving health outcomes and quality of life, reducing gender and social disparities and enhancing economic productivity (Patricia and Esther, 2015). It also contributes to economic growth and productivity as well as sustained livelihood for national development (Rogers, 1997). The need for women to further their education especially in tertiary education must be continued to be nurtured. This will enable them to maximize the benefit of societal participation.

However, the involvement of women in continuing higher education is a new development in African communities with reference to Nigeria and specifically Gombe State. It is only small number of female were granted access to tertiary education.in developing nations. This make the number of uneducated women to be increasing since they had no access to formal education. Rather, they were subjected to all forms of discrimination and marginalization by the existing cultural and social practice, especially traditional African culture and belief. Although, during forty-first session of fourth world conference held in Beijing, the United Nation Commission on the status of women recommended further action to be taken to improve women access to education, including the mainstreaming of gender perspective in all policies and programs in the educational sector. This was aimed to improved women participation in education. However, despite this effort student-mothers are facing numerous challenges arising from child-care and balancing studies, financial difficulties, inadequate support from the school, lack of family support etc. these challenges has pose a serious threat to student-mothers in Gombe state college of education Billiri. It is against this background that the study intended to examine the issues and challenges confronting student-mothers enrolled for NCE Program in Gombe State College of Education Billiri.

Problem Statement

Married women suffer from both conflicting demands between family, motherhood and academic work. For example, child bearing and nursing time, pregnancy and academic work, which means the progress of academic work is stopped or slowed down, similarly must of the students-mothers do not have time to study because when they return from school. Their relative who voluntarily serve as baby-sitters want to be free of child odd jobs. In addition to that, the babies also want their mother's attention. This suggested that mothers who do not have full day childcare services face challenges in trying to balance childcare with academic work. Also, many educators or institutions do not give academic support to students-mothers who are in school it is suggested that the institution need knowledge regarding the problem of mother. According to Moreu and Kerner (2012), academic programs disregard the need of women during pregnancy, childbirth, maternity leave, etc. ignoring this create an atmosphere of condemnation, hence students-mothers feel their issues has not been given attention. This study is therefore relevant due to the need for inclusive education for all including student-mothers and student with special needs forming strata to encourage full participation in tertiary education for sustainable development.

Objectives

The goal of this study is to explore and determine the scholastic experience of students-mothers who were enrolled in NCE program, specifically:

i. To explore how the student-mothers take their dual role

ii. To identify the significant experience of student-mother's worth of sharing

iii. To examine the Scholastic experience of student-mothers

Literature review

The belief that education provide knowledge and skills that holds potentials for economic empowerment, better livelihood and social development has stimulated individual both male and female to enrol in tertiary institutions (**Uwakwe, 2021**). Interestingly, women can embrace the dual role of mother and student, but undertaking this two role, even in ideal condition can pull one-person in dual direction, (**Springer, Parker, and Leviten-Reid, 2009**). So,

it is important to note that combining academics and motherhood without compromising the activities of the other one is a great dilemma for student-mothers. If a student mother pays more attention to academic may affect her traditional role of motherhood, (**Visick, 2009**). Furthermore, literature has suggested that

Students-mothers face a lot of challenges which include juggling their temporal demands of being both a student and a parent of a young child. Similarly, government support in respect of student mothers in Gombe state is relatively low. Moreover, rate of dropout of such students in our tertiary institutions is high. Those that had manage to survive, their performance is relatively low too. So, balancing between study and parental role among student mothers has become a serious challenge and problem that need to be address. Springer et al. (**2009**) found that student-mothers experience unpleasant emotional pressures and receive feedback from the academic setting, implying that education is the first priority. Moreover, prejudice towards student mothers and the labelling of them as non-productive stimulate avoidance behaviours and a discriminatory allocation of educational resources to other student. Therefore, some student avoids bringing their child to school while others hide their parenting roles (**Williams, Alon, and Bornstein, 2006**) From an academic stand point bringing their child to school indicate that the student-mothers does not have the required academic drive and steps for proper development. (**Adofo, 2013**). it is against this background and problems that the current study purposed to investigate and explore the challenges confronting student-mothers in tertiary institution particularly the Gombe state colleges of education.

Methodology

The population of this study will consist of students-mothers of Gombe State College of Education Billiri.

The study will adopt a qualitative approach using purposeful sampling technique to select 22 student-mothers from the college, the participants were selected to investigate the experience of student mothers, support system and inclusiveness in colleges of education in the state. from a group of student- mothers in all the colleges of education of Gombe state. The questionnaire will be administered to a group of 22 student-mothers for statistical analysis. Question will be design base on the challenges confronting student-mothers enrolled in NCE program to elicit detail responses enabling the researcher to understand and identify key view of respondents about their need in NCE-seeking endeavors.

Data generated will be analyze using qualitative content analysis. Which include Personal and educational need experiences of student-mothers at both school and home settings. The length of the survey should be question that will cover personal, marital, parental and educational information. Qualtric survey data is to be analyst thematically in order to arrive at a description of student-mothers' educational needs and experience. The issues and Challenges Confronting student-mothers of tertiary institution of Gombe state particularly the Colleges of Education Billiri, will be examine, analyst, observed and recorded within the period of twenty-six (26) weeks. The central question during the interview will include the following;

i. What were the academic challenges you experienced as a student-mother in the college?

ii. What do you recommend should be done to address this challenges?

Result

Among the married women contacted in this study, 10% of them were between the ages of 21 and 25 years, 13.3% of them were between the ages of 26 and 30 years and 20% of them were between the ages of 31 and 36 years. Muhammad 13 Another 33.3% of the respondents were between the ages of 36 and 40 years and 16.7% of them were found to be between the ages of 41 and 45 years while 6.7% of them Were above 46 years. This indicates that majority (53.3%) of the respondents were between the ages of 31 and 40 years. Also, 20% of them are married for a period of 1 to 5 years, 50% of them had married for 6 to 10 years and 23.3% of them married for 11 to 15 years. Only 6.7% of them are married for 16 years or more. This shows that majority (73.3%) of the respondents are married for a period of 6 to 15 years. Again, 60% of the respondents have 1 to 4 children while the remaining 40% had 5 to 7 Children.

Domestic Challenges that Student-Mothers Encounter in their College Life

The married women indicated that they encounter domestic challenges as students and married women. They indicated that these challenges include the inability to do cleaning, cooking and washing for the members of their families due to the academic demands and the time that they had to spend at school. Others also mentioned the fact that there is always some misunderstanding with their husbands in connection with the time they spend with them and the children. While others mentioned that their problems are with their house mates and in-laws in connection with childcare responsibilities. Others also mentioned the way some scholars misinterpreted the effort of married women to further their education as the major problem. Here are excerpts:

- "Inability to cook and do washing for my children is my major challenge, not being able to do washing and cleaning for the children and my husband are among my major problems".

- "Lack of time to nurture the children to become disciplined individuals is my major challenge. Difficulty in taking care of the children due to my absence from home for learning activities is my major problem,"

- "There is always a misunderstanding between my husband and I on the time I spend at school instead of attending to my duties at home".

- When I come to school I do not need to think about my baby. I only stay with my baby during the night and weekends. I could leave my baby with the nanny to go to the library to study.

- There is no balance between the two roles, I play fewer roles in parenting because I am studying and my mother is the one doing more parenting. I do not see her often because of the distance. I can only see her like once every month.

- Sometimes I can be restless and do not have time to study, not in the mood for people, sometimes I have an appointment to see the doctor and end up skipping lectures. The queues were always long.

- Pregnancy did affect me, more especially in its first week, I did not attend the lectures, I was just in the hostel. I was not feeling well; I was always feeling weak. I failed some of my courses at the end. I failed some courses that are related with calculations and technology because other students made a practical task that I did not do.

Academic Challenges that Student-Mothers Encounter in the College

The responses that were obtained revealed that all the respondents had academic challenges in one way or the other. Majority noted that they had loaded academic work, inadequate time, and loaded household chores. For instance, some of them noted:

- "Loaded academic work that had to be completed within a short period of time is my major challenge" "Inadequate time to study at home was my major academic challenge". "My activities at home lead to my lateness to lectures most of the time" "I cannot concentrate during lectures due to the way I leave my home with a lot of house activities undone". One of the victims identified the challenges facing student-mothers in playing their dual roles of parenting and studying. She related how difficult it is to be a mother at one hand and student on the other hand:

- "It is not easy, sometimes when I want to plan during my SBS (School-Based Studies) the baby is crying or I need to change the nappy. I do not have much time to perform my role as a mother because I leave for home late".

- "It is not easy to be a student mother; you start to lose some friends but you just need to focus on your study. It is not that you lose them but they will not want to walk with you. When you walk alone and people are looking at you it is not easy. I am lonely and it is not easy. She further revealed that she somehow manages to find the balance with the support of her baby's nanny, her boyfriend and her father who help meeting her half way.

Causes of the Challenges that they Encounter as Student-Mothers in the College

Some of the causes of these challenges mentioned by the married students were finances, childbearing, lack of support from the spouse, societal mistreatment, lack of relatives' supports etc. For example, some students mentioned:

- - "I face the challenges due to financial constraints". Another noted: "childbearing responsibilities was the cause of my challenges". A similar thing was reported by another respondent where she said:

- - "Childbearing activities such as post- and antenatal visits to the health center were the cause of my challenges". Another said, "The spending of more time out of the home due to academic work at the school is my major challenge".

- - The other responses include: "Lack of support from my husband", "insecurity of leaving my husband alone at home who may take another woman in my absence",

- "Lack of time to care for my husband and children at home and also travelling from home to campus everyday".

- As students of a tertiary institution, the student mothers in tertiary institutions were expected to study hard to achieve their goals as the prophet encouraged s

- To seek for knowledge from time of birth to their grave. A substantial number of them stated that they do not get enough time to study, a few mentioned low academic performance, and lateness or absence from lectures. These are examples of some respondents:

- - "I do not get enough time to study on my own"

- - "Low academic performance is the way the challenges affected me academically"

- - "Low concentration during lectures, irregular attendance to lectures are my problems"

Solutions to Domestic and Academic Issues and Challenges Faced by Student-Mothers

From the responses given by the students, most of them solve their academic and domestic issues by engaging their mothers, aunties or house helps in the house to take care of their children and other domestic activities. In the case of school, they believe most of the solutions are beyond them so asked that the assignments should be

Reduced and weekend lectures should be stopped, early morning and night lectures should be shifted and student mothers should be considered. They mentioned the fact that they make some arrangements and adjustment on some house chores to make way for academic work; here are some excerpts:

- - "I had to ignore some of the house activities and problems in order to make way for school work". Others engage in group discussions to curb their academic lapses;

- - "I engage in group discussions with my friends to catch up with my lessons". Other students also get help from husbands and relatives;

- - "I ask my husband to support me and do some of the work at home when I leave for school"

- - "I get help from my husband to take care of the home in my absence"

- -"I ask my mother in-law to assist me on childcare when I had to be in the school"

- Others get support from religious leaders:

- - "I was supported by my community religious leaders to come and study medicine in the college";

- -"I will ask for help from my family members such as my mother to handle my young children during my lecture hours and ask my Islamic teacher to convince my husband in order to support me";

- - "I will tell one of my siblings to do some of the work for me in my absence at home";

- - "I will ask my husband's widowed aunt to give a
- Helping hand on my house chores"
- - "There should be an introduction of distance learning for the whole difficult courses"
- - "There should be no assignments for students on weekends so we can get sufficient time to perform our house duties"
- - "We (married women) always advice ourselves to plan to complete our secondary education before bearing children so that we can have enough time to study in tertiary level and not face similar challenges"
- - "There should be a counseling session at school to help married women cope with the stressful college life".

Discusion

Student-mothers' participation in higher education is a means of ensuring career enhancement, personal enrichment and a medium of transformation for them, their family and relatives as well as the entire humanity and promotes their liberation and empowerment in the society (Khadija, 2020). Student-mothers' involvement in education in various universities or pursuing further education is not achieved without series of challenges. The study revealed that the respondents encountered various types of challenges as they combined education with home responsibilities. It was observed that difficulty in having time to care for the members of the family, lack of time to nurture children to become disciplined individuals and difficulty in taking care of the needs of the children and husbands were among the major challenges that the respondents encountered. These challenges led to low academic performance for some of the respondents and not getting enough time to study was the challenge of others. The stress that they had to go through made other respondents to exhibit low concentration during lectures. Family problems create imbalances for the student-mothers so much that it makes their emotional state so fragile which leads to depression and distracted attention (poor concentration) at home and at their academic work. It was also observed in the study that the combination of marital responsibilities with tertiary education programs led to irregular attendance and lateness to lectures.

Lateness to and missing classes or lectures was one of the major challenges that generally mothers in tertiary institutions faced (Amina, 2020). According to Amina (2020), when a child is sick, the mother gives attention to the care of the child at the expense of her academic work. Most of the respondents have children under their care as mothers; they were bothered with the needs of their children while they pursued their tertiary education at the college. Some had to contend with childbearing situations which include pregnancy, post and antenatal visits to the hospital. Family responsibilities which include childbearing affect not only the participation in college education, but also career and professional development of student-mothers, thus preventing them in showing up their capacity and contribution to development.

Results of this study reveal that being a student mother makes it difficult to find enough time to navigate between studying and parenting. The significant difficulty for

Mothers who are students is lack of time to spend with their children, partners, extended families and friends, and to study and complete assignments. Despite all these, it is evident from the results that participants have their friends and family members supporting them to manage their dual roles. Those supporting them in this respect include extended family members, religious scholars, friends and partners.

Recommendations

In view of the above, the researcher recommends the following:

1. Financial constraint was identified to be one of the causes of the challenges of some of the Student-mothers in the college. Therefore, the three arms of government should as matter of necessity introduce a program to support student-mothers in academic life, as the main challenges experienced by female

married students is difficulty in acquiring sponsorship for their education.

2. As the student-mothers encounter so many challenges in the course of their programs, the management of the universities should restructure the content of the college programs so that they can allocate enough time for specific subjects in order to accommodate students with overburdened and too much work in a short period of time.

3. Lecturers should adopt the use of modern technological innovations by presenting some of their lectures and reading materials online so that student mothers can access them at their various locations instead of having to converge at the campus. This will enable those with marital responsibilities to cope with both the home and school activities.

4. The guidance and counseling department of the universities should intensify their activities and have special sessions to help student-mothers find ways of coping with school work and marital responsibilities. This can enable them to succeed in their academic pursuits.

It would be recommended among others that future research will take a look at challenges of student fathers in the universities and further examine it in our polytechnics and colleges of education.

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INFLUENCE OF SECURITY CHALLENGES ON STUDENT ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN COLLEGE OF EDUCATION BILLIRI, GOMBE STATE, NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS

ABSTRACT

This study is carried out on the impact of insecurity challenges on students' academic performance in College of Education Billiri, of Gombe State. The survey design and simple random sampling techniques were employed in this study. The population of the study are the 315 students of College of Education Billiri, of Gombe State, and a sample size of 152 students were randomly selected, a questionnaire (Impact of Security Challenges on Student Academic Performance in College of Education Billiri, of Gombe State) index (ISCSAP) was used as an instrument for data collection. Cronbach alpha correlation coefficient method is also used for the reliability. The researcher analyzed the responses by using mean statistics and standard deviation. Mean of 2.5 as acceptable, while below 2.5 will be rejected. The findings show law mean scores across all items indicates a widespread sense of insecurity and lack of confidence in the currents security measures, policies and personnel and the findings also indicate the security challenges in the college environment significantly affects aspects of student attendance and participation. The researchers conclude that the security challenges are not only disrupts the learning environment but also exacerbates stress and anxiety among students, further hindering their academic success. The major recommendations by the researchers are the management of the college are to invest in advanced and reliable security equipment, ensure the presence of adequately trained security personnel and implement comprehensive and effective security policies and procedures and establish counseling and psychological support services to help students manage stress and anxiety related to insecurity. Offer workshops and training sessions on coping mechanisms and resilience building.

Introduction

Education goes beyond literacy alone because for an individual, education means the provision of opportunity for him to realize his potentials, goals, and abilities in life. Education includes the acquisition of functional skills, moral identity, and ambition to succeed in life and thereby improve the society. Adeyinka and Atta, (2016), see education as having two ideas implicit in the world. One is that leading out into new knowledge and experience, the other is that of feeding and thereby growing and developing. Insecurity according to Atta, 2017; Ezeoha, 2015, Akinola, 2016; Egba and Devid, (2015) is a major challenge confronting humanity today. Challenges of insecurity are so pervasive that it dominates the news items in every mass communication media throughout the world. For instance, the whole of the Arab world has known no peace since the Al-Qaida group led by Osama Bin Ladin bombed the United States of America's World Trade Centre on the 11th of September 2001.

Security challenges in Nigeria is a recurring phenomenon that threatens the well-being of its citizens, Samuel. A. (2022). The south-west of Nigeria is plagued by a surge in cybercrime, armed robbery, kidnapping, domestic crime, extrajudicial killings, herder-farmer conflicts, ritual killings, and banditry. The south-east is haven ritual killings, commercial crime, secessionist agitation, kidnapping, herder-farmer clashes, attacks by unknown gunmen, and banditry. The south-south remains threatened by militancy, kidnapping, and environmental agitation. Meanwhile, the north-west is enmeshed in illegal mining, ethnoreligious killings, and banditry. The north-east has been subject to a humanitarian crisis lasting over a decade and caused by the Boko Haram insurgency. Gombe State is among the six state that are located in the northeast part of Nigeria, also, Billiri Local Government Area is among the eleven local Government areas in Gombe northeast part of Nigeria. It is, therefore, that security challenges in Nigeria has assumed a soft spot in political stance and that it has claimed thousands of lives and extensive damage and loss of property.

Statement of the Problem

Recently major stakeholders in Education such as government, industries, communities, parents, schools even students and many others have been lamenting over the poor quality of Nigerian students in both learning and character suggesting a poor academic performance. Researchers and authors have speculated reasons for the failure on the part of the Nigerian students in colleges including those in the college of education Billiri Gombe state to acquire the necessary social, psychological and academic skills to cope with demands of life and living in and outside the school. Their findings and suggestions tend to point at those issues which tend to waste students' time and then have false notions about true life situations. Others have focused on teaching and learning materials as well as students themselves. An area that seems to have been neglected by past researchers is the effect security challenges of school environment will have on the academic performance of the Colleges, Educators have long emphasized that many students perform poorly in their academic work not because they do not possess the mental ability to do well. An area that seems to have been neglected by researchers is the issue of security challenges of the school environment and the effect it could have on the academic performance of the students.

According to Ojukwu and Nwanma (2015), since the inception of democracy in Nigeria in 1999 security challenges has become a major issue of concern to every citizen. On a daily basis the media has continued to highlight and discuss incessant cases of armed robbery, kidnapping, bombings, abductions, rape, cultic activities and a high rise in ethnic and communal clashes, which have become regular occurrences and have characterized life in Nigeria (Nwangwa, 2014). Media report are awash with the number of lives lost as a result of terrorist, insurgent and other attacks that seem to be alarming. As if some places in the country can be walled off from the negative impact of insecurity, our institutions have also become hot spots where cases of security challenges are recorded (Ojukwu & Nwanma, 2015). The main interest, motivation and problem of this study therefore is to investigate the influence of security challenges on student's academics performance in College of Education Billiri, Gombe stata, Nigeria.

Purpose of the Study

The main focus of this study is to examine the impact of insecurity on students' academics performances in College of Education Billiri, Gombe State. Specifically, it seeks:

i. To determine the extent and prevalence of security challenges in College of Education Billiri, Gombe State.

ii. To ascertain security challenges level in the school environment and its influence on students' class attendance in College of Education Billiri, Gombe State.

iii. To find out the influence of security challenges in the school environment on students' concentration and motivation towards learn in College of Education Billiri, Gombe state.

Research Questions

i. To examine the extent and prevalence of security challenges in college of education Billiri, Gombe State?

ii. To what extent do security challenges in the school's environment that affect students' class attendance in college of education, Billiri, Gombe state?

iii. How do security challenges in the school's environment, affect students' concentration and motivation to learning in College of Education Billiri, Gombe State?

Methodology

Population of the study

The population of this study is all the students of College of Education Billiri, Gombe State, with a total number of three hundred and fifteen students (315).

Sample Size

In this study, From the total population of 315, the researcher uses the 152 as a sample, **Result** 95% margin error of 5.0% using research advisor table of sample size. (2006)

Sampling Technique

Simple random sampling techniques will be use; it is a sampling techniques that gives equals opportunities/chance for every member of the population to be selected.

Instrument for Data Collection

The instrument for data collection is the questionnaire title, Impact of Security Challenges on Student Academic Performance in College of Education Billiri, Gombe State. (ISCSAP). The items were developed by the researcher from the review of related literatures. The questionnaire will be made of six (6) sections, section A will be made up of the biodata of the respondent, section B to F will be design on a four (4) Likert scale of Strongly agree (SA), Agree (A), Strongly Disagree (SD), and Disagree (D), each section will be made up of five (5) items, Section B will be made to answer question one (1), section C will be made to answer question two (2), section D will be made to answer question three (3), section E will be made to answer four (4), section F will be made to answer question five(5).

Validity and Reliability of the Study

To ascertain the face validity of the Questionnaire, the items were given to 3 experts,

of Education research in the college and one of the is from the measurement and evaluation unit. They are requested to correct any mistakes such as ambiguous or unclear statements, wrongly conceived ideas, missing information, and other observed errors. Their corrections and comments are going to be use by researcher to modify the questionnaire.

Method of Data Analysis

The data collected was subjected to appropriate quantitative and qualitative analysis using basic descriptive statistics including frequency count, means and percentages.

Table 1.1: Demographic information of the respondents

S/N	Sex of the Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
	Male	82	53.9
	Female	70	46.1
	Total	152	100.0
1	**class/level of students**		
	NCI	32	21.1
	NC2	77	50.7
	NC3	43	28.3
	Total	152	100.0
2	**Age of the Respondents**		
	18- 25	84	55.3
	26-35	55	36.2
	36- 45	8	5.3
	46- above	5	3.3
	Total	152	100.0
2	**School/faculty**		
	School Science		
	School Education	33	21.7
	School ECCE/PED	39	25.7
	School Art and social science	37	24.3
	School Language	43	28.3
	Total	152	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2024.

Discussion

The demographic information presented in Table 1.1 provides a detailed overview of the respondents' characteristics in the study conducted at the College of Education Billiri, Gombe State. This data is crucial for understanding the context of the study and ensuring that the sample is representative of the population.

Gender Distribution

The table indicates that the respondents were almost evenly split by gender, with males comprising 53.9% (n=82) and females making up 46.1% (n=70). This near parity in gender distribution is beneficial for the study as it allows for a balanced perspective on how insecurity affects both male and female students. Research has shown that gender can influence students' perceptions and experiences of insecurity in educational settings (Fisher & Sloan, 2013).

Academic Level

The respondents are distributed across three levels of their National Certificate in Education (NCE) program. The largest group is NC2 students, who make up 50.7% (n=77) of the sample, followed by NC3 students at 28.3% (n=43) and NCI students at 21.1% (n=32). This distribution ensures that insights are gathered from students at different stages of their education, which can help identify if and how the impact of insecurity varies with academic progression. Previous studies have indicated that students' academic level can significantly influence their academic performance and their coping mechanisms in response to insecurity (Hernandez & Seemiller, 2019).

Age Distribution

The age distribution shows that the majority of respondents (55.3%, n=84) are between 18-25 years old. This is followed by the 26-35 age group (36.2%, n=55), the 36-45 age group (5.3%, n=8), and those aged 46 and above (3.3%, n=5). The predominance of younger respondents is typical in educational institutions and reflects the age at which most individuals pursue higher education. Age can be a significant factor in how students perceive and are affected by insecurity, with younger students often being more vulnerable to its impacts (Masten et al., 2012).

School/Faculty Distribution

The distribution of respondents across different schools/faculties shows a relatively even spread, with the School of Language having the highest representation at 28.3% (n=43), followed by the School of ECCE/PED at 25.7% (n=39), the School of Art and Social Science at 24.3% (n=37), and the School of Education at 21.7% (n=33). This variety ensures that the study captures diverse perspectives from different academic disciplines, which is important because the experience and impact of insecurity can vary across different fields of study (Astin, 1993).

The demographic data indicates a well-rounded and diverse sample, which is critical for the reliability and generalizability of the study's findings. Understanding the demographic background of respondents helps in contextualizing their responses and identifying potential demographic variables that may influence the relationship between insecurity and academic performance.

Table 1.2: To know the extent in which prevalence of insecurity and possible solution among schools

s/n	Items	Mean	Std.	Remark
PR1	Student have very good security in the college	1.3684	.65795	Rejected
PR2	The security policies and the procedure of the college is effective	2.0658	.57164	Accepted
PR3	College security staff are performing effectively	2.0066	1.30459	Accepted

PR4	The security equipment of the college is adequate	2.0921	.82474	Accepted
PR5	Student are not disturb about security challenges in the college.	1.9803	.93830	Rejected

Source: filed survey, 2024

Discussion

Table 1.2 presents the analysis of students' perceptions of security and the effectiveness of security measures at the College of Education Billiri, Gombe State. The table includes five items related to security, each with a mean score and standard deviation (Std.), providing insights into the extent of perceived insecurity and the efficacy of potential solutions.

Students' Perception of Security (PR1)

The low mean score (1.3684) indicates that students generally do not feel that they have very good security in the college. This suggests a high prevalence of insecurity, as the mean score is closer to "Strongly Disagree" on the Likert scale. The relatively low standard deviation (0.65795) implies that most students share this perception, indicating a consensus on the inadequacy of security.

Effectiveness of Security Policies and Procedures (PR 2)

With a mean score of 2.0658, students perceive the security policies and procedures as ineffective. This score, closer to "Disagree," points to a dissatisfaction with how security is managed at the college. The low standard deviation (0.57164) suggests that this view is commonly held among students.

Performance of Security Staff (PR 3)

The mean score of 2.0066 indicates that students do not find the college security staff to be performing effectively. The higher standard deviation (1.30459) shows more variability in students' responses, suggesting differing opinions on the effectiveness of the security personnel. This variability could be due to different experiences or encounters with security staff.

Adequacy of Security Equipment (PR 4)

Students feel that the security equipment at the college is inadequate, as reflected by the mean score of 2.0921. This score, again closer to "Disagree," indicates a perceived lack of sufficient security tools and infrastructure. The standard deviation of 0.82474 indicates some variation in responses, though not extensive.

Concern About Security Challenges (PR 5)

The mean score of 1.9803 suggests that students are concerned about security challenges in the college, as the score is near "Disagree" for the statement that students are not disturbed by security challenges. This indicates a high level of concern among students about their safety. The standard deviation of 0.93830 reflects moderate variability in responses, showing that while most students are concerned, the degree of concern varies.

Implications for the Study

The results in Table 1.2 highlight a significant issue with the perception of security among students at the College of Education Billiri. The consistently low mean scores across all items indicate a widespread sense of insecurity and a lack of confidence in the current security measures, policies, and personnel. These findings are crucial for the administration and policymakers to consider when developing and implementing strategies to improve security.

The perception of insecurity among students can have detrimental effects on their academic performance and overall well-being. As noted by Astor et al. (2013), a safe and secure learning environment is fundamental for effective learning and student success. When students feel unsafe, their ability to concentrate and engage in academic activities is compromised (Brock et al., 2018). Therefore, addressing these security concerns is essential for fostering a conducive educational environment.

Table 1.3: To identify the insecurity in the school's environment that affect students' class attendance.

s/n	Items	Mean	Std.	Remark
ICE1	Student attendance in class is reducing due to the insecurity in the college environs.	1.5395	.79636	Accepted
ICE2	Insecurity in the college environs make the students not to performs their extra curriculum activities	2.0461	.68415	Accepted
ICE3	Some students left the college due to the classes due to the insecurity in the college environs	2.1711	.77866	Accepted
ICE4	Students are coming very late to the classes due to insecurity in the college environs	2.2303	1.01296	Accepted
ICE5	Students are coming very late to the classes due to insecurity in the college environs.	1.3026	.57589	Accepted

Source: field survey, 2024.

Discussion

Table 1.3 presents data on the impact of insecurity in the school's environment on students' class attendance at the College of Education Billiri, Gombe State. The table includes mean scores and standard deviations for five items, with all items marked as "Accepted," indicating that students generally agree with the statements.

Analysis of the Items

Student attendance in class is reducing due to the insecurity in the college environs (ICE1)
Mean: 1.5395 Standard Deviation: 0.79636.

The low mean score suggests that students strongly agree that insecurity is causing a reduction in class attendance. A moderate standard deviation indicates that there is some variability in responses, but the general consensus is clear. This aligns with research showing that fear for personal safety can significantly reduce school attendance (Buhs, Ladd, & Herald, 2006).

Insecurity in the college environs makes the students not perform their extracurricular activities (ICE2)
Mean: 2.0461, Standard Deviation: 0.68415.

The mean score indicates that students agree insecurity impacts their participation in extracurricular activities. The relatively low standard deviation suggests that most students share this view. Extracurricular activities are vital for holistic education and personal development, and their reduction can adversely affect students' college experience (Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003).

Some students left the college due to the classes due to the insecurity in the college environs (ICE3)
Mean: 2.1711, Standard Deviation: 0.77866.

The mean score indicates that students agree with the statement, suggesting that insecurity has driven some students to leave the college. The standard deviation indicates moderate variability in responses. High dropout rates due to insecurity can undermine educational attainment and the institution's reputation (Rumberger, 2011).

Students are coming very late to the classes due to insecurity in the college environs (ICE3)
Mean: 2.2303 Standard Deviation: 1.01296.

The mean score shows agreement that insecurity causes students to arrive late to classes. The high standard deviation suggests significant variability, indicating that while many students are affected, the extent varies. Tardiness due to security concerns can disrupt learning and affect academic performance (Gottfried, 2010).

Students are coming very late to the classes due to insecurity in the college environs (ICE3)
Mean: 1.3026, Standard Deviation: 0.57589.

This item, which appears to be a duplicate of the fourth, again shows strong agreement that insecurity causes tardiness. The low mean and standard deviation suggest a high level of agreement and consistency among student responses.

Discussion

The data from Table 1.3 clearly indicates that insecurity in the college environment significantly affects various aspects of student attendance and participation. The findings suggest that students are not only missing classes but also avoiding extracurricular activities and, in some cases, leaving the institution altogether. This can have profound implications for their academic success and overall development.

Summary

The study conducted at the College of Education Billiri, Gombe State, provides significant insights into the impact of insecurity on students' academic performance, concentration, and motivation. The demographic analysis indicates a balanced and diverse sample, ensuring the reliability of the findings. Students reported feeling unsafe, perceiving the security measures as inadequate, and experiencing negative impacts on their academic engagement due to insecurity.

Conclusion

The study underscores the significant impact of insecurity on students' academic performance, concentration, and motivation at the College of Education Billiri, Gombe State. Insecurity not only disrupts the learning environment but also exacerbates stress and anxiety among students, further hindering their academic success. Addressing these issues through enhanced security measures, psychological support, student engagement, and gender-sensitive interventions is crucial for creating a safe and conducive learning environment. By implementing these recommendations, the college can help ensure that students can focus on their studies without the added burden of insecurity, ultimately improving their academic outcomes and overall well-being.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following recommendations are proposed to address the issues of insecurity and its impact on students' academic performance:

1. Invest in advanced and reliable security equipment, ensure the presence of adequately trained security personnel and implement comprehensive and effective security policies and procedures.

2. Establish counseling and psychological support services to help students manage stress and anxiety related to insecurity. Offer workshops and training sessions on coping mechanisms and resilience building.

3. Involve students in security planning and decision-making processes to empower them and address their specific concerns and create platforms for students to voice their security concerns and suggestions.

4. Implement programs that specifically address the unique needs and challenges faced by female students in insecure environments.

5. Ensure that gender-specific concerns are taken into account in all security measures and support services.

6. Regularly communicate with students about the steps being taken to improve security and how they can contribute to a safer environment.

7. Provide clear guidelines and protocols for students to follow in case of security threats.

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INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND THE CURTAILMENT OF RAPE IN NIGERIA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

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KEYWORDS
Rape, women, International Conventions, domestication, Nigeria

ABSTRACT
Rape has become a menace across the globe. Nations are utilizing both local and international instruments to combat the epidemic. Despite the existence of numerous legal frameworks and agreements designed to address sexual violence, the prevalence of rape remains alarmingly high in many parts of the world. The hazard is much more worrisome in climes such as Africa, with the high incidences of rape that occur on a daily basis. In Nigeria where national instruments for maintaining law and order appear inefficient following the continues surge of crimes and violence across the nation, there have been recent calls for international interventions. Nigeria is signatory to such international conventions for eradicating violence against women with the hope that such efforts will further boost its effort in combating sexual violence in the country. This article delves into the multifaceted landscape of efforts aimed at curbing the scourge of rape on a global scale, with a particular focus on the impact of international conventions. Utilizing the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, this study engaged survey design to interrogate the efficacy of international conventions in combating the endemic scourge of rape in Nigeria. The study engaged survey design with the use of questionnaires and interviews to gather data which Data gathered were analysed and triangulated with secondary data. The study revealed that Nigeria being a signatory to the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women is mainly just on paper with international convention having significant impact in a coordinated coalition against rape in the country. The study therefore recommended the strengthening of existing laws on rape in order to act as some deterrence mechanism to would-be offenders.

Introduction

Rape, as a heinous crime against humanity, continues to inflict profound suffering on individuals and communities worldwide, transcending geographical, cultural, and socio-economic boundaries. It has become not just a challenge in most regions of the world but a recurring practice as every single moment one person or the other suffers this assault. This act apart from infringing on the rights of individuals traumatizes and consigns the victims to a state of depression (Eriksson, 2011). It is common knowledge that victims of rape are often in a world of their own as they are humiliated, intimidated, and often made to face embarrassment and scorn whenever their dilemma becomes public knowledge. While there is the contention that rape is a gender-neutral crime, it is worrisome to state that most of its victims are women while quite a significant number of rapists are men (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). Studies have revealed that the female gender is always presumed to be the victim of rape incidents. This is because women have been numerically more victims of this type of sexual violence in the past. Furthermore, while the narrative is often skewed in the direction of forced sexual intercourse outside marriage, there is the perpetuation of rape within the confines of marriage which goes to show the multifaceted dimensions of rape. Despite concerted efforts to combat this pervasive form of violence, its prevalence remains distressingly high, underscoring the urgent need for a critical examination of existing strategies

International conventions have emerged as pivotal instruments in the global fight against rape, aiming to establish legal frameworks, promote accountability, and safeguard the rights of survivors. International conventions and agreements have undeniably played a crucial role in raising awareness about rape as a human rights violation and establishing legal frameworks for addressing it. However, the extent to which these conventions have curtailed rape has been a subject of academic debate. For instance, Chinkin (2017) argued that while they have certainly made significant strides in advancing the global discourse on sexual violence and providing a basis for legal action, their effectiveness in actually reducing instances of rape remains at the front burner of intellectual discourse. Davidson (2017) on the other hand noted that despite the challenges of forming concerted efforts, international conventions have had a positive impact by fostering collaboration among nations, promoting accountability, and creating norms against sexual violence.

Nigeria is a signatory to a plethora of conventions on the abolition of rape and all forms of sexual violence with one of the most notable of it being the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, it is mind-boggling to observe that it seems that this vice is increasing rather than decreasing. It is worrisome to state that empirical evidence from various research studies and official crime statistics paints a troubling picture of the increasing prevalence of rape in Nigeria (Peters & Oluwa, 2010; Dawodu & Amadasun, 2021; Uche & Azuonwu, 2022; Aborisade, et 'al, 2024). For instance, between the years 2001 and 2005, there were about 10,079 rape cases reported in Lagos state Nigeria (Peters & Oluwa, 2010). Adediran (2021) also reported that a total of 678 cases of rape were recorded in 2021 with 91 cases from Lagos state. Similarly, the Nigerian Bureau of Statistics (NBS) Crime Statistics Report for 2020 noted an upward trend in reported cases of rape and sexual assault compared to previous years (NBS, 2020). This alarming research findings are clear pointers to the frequency and intensity of its spread and occurrence in the Nigerian state.

In light of these realities, it is imperative to critically assess the impact of international conventions in curtailing rape, interrogating their impact on the trajectory of rape prevention and response in Nigeria. By unpacking the complex interplay of factors shaping the effectiveness of these conventions, valuable insights can be gleaned and implementation gaps can be identified and chart a course for future action. This represents the central idea of this study as it aims to examine the rate of rape prevalence in Lagos state, Nigeria, and the extent to which international conventions specifically, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women have helped to curtail it with a specific focus on Lagos State. It must be reiterated that rape is an infringement of human rights with most victims being women and despite being a signatory to conventions such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW), especially on rape prevention amongst other acts of sexual violence, rape incidences in Nigeria seem

to be on the increase (Equalitynow, 2017). It is due to the many issues surrounding this that this study intends to investigate the subject of rape and international conventions with a specific focus on Lagos State, Nigeria.

Literature Review

The issue of rape has been seen as a universal phenomenon as both the developing and developed world continues to record increasing cases of rape (Perkins & Klaus, 1996). The World Health Organization defines rape as "physically forced or otherwise coerced penetration – even if slight – of the vulva or anus, using a penis, other body parts or an object," represents a gross violation of human rights and dignity. This definition specifies what constitutes rape helps in understanding the actions that are considered rape. It also covers various scenarios where rape can occur, such as penetration with different body parts or objects. Moreover, the definition implicitly highlights the importance of consent by emphasizing that any form of penetration, even if slight, without consent constitutes rape. Its emphasis on rape as gross violation of human rights and dignity is crucial in recognizing the profound impact that rape has on survivors and the broader societal implications. While the definition is comprehensive, it's worth considering its applicability in various legal jurisdictions. Definitions of rape can vary significantly between countries and legal systems, so while this definition may be suitable for public health and awareness purposes, it might not fully align with legal definitions in some contexts. It is therefore crucial to remain attentive to potential cultural, legal, and contextual differences in interpretation and application. As observed by Tjaden and Thoennes (2006), the consequences of ripple far beyond individual victims, reverberating through families, communities, and societies at large. They noted that survivors often grapple with profound trauma, physical injuries, psychological distress, and social stigma, while perpetrators evade accountability, perpetuating cycles of impunity and injustice.

Davidson (2017) examine the changing landscape of rape laws in the United States and internationally, comparing the focus on consent in the US with the focus on coercion in international criminal law. The methodology of the research involves an analysis of U.S. law on rape and sexual assault, the evolution of the International Criminal Law (ICL) of rape, and the emergence of a rape definition. The research also examines the potential problems of overbreadth and the impracticability of adopting the international criminal coercion test in U.S. rape law. These findings highlight the complexities and nuances of defining and addressing issues of consent and coercion in the context of rape and sexual assault, both domestically and in international criminal law. Similarly, Chinkin (1994) appraised the twin acts of violence against women (sexual violence and rape), from the prism of international law. He posits that whenever there is an act of insecurity or full-blown hostility, women are often at the receiving end as they are victimized sexually. References are made to conflicts such as the 1990 Kuwaiti invasion, The Rwandan and South American civil conflicts amongst others. Rape is referred to as a major instrument of warfare with unpleasant consequences or aftermaths such as the danger of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, and deaths amongst other detrimental outcomes. The adequacy of international legal remedies and their sufficiency for this monstrous challenge confronting the globe in various degrees are questioned. The sad reality of having reactive measures is bemoaned while a remedy is sought in other to stem this ugly tide.

In other words, rape is not time or location specific nor are its operations confined to a specific geographic border. Suffice it to say that it is a borderless form of violence (Chukwuka & Kitause, 2014). The dynamic form of this aberration has prompted several states e.g., the United States of America & her British counterpart to revisit rape-related laws (Ashiru & Orifowomo, 2015). It is appalling to state that a significant proportion of young people especially of the female stock had their first sexual encounter through rape rather than of their own volition (WHO & Pan American Health Organization, 2022). There is also rape within the precincts of marriage known and referred to as intimate partner rape. This kind of rape which is between spouses is carried out in the family setting.

Previously, rape did not receive condemnation in some climes where women were perceived as acquired properties devoid of rights (Resource sharing project, 2021). Rape became more entrenched as an act of subjugation, repression, and oppression against its victims in the 11th& 12th centuries (Bishop, 2018). This led to a coordinated response by all and sundry against the menace as people began

to form coalitions to confront the scourge headlong. Since then, a plethora of efforts has been made on the international front with the sole objective of ending the scourge of rape. For instance, in 1971 having been victims of continuous and persistent rape, women in Philadelphia founded a group referred to as women organized against rape. With their main objective is to terminate all forms of sexual violence by offering specialized treatment to victims, regularly organizing educational and sensitization programs, and advocating for the right of victims among several other activities. Rape is not just an insidious practice but a cruel one that deserves the highest penalty in any clime or jurisdiction. Hence, it is worthy of note that there is barely any legal system that does not condemn this act (Ahmad, 2014). It is, however, sad to state that amongst the factors militating against attempts to terminate rape in this clime are lack of access to expedited justice, insufficient information on preventive measures to take to avoid being raped, compromise by law enforcement officers, paucity of data on rape victims amongst others.

The need for a review of laws on rape engagement, carrying out more sensitization and enlightenment campaigns among others cannot be over-emphasized. In addition, beyond the narratives, every citizen should be trained in basic martial arts so as to help them resist any attempts at being raped or abused, while health workers must probe further to get information from victims who might not want to report to the law enforcement officials due to fear of stigmatization from the public.

With incidences of sexual violence and rape assuming an international dimension, the need for conventions to be put in place for the purpose of checkmating this scourge has become more expedient now than in the past. It is pertinent to state that over the years, several conventions have been put in place with the objective of defeating this vice. One of such conventions is the declaration on the elimination of violence against women. The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) is a convention proclaimed in 1993 by the general assembly of the United Nations vide resolution 48/104. Its core objective is to secure a coordinated response by states of the world with a view to putting in place measures to stem the tide of violence against women. This convention is not the first of its kind in the international system as in the year 1979, there was the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The DEVAW apart from condemning this anomaly prescribes and proscribes punitive measures to be meted out to offenders.

Across the globe, incidences of rape are occurring more frequently than ever. While the increase in social media usage can be blamed for this aberration, there are other factors that can continue to contribute to the spike and hike in this activity. While the searchlight has always been beamed on the Global South with the assumption that these less developed societies are the hotbed of rape, this assertion cannot be said to be totally true as there seems an incremental growth in most developed countries on rape cases. This is even worse when the majority of rape cases are presumed to be unreported. The prevalence of rape cases in these countries leaves people confused about what domain rape can be categorized into, whether an acceptable lifestyle or a deviant behavioral pattern.

For Nigeria, the problem of rape is multidimensional, multi-pronged, and multifaceted. Hence, it is thus very difficult to pinpoint a single cause of rape as there are a plethora of factors responsible for its perpetuation and sustenance. To capture the essence of this discourse, we are appraising rape in France, India, the United States, and Brazil from the prism of their casual factors, legislations, and prevalence with a view to providing a platform for interrogating the rape phenomenon in Nigeria.

Consent before sex in the Indian state seems outmoded with the alarming rape statistics emanating from the region. One thing that stands out rape in India is the occurrence of gang rape which involves a group of people teaming up to sexually assault their victim. With this obnoxious activity becoming more entrenched, it thus seems there is no correlation between the incidence, prevalence, and consequences of rape in India. To buttress the state of affairs in this country, reports suggest a girl is raped every twenty minutes in India (Kamdar, Kosambiya, Chawada, Verma & Kadia, 2017).

Brazil's experience in the global rape conundrum has not fared any better as its plight has been further exacerbated by the supposed nexus between rape perpetuation and alcohol consumption (Massaro, Adesse, Laranjeira,

Caetano &Madruga, 2019). Reports have it that a rape case is reported every eleven minutes (Drybread, 2020). This depicts the intensity and frequency of this sexual infraction and aberration in the country.

In the United States, rape is becoming more entrenched by the day with statistics showing that one in four women are raped in their lifetime (Campbell & Wasco, 2005). The occurrence of rape in the United States is worrisome as most women in the country are raped at a very early age (Tjaden& Thoennes, 2000). The alarming rate at which rape takes place is a clear pointer to the unsafe state of the United States with respect to rape occurrences and puts to rest the long-held assumption or presumption that rape is more likely to occur in under-developed or less developed regions of the world.

There is a belief that the resurgence of rape in the United States is a function of the porosity of anti-rape laws in that country. While this might demand some level of intellectual debate or interrogation, we make bold to state that the non-availability of stringent legislation, strong enough to deter perpetrators of rape in the United States cannot be divorced from the fact that a significant number of lawmakers in the country are men while a vast number of victims are women. Hence, the inability of these lawmakers to appreciate the magnitude of damage this can cause to the victims (Missirian&Kulow, 2019). This gap noticed in the US legal system cuts across nations of the globe as there is a fundamental need to revisit existing rape laws globally in other to drastically reduce incidences of rape. Therefore, to forestall the occurrence of rape in the United States, most states in the country have a standing sexual assault response team (Clifton, 2020).

Rape figures in France are equally alarming and surging by the day. In the year 2020, out of the 49,000 incidences of sexual violence over 46 % of them were rape cases. Hence, as a way of checkmating its occurrence, article 222-23 of the French penal code prescribes 15 years' imprisonment for acts of rape (Statista, 2022), while spousal rape in the French nation irrespective of the circumstances under which it is committed is treated very sternly. Having amended the law in 2006, spousal rape is considered more seriously and sternly punished than rape involving strangers. To discourage the practice of rape, article 222-26 of the French penal code prescribes life imprisonment for perpetrators when rape is a product of torture or barbarianism (Bensussan, 2009).

Also, rape has become endemic and entrenched in the Nigerian state (Omoniyi, 2017). This is so because at different levels, there is perpetuation of rape in the state, hence, the spike in rape incidences in Nigeria (UNICEF, 2020). Just within the years 2001 to 2005 there were 10,000 reported cases of rape in the country (Peter &Olowa, 2010). Within the years 2010 to 2019, a record of over 12 million rape incidences have been reported (RAINN, 2022). The situation has degenerated to a point that Nigeria is touted to be closely contesting with India as a very dangerous clime for females of all age bracket to inhabit (UNICEF & WHO, 2020). The preponderance and prevalence of rape in this clime can be blamed on a plethora of factors.

The practice of rape seems to be subtly becoming an acceptable culture in some countries due to the rising wave of occurrences per time. Amaka-Okafor (2013), alludes to this position as she holds the view that rape is no doubt entrenched in the Nigerian state (Amaka-Okafor, 2013). The statistics of rape are quite frightening with Nigeria said to have incremental rate of rape cases on a yearly basis, it will not be out of place to refer to the rape scourge as a silent epidemic. This is because the nature and extent of rape in the Nigerian state calls for an emergency. According to Oladapo and Oyekunle (2017), rape is one of the major safety issues women in Lagos state face. Fatusi and Alatise (2006), report incidences of rape and murder by family members. This goes to buttress our earlier arguments that while it is often very easy for us to point accusing fingers at the society, it is imperative to look inwards as the decline in family values seems to be a major precipitant for this hike, spike or ultimately proliferation of such incidences in this clime (Fatusi, &Alatise, 2006).

Methodology

A cross-sectional survey design was used for this study as it allows the researcher to scrutinize the data obtained effectively. According to Maninder (2016), a cross-sectional survey design allows for the description, analytics, interpretations, and inferences of research findings. The topic highlights two variables which are rape and the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women

with the independent variable being the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women and the dependent variable being rape. Data were collected using questionnaire and in-depth interviews. The sample population for this study was drawn from Ikeja local government area in Lagos State estimated at 861,300 inhabitants (City population, 2020). Data shows that Ikeja is part of the top three local government areas that has the highest number of rape cases reported among the 20 local government areas in Lagos State (Afolabi & Nwannekanma, 2021). Kress and Morgan sample size determination table was used to determine the sample size of the study (Krejcie, & Morgan, 1970). By the table the sample size of a population of 1000000 is 384. For purpose of ensuring that the sample size accurately represented the population, 384 was picked as the sample size for the study.

Result and Discussion of Finding

This research examines the extent to which international conventions such as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) have helped to curtail incidence of rape in Nigeria. This makes this study significant despite many scholarly works on the issue of rape in Nigeria (Thornhill & Palmer, 2000; Wise, 2012; Ochab, 2021).

Fig.1. Analysis of theeffectiveness of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) in Reducing the incidences of Rape in Lagos State

S/N	Statement	SA		A		N		D		SD		Total
		F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F (%)
1	Level of awareness of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW)	92	27.1	122	35.9	68	20	52	15.3	6	1.8	340 (100%)
2	The extent to which The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) has assisted in reducing incidences of rape	38	11.2	62	18.2	162	47.6	72	21.2	6	1.8	340 (100%)
3	The effectiveness ofDeclaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) is reducing rape	30	8.8	72	21.2	152	44.7	78	22.9	8	2.4	340 (100%)

Source: Field Survey (2022)

Taking into account the relevance and centrality of international conventions in the global fight against rape in Lagos State, research respondents were asked to confirm their awareness of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW). A large

number of them, about 122 expressed their knowledge of the existence of such. This large figure of those with knowledge of the subject matter was attributed to 35.9% of the population, while 92 of them representing 27.1% strongly agreed with the statement made. Despite this large figure assenting to the statement posed, 68 of them, representing about 20% maintained a neutral position while 52 (15.3%) of the total respondents disagreed followed by 6 (1.8%), strongly disagreedwith it. This goes to show, that quite a significant number of individuals are aware of DEVAW.

When asked if the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) has assisted in reducing incidences of rape in Lagos State, the response pattern changed significantly with 162 (47.6%), the largest figure recorded in this segment choosing to be neutral, 62 (18.2%) agreeing to the assertion,38 (11.2%) strongly agreeing, 72 (21.2%) disagreeing and 6 (1.85) strongly disagreeing. The feedback garnered from this question is a clear pointer to the inadequacies or inability of these conventions to stem the tide of rape. This awkward state of affairs apart from being worrisome is a call for more engagement by policymakers, opinion leaders, and others to take the bull by the horn and ensure these conventions play the role they are meant to.

The last question though closely related to the previous differs from it as it looks at the efficacy of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) in reducing rape in Lagos. In response to this question, 30 respondents agreed to the position put forward representing 8.5% of the total population. This was supported by 72 participants (21.2%) as they agreed it was effective in reducing rape occurrences in Lagos. A large number of respondents were neutral on the subject matter as they were unaware of his convention. Their numerical figure was capped at 152 with a percentage of 44.7%. On the other side of the divide were 78 participants who disagreed with a percentage of 22.9 and strongly disagreed with a population of 8 representing 2.4%.

Respondents were also asked if the declaration has been able to reduce the incidences of rape in Lagos State. One of the respondents stated that the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) which Nigeria is a signatory to has not been domesticated in the entire 36 states of the federation. Hence, they are often localized in the federal capital territory. Others however differed in their viewpoint by stating that though it has been helpful, there is a need for more work to be done with respect to making the conventions more effective in this clime. Others opined that the state was trying to work with the declaration by way of public enlightenment through creating platforms for proper data generation of rape victims. Few others feel that Nigeria's signatory to the convention is just paperworkthat does not hold water as incidences of rape continue to accentuate rather than reduce.

Interviews were conducted to findout from the sampled population, Ways the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) can Assist in Rape prevention in Lagos State, Nigeria. According to one of the interviewees, international conventions, laws, and declarations such as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) will be ineffective unless there are effective law enforcement and judicial structures in place to make sure the laws are being carried out. Rape perpetrators should be punished for their crime in order to deter future occurrences if not, not only will the criminals be moving on the street committing more crimes there would also be more people that would commit the crime.

One of the interviewees affirmed that an achievable and detailed rape prevention strategy framework should be developed in line with the provisions of the convention alongsidean effective implementation plan. For another respondent, the declaration has been created and the country has also signed, what should be done is the government should work hand in hand with agencies to make sure the laws and the declaration are being carried out. Another interviewee argued that the declaration cannot do much in a state or country that does not make it a priority or make it important for the laws to be carried out. A way the declaration can help or assist is for a body of officials to be created that would visit from time to time to make sure these laws are actually being implemented in countries that are signatories of the declaration.

Lagos State Government has been trying to implement the laws stated in this declaration by educating youths and creating platforms for rape cases to be reported but the problem still stands that the state is not putting in enough

effort to apprehend and penalize these criminals. It was argued that if this is not addressed, the cases would keep rising and cases would keep getting reported. The goal isn't to just provide means for reporting and recovering but to also put an end to the crime as a whole. Similarly, an interviewee noted that Nigeria is a signatory to the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women is mainly just on paper because there are reports and cases of rape every day and it doesn't seem like the government or any international convention plays any significant role in trying to curb this crime and the families of these victims and society at large makes it even easier for the cases to remain unreported. This finding is in agreement with Abimbola, Ehiane and Tandlich (2023) which observed that Nigerian women have been subjected to different kinds of norms, cultural and religious practices which have continued to violate their rights despite the country's signatory to international laws aimed at protecting women's right. It is therefore conclusive from the findings of both the quantitative and qualitative analysis that Nigeria being a signatory to international conventions on rape such as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) has not helped to reduce the incidences of rape in Lagos State.

Theoretical and Conceptual Implications of the Research Findings

The theoretical and conceptual implications of the finding that the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) has not been domesticated in any of Nigeria's 36 states are significant and multifaceted.

Legal Framework and Human Rights: The DEVAW, as an international human rights instrument, sets out clear standards for the prevention, elimination, and punishment of violence against women. The failure to domesticate it at the state level in Nigeria suggests a gap in the legal framework for addressing and combating violence against women. This raises questions about the commitment of Nigeria's legal and governmental structures to upholding women's rights and addressing gender-based violence.

Gender Equality and Women's Rights: From a conceptual standpoint, the failure to domesticate the DEVAW underscores broader issues related to gender equality and women's rights in Nigeria. It indicates systemic barriers and entrenched patriarchal attitudes that hinder progress toward eliminating violence against women. This failure reflects a lack of political will to prioritize women's rights and address gender-based violence effectively.

Policy Implementation and Institutional Capacity: The finding highlights challenges in policy implementation and institutional capacity within Nigeria. Domesticating international treaties like the DEVAW requires concerted efforts from government bodies, civil society organizations, and other stakeholders to translate international obligations into actionable policies and practices at the national and subnational levels. The failure to do so suggests weaknesses in governance structures and mechanisms for policy implementation.

Social and Cultural Dynamics: The lack of domestication of the DEVAW also points to deep-rooted social and cultural dynamics that perpetuate violence against women in Nigeria. These include traditional gender norms, harmful practices, and societal attitudes that condone or trivialize violence against women. Addressing these underlying factors is crucial for achieving meaningful progress in combating gender-based violence and promoting gender equality.

Accountability and International Obligations: Nigeria's failure to domesticate the DEVAW raises questions about its accountability to international human rights standards and obligations. As a signatory to the declaration, Nigeria has committed to taking measures to eliminate violence against women. The failure to fulfil this commitment not only undermines the country's international reputation but also raises concerns about its adherence to broader principles of human rights and international law.

Conclusion

This work concludes that the widespread rape in Nigeria is a result of the inadequacies or inability of conventions such as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) to stem the tide of rape. The finding of this study is in agreement with Enemo (2018). This awkward state of affairs apart from being worrisome is a call for more engagement by policymakers, opinion leaders, and others to take the bull by the horn and ensure these

conventions play the role they are meant to. The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW) has not really reduced rape activities in Lagos, Nigeria because society is not fully aware or has an adequate understanding of the mission of the programme. Although the Nigerian government has made efforts in recent years to enact laws to address violence against women and girls, such as the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and Violence against Persons Prohibition Act 2015 but these laws have yet to be domesticated throughout all 36 states, and yet there are provisions that contribute to legitimizing domestic violence against women. This finding aligns with previous findings by Odunsi and Adewole (2019).

This work, therefore, affirmed that Nigeria's signatory to the convention is just paperworkand does not hold water as incidences of rape continue to accentuate rather than reduce in Lagos, Nigeria, andmore work needs to be done to properly channel the knowledge that has been created to better purpose which is the reduction of rape. The study posits also that rather than assent to conventions like the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, which will not likely be effective there is a need to revisit existing conventions and strengthen them. The work is, therefore, concluded by calling on the government to strengthen laws bothering on rape to ensure they are sufficient to checkmate rape by stopping would-berapists while a synergy should be forged with key stakeholders to persecute this war as the war against rape is a collective one and must be carried out headlong rather than with levity.

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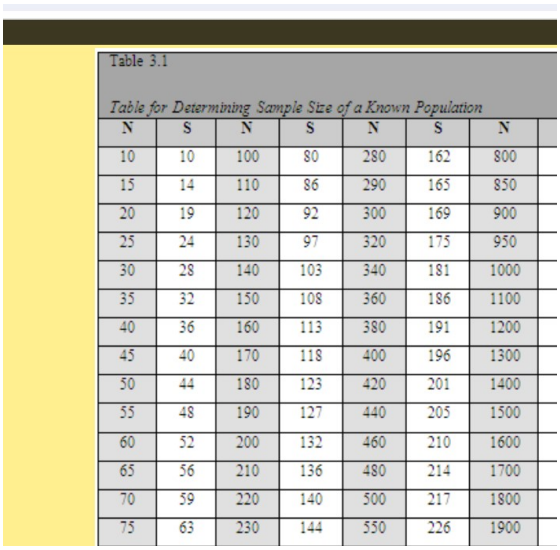


Table 3.1

Table for Determining Sample Size of a Known Population

N	S	N	S	N	S	N
10	10	100	80	280	162	800
15	14	110	86	290	165	850
20	19	120	92	300	169	900
25	24	130	97	320	175	950
30	28	140	103	340	181	1000
35	32	150	108	360	186	1100
40	36	160	113	380	191	1200
45	40	170	118	400	196	1300
50	44	180	123	420	201	1400
55	48	190	127	440	205	1500
60	52	200	132	460	210	1600
65	56	210	136	480	214	1700
70	59	220	140	500	217	1800
75	63	230	144	550	226	1900

APPENDIX A: Krejcie and Morgan Sample Size Determination Table

Source: Krejcie & Morgan (1970).

EBOLA AND COVID-19 EPIDEMICS: A DISCOURSE ON NIGERIA'S FOREIGN POLICY RESPONSES

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KEYWORDS
Nigeria, Foreign Policy, Epedemics, Covid-19, Ebola

ABSTRACT
Diseases or epidemics does not respect international boundaries. Given this obvious fact, sovereign states are thus impelled to seek collective ways of addressing them and foreign policy is the crucial element in this endeavour. Nigeria, among other nation-states experienced Ebola and Covid-19 pandemics. How Nigeria responded to these epidemics was the focus of the study. The study employed historical and descriptive research method and obtained data from secondary source particularly website of world Health Organization, Nigeria's Ministry of Health and other scholarly journals. This paper adopts complex interdependence and prospect theories as the framework of analysis. From the analysis the study revealed foreign policy measures adopted. These include setting up of screening and monitoring Centre at the nation's Airports, facilitated the setting up of a regional solidarity fund, in which countries made contributions, initiated actions that adjudged Ebola epidemic as not only national and regional but also international emergency, donated huge sum to worst affected states like Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia. For COVID -19, In the case of Covid-19, Nigeria collaborated with major powers. More than sixty inter agency members from the US mission worked with Nigerian counterpart to address the epidemic challenges in Nigeria. Its attracted $125 million, and more than 4 million doses of covid vaccine, 200 ventilators, personal protective equipment, and collaborated with the US to provide rapid response team. And training of over 200,000 military and civilian personnel on covid-19 control measures and technology transfer for virtual training. Based on the findings, the study recommends among others proper articulation and projection of health issues in the nation's foreign policy and strengthening interface of health and foreign policy with the support of world health organization to assist in time of global health crisis.

Introduction.

The world in recent times has been plagued with different types of diseases. These diseases include Ebola, Covid-19, Avian Influenza, HIV/AIDS, among others. The prevalent and deadly nature of these epidemics continued to shape nation states' foreign policy. Prior to this time, or more precisely, the 19th century, issues of diseases and epidemics were not traditionally considered as one of the foreign policy matters. However, the era where epidemics were essentially regarded as a domestic matter has gone, and are no longer to be contested. This is because, in the network of global or world system, sovereign states are currently locked in the web of globalization paradox. Thus, interdependence and cultural changing values have broadened the scope of foreign policy to include among others the field of public health, making issues of epidemic or diseases, once considered a domestic matter an agenda or objective of foreign policy (Jean-Robert,2017). The reason for making epidemic a substance of foreign policy has been provided by Jean-Robert (2017), who rightly observed that diseases or epidemics does not respect international boundaries. Given this obvious fact, sovereign states are thus impelled to seek collective ways of addressing them and foreign policy is the crucial element in this endeavour. More so, as some of the epidemics cannot be solved once and for all. Most of the epidemics or diseases like Ebola and Covid-19 require continuing global attention in the form of cooperation in dealing with them. Besides, the likes of Ebola and Covid-19, including HIV/AIDs and many other epidemics require some kind of international arrangement to keep them from deteriorating and getting out of hand.

Nigeria, among other nation-states experienced Ebola and Covid-19 pandemics. As a sovereign state, also engage in international decision making – foreign policy. How Nigeria responded to these epidemics and foreign policy implication for such response has not been given adequate research attention, therefore, constitutes the hallmark of this study.

The choice of Ebola was informed by the fact that three West African states; Guinea, Sierra-Leone, and Liberia, were the Source of Ebola disease (Isaac & Nnaoma, 2021). Second Covid-19 had its source outside Africa. Both epidemics affected Nigeria, Africa. Both epidemics affected Nigeria, and this influenced Nigeria's foreign policy perspective. The two epidemics provided justifications for the diverse strategies adopted in tackling the challenges. The effect of the epidemics was more real as travel-associated cases came up in Nigeria. Nigeria as the populous country in Africa responded swiftly, though the measures on Ebola Covid 19 diseases created negative attitudes toward immigrants, nevertheless, they were to secure not only Nigeria but the continent as Europe and America almost concluded that Africa is one country and that their immigrants were threats to the world (Dionne and Seay, 2015).

The road to undertaking this exercise is structured as follows: Section I captures introduction above. Section II discusses the paper's theoretical framework. Section III undertakes extensive review of related works. Section IV makes an expose of Ebola and Covid-19 in Nigeria. Section V captures the Nigeria's foreign policy responses. Section VI concludes the paper.

Theoretical Frameworks

This paper adopts complex interdependence and prospect theories as the framework of analysis. Complex interdependence theory was developed in the early 1970s and 1980s to question state unitary actor (Charles, 2007). The assumption of this theory is that, every sovereign state depends on each other or one another. What is especially favourable about this theory is that, when everyone depends on everyone, all must work together.

Global interdependence makes it appropriate for states to depart from their competitive self-help approaches of the past, where diseases were considered as strictly a domestic issue. Using complex interdependence theory, the study looks at sovereign state's behaviours in the face of common threat. Sovereign states now have more and more shared interests in cooperation, working together, with common interest in dealing with the outbreak of epidemics. Thus, complex interdependence, is widely used in this paper to interpret Nigeria's response to Ebola and Covid-19 and how foreign policy orientation of the period led to the establishment of special body with focus on ways to manage the infectious diseases, accommodate conflicting or diverse interest of others through cooperative actions. In all, includes final formal and as well, informed arguments that people and

institutions have agreed to or perceived to be in their interest.

One clear fact inherent in the theoretical framework above is that, the broadened and transformed public health crisis agenda, goes beyond what a state can be expected to address accurately. However, states are bound to react in some ways, when the behaviour of an international actor greatly affects others with whom they have contact in the form of cooperation and the parties to the exchange become mutually sensitive and vulnerable to the others. This exposes the mutation of complex interdependence and thus poses growing concerns in relying on the framework alone.

For instance, Deloffre (2015) observation greatly informed this disposition. In his observation, the World Health Organization (WHO) that was to coordinate the international response to the humanitarian health crisis of that magnitude (Ebola) was reluctant. The states under the United Nations (UN) failed to acknowledge the nature of the outbreak and were stingy in committing adequate response. Isaac *et al*, (2021) noted also that the global world realizes the danger of the Ebola epidemics, yet the ethical Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) with the mandate of galvanizing international solidarity through coordination of states and non-state actors delay, and were not proactive. Even the WHO delayed in its response to declare Ebola as a public health crisis.

In this circumstance, states are left with no option than to make choices of actions. This explains why the paper adopts Prospect Theory as the second theoretical framework. Prospect Theory has a wider application in international relations with focus on decision making that has long characterized the field of foreign policy.

Prospect theory, as defined by Charles (2007), is a unique psychological theory that shows how formal opinion and the tendency to overreact in crisis situations, like the Ebola and Covid-19 public health crises, constrain international decision-making. Decisions are typically made based on the perceived prospects of choices to fulfill objectives, and a key factor in taking risks is the perceived prospects for realizing gains and avoiding losses. According to prospect theory, which was previously discussed, individuals hate the thought of losing and stray from anticipated utility theory, which holds that people make decisions logically in an effort to maximize profits. According to prospect theory, their main goal is to prevent losing and the shame that comes with it. This theory serves to vindicate if any, action undertaken to avoid loss of lives to the deadly disease and the reasons for the actions of Nigeria during the epidemic period. The two theories are very much useful to the study in many ways. First, the complex interdependent theory indicates that Nigeria is not isolated and therefore vulnerable to global health crisis. Again, it exposes the fact that collective action is require in the face of global problem. In this sense, nations with weak health institutions and lack of resources could be assisted by strong nations since epidemics do not respect international boundaries. Regarding Prospect theory, it helps the researchers to describe course of actions and such actions were considered by Nigerian government.

Conceptual Clarifications

Epidemics

An epidemic is defined as a rapid and significant rise in the number of illness cases over a certain length of time in a population that is not typically seen in that location or region. It happens when a disease spreads so far that an abnormally high number of individuals are simultaneously affected by it in a particular region or community. Epidemics have occurred on many occasions throughout history.

A pandemic is an epidemic that spreads across a large geographic region or the whole planet. It fluctuates in function or depends on how well victims are transferred to a vulnerable party. Examples of epidemics include the West African Ebola outbreak in 2014, the 2013 SARs in Asia, the 1793 yellow fever outbreak, and COVID-19**.**

Foreign policy

There are divergent positions among scholars on the appropriate definition of foreign policy. While the paper will not repeat all the perspectives, it considers few scholars positions that are useful to the study. Foreign policy, according to Goldstein and Pave House (2011), is the set of tactics that countries use to direct their activities abroad. Carlsnaes (2008) argues in favor of a comprehensive approach**;**

> *Foreign policy refers to the set of activities that governmental representatives, acting on behalf of their sovereign communities, pursue and articulate through clearly stated goals, commitments, and/or directives. These actions are focused on governmental and non-governmental actors, conditions, and objectives that the representatives seek to influence beyond their territorial legitimacy.*

Prior to this, Frankel (1963) connected internal and external elements in the formulation of foreign policy. He proposed that the dynamic process of interaction between shifting home desires and changing external conditions determines foreign policy. In the context of this study, all the definitions giving above are useful as certain points are obvious.

All the definitions capture objectives, values, intentions, actions and inactions, meaning that, foreign policy demands a strategy or planned course of actions developed by decision makers vis-à-vis other state actors to achieve specific goal.

As demonstrated in the adopted theoretical framework, not only the four of the spread of epidemic influence nation's foreign policy but also demands the use of foreign policy instruments in the reshaping of national health system.

Review of Literature on Ebola Epidemics.

The source of origin of Ebola is traceable to Africa. Its outbreak reinforced intellectual discourse on health and national security. Before now, discourse on security were traditionally limited to, and associated primarily with state actors in their relation to each other. For this, earlier works on security largely rested on the traditional conception of national security. Scholars like Isa (2007) including Hutchful (2004), had little time contemplating discusses as part of national security. To these scholars, and others like Abolurin (2011), Burgess (2008), consider security from state-centric dimension, with state as the only provider of security. However, McNamawa (1968), away from traditional security perception of some scholars, has shown the nexus between diseases or epidemics and national security.

In his conception of security, and by extension national security, there exist a relationship between outbreak of epidemics and national security. A member of scholars agreed to this fact. For instance, Weaver (1997), Weaver (2000), Williams (1994), Wyn Jones (1999) and Kaldor (2000) to mention but a few, in their respective works, show a consensus, that a wide range of security threats, confront states, individuals and societies. Given this line of thought, we would appreciate the fact that the challenge to human security in Nigeria and perhaps the world, emanates from the state of health conditions of the people. These scholars have increasingly recognized health and security nexus. They have shown that sudden and drastic changes in health may have an influence on security both directly and indirectly. They have also shown that epidemics can lead to political unrest, instability, and disorder as well as long-term declines in a nation's economic sustainability. Concerns regarding global health issues have long been expressed by foreign governments. From sanitary checkpoints created in 1851 to stop the plague from entering Croatia's Dalmatian coast, which led to the establishment of international sanitary conventions, to the victories over malaria and yellow fever that made it possible to build the strategically important Panama Council, health and diseases have always been intertwined with the pursuit of foreign policy objectives**.**

Globalization has however, increased the importance of global health in a number of arears of foreign policy over the past forty (40) years. Foreign policy has a diverse influence on public health issues, both in a favourable and unfavourable way. For instance, a nation's foreign policy may have an effect on the spread of illness. Strong international ties may increase the chances that nations will exchange information about diseases outbreaks and cooperate to develop remedies. On the other side, countries may be less likely to exchange information or work together on public health issues if their relations with other nations are severe. Furthermore, a nation's foreign policy may have an effect on access to health care. A nation may be less likely to have access to medical resources and professionals if it has strain relationship with other nations. In the end, public health issues can be significantly impacted by foreign policy. It is crucial that nations keep this in mind when dealing on their foreign policy orientation and objectives.

Over the past two decades, health and security together have general popularity as a common approach to health policy concerns, since good health is both essential and vital to human existence, livelihood and dignity and cohesion depend on a population's overall health. Four factors can be used to assess the significance of health and how it affects security; (i) the magnitude of the diseases burden now and in the future (ii) the intensity of action (iii) the depth and extent of the impact in society and (iv) the interdependences in externalities that may have an influence beyond specific diseases, people or locations. All these factors are captured in the Ebola and Covid-19 pandemics. Both diseases are connected to the mass spread of infections that endanger not only individuals but society as a whole. More than million people died from infectious Ebola diseases … while over People have died of Covid-19 epidemics.

History of Ebola

Ebola pandemic was first identified in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Because Congo appeared to be the original source, the disease was named after the Ebola River in Congo. Sudan is added as another source of Ebola disease (Aladegbola and Odewusi, 2014). The Ebola disease was discovered to be infectious and hemorrhagic which occur, when…. Ebola virus is transmitted through infected animal host and spread fast with human-to-human transmission through direct contact with blood or bodily fluids from an infected person. The Ebola virus has high infectious capability such that any contact with infected person or body of a dead victim also risked been infected. The symptoms of Ebola include catarrh, headache, with highest mortality rate. It killed between 50 – 90 percent of its victims (Aladegbola and Odewusi, 2014).

Ebola in Nigeria

In 2013, Ebola virus was identified in Guinea, from there, it spread to Sierra Leone and Liberia. These countries become the hotseat of the disease. Scholars attributed this to cold wars that ravaged the two countries (Sherrill and Somerville, 2015 in Isaac etal, 2021). The threat of Ebola was severe, and spread to other countries including Gambia and later Nigeria. The disease affected 3,000 people with over 1,500 deaths recorded in Liberia and Sierra Leone in 2014 (*The Punch* 15 July, 2015). By October 2014, World Health Organization recorded over 4,000 death (*The Punch*, 8 October, 2014).

With over 5,000 deaths by the end of 2014, Ebola epidemic escalated into a global health crisis and the effort to contain the spread of this disease become a substance of foreign policy.

The Ebola disease came into Nigeria through Lagos Airport on July 20th, 2014, when Liberian-American Patrick Sawyer, whose circumstance of gaining entrance into Nigeria, generated conferences between Nigeria and Liberian diplomatic and immigration officers. Issues arising from Sawyer's situation became matter of foreign policy: (1) travel documents, especially the requirement of International Health Certificate (2) the clearance officer, right to be aware of his status since the Liberian government was aware of his movement to Nigeria for the Ecowas conference. In all, through Sawyer's contact, eight (8) Nigerians died of Ebola disease (*The Punch*, 5, October 2014).

History of Covid-19

COVID-19 is small in size, about 65-to-128-inch diameter. It has single stranded RNA nucleic material ranging from 26 to 32 KVS in length. Earlier research studies revealed that, COVID-19 belongs to the zoonotic class of infection with high level transmissibility. COVID-19 risks is high than SARS COV following its infective reproduction number (R) of 1.77. At first, World Health Organization referred to as 2019 Novel Corona Virus Disease and later announce the current reference name as "Acute Respiratory Syndrome Corona Virus" (WHO, 2020). The result from research carried out by team of scientists led by Prof. Young-Zhen Zhary, published on 10th January 2020, named Wuhan, China as the origination city (Venice, 2020). This revelation was further supported by 89.2% findings of the research conducted by Chinese scholars that also attributed the outbreak of COVID-19 in connection to a sea food market in Wuban, China.

Initially, it was associated with animal association. In this case, it was speculated that the disease was transmitted from animal named Civet Cats to human (Venice, 2020). Before now, the Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MCRS-COV) of 2012, and the 2002 severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS-COV) were found to have been transmitted from

animal to human and therefore, speculated in like manner, that COVID-19 is animal associated. Though this speculation is yet confirmed, but the obvious is that COVID-19 infection is transmitted from one person to another through droplets from infected person, usually at the time of coughing or sneezing.

According to research findings, expose to onset of symptoms span between two and ½ days with an average of five days (WHO, 2020). As stated earlier, COVID-19 has a high rate of transmissibility. Thus, within a month, COVID-19 pandemic spread throughout China. The spread was so wide because the outbreak of the disease concise with the celebration of Chinese New Year, a time when there is always high level of human movement among the Chinese people. As at the time of the study, more than 8.34 million people have been affected in about 187 countries with death tolls of more than 238 was recorded.

COVID-19 in Nigeria

The first confirmed COVID-19 case in Nigeria (Lagos State) was on the 27th February, 2020. The case was an Italian citizen (named withhold) who reside and work in Nigeria. He travelled to Milan, Italy and returned to Lagos, Nigeria on the 25thFebruary, 2020. He was confirmed as COVID-19 infected patient by the Virology Laboratory of the Lagos State University Teaching Hospital on Friday, February 28, 2020 (NCDC Report, 2020). Since then, the disease has been reported in all the States including the Federal Capital Territory.

The fatality rate may be high since few persons have been tested. Again, those with mild symptoms were mostly likely not tested since the testing kits were insufficient and, in most cases, for stigmatization, including, including religious belief of many suspected persons refuse to be tested. Since the vaccine for treatment is yet discovered, treatment measures such as masks, hand hygiene, case detection, contact tracing and quarantine have been discussed as ways to reduce transmission.

Foreign Policy and Global Epidemic in Historical Context

The outbreak of Epidemic is not new and the global efforts to address infectious disease does not began today. David (2010) reminded us of the first effort made through the global health conference held in 1851 at Paris, and another in 1902. These conferences initiated global mechanisms for the control of outbreak of epidemic. The International Office of Public Hygiene, which the French government founded in 1907, was one of these systems. Once again, the Pan American Sanitary Bureau—the forerunner of the Pan American Health Organization of today—was established (Jean-Robert, 2017). Many other organizations, like the World Health Organization, the United Nations, and the League of Nations, sprang from these modest beginnings. These organizations make investments in public health because there are more and more global health issues that nations cannot resolve on their own**.** Nations recognized the usefulness of health security to national security and therefore adopted policies and actions to stop the spread of infectious disease at the borders. All countries regardless of income or level of development, encounter risks of epidemic with potential threat to national security. This understanding increasingly led to the adoption of international instruments, frameworks and agreements. In this direction, foreign policy is well informed about anticipated risks and thus design its role, along with other sectors for collaborative approaches to health security.

Nigeria's foreign policy responses:

An examination of Nigeria's foreign policy responses to Ebola must start with her neighbors in Africa. It is interesting to note that Africa is the source of Ebola, as not only the populous black nation, but also as the continental lender, great deal of response in the form of critical role was expected. In this sense, Nigeria collaborated with ECOWAS and developed West Africa Policy directed to halt the Ebola epidemic. Nigeria, initiated actions that adjudged Ebola epidemic as not only national and regional but also international emergency. This was as the WHO was not proactive, even as the epidemic was gradually spreading and killing people on the continent.

Given the limited emergency response system in the country, and other challenges in the health sector, non-proactive foreign policy measure would have cost the country a lot. First, in averting huge death, the government set up screening and monitoring Centre at the nation's Airports. The body screen both out and in bound passengers. The government also facilitated the setting up of a regional solidarity fund, in which countries made contributions

Country contributed	Amount
Nigeria	$4.5 million
Cote d'Ivoire	$1 million
Senegal	$1 million
Benin Republic	$400,000
Sierra Leone	$250,000
Burkina Faso	$150,000
Niger Republic	$200,000
Mali	$200,000

Source: Ademuragun, 2014.

Beyond this, Nigeria and ECOWAS, including the private sector collectively and individually donated huge sum to worst affected states like Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia. In the words of Iklmoria (2014), Nigeria responded Swiftly and was able to contain the spread of the disease. Apart from fund released, steps were taken to prevent further spread. Steps such as halting inter-state transportation of corpses, establishment of Ebola treatment and research group, to research extensively into Ebola virus were very much commendable.

In the case of Covid-19, the government of Nigeria collaborated with major powers. For instance, more than sixty inter agency members from the United States mission worked side by side with Nigerian counterpart to address the epidemic challenges in Nigeria. The government also attracted $125 million from the United States. This fund was used in covid related equipment and technical assistance. Beyond this, the government also attracted from US, more than 4 million doses of covid vaccine, 200 ventilators, personal protective equipment. The government closely collaborated with the United States to provide rapid response team, and above all, training of over 200,000 military and civilian personnel on covid-19 control measures and technology transfer for virtual training. Though, the nation attracted assistance from other countries through foreign policy instruments, it is however done after the nation has fallen victim of the epidemics. This could have been prevented if our foreign policy instruments were proactively deployed to quickly detect such diseases and action initiated on time

Concluding Remarks

Global Society is likely to become more complex and is also likely to face a multiplicity of challenges, requesting collective attention. Thus, the need for foreign policy will increase, and with it, addressing epidemic would be easier. Therefore, the nation's foreign policy and foreign service should be strengthened to project her health needs into the existing global health diplomatic institutions adaptations, and domestic hygiene maintenance policy. Sub national response framework at the sub-regional, regional and local levels should be strengthened for optimal performance.

Foreign policy instrument should be deployed to attract international NGO's donation of health equipment and training of the country's health workforce. WHO's joint external evaluation and global health security index revealed that the country performed poor in the area of prevention due to shortage of human resources, inadequate health equipment, and lack of functional laboratories. All these can be addressed with proper articulation and projection of health issues in the nation's foreign policy. Broader engagement of the countries in the region in strengthening interface of health and foreign policy with the support of world health organization could assist in time of global health crisis.

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IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF NIGERIA POLICE FORCE ON THE SECURITY MAINTANANCE IN NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS
Security, Police force, Funds, structure

ABSTRACT
The Nigeria Police Force is a body established by the constitution and empowered to promote, protect and safeguard the interest of the Nation, values of the various society and protect individuals and groups from each other and ensure civility. TheNigeria Police force is the major agency thrust with the internal protection of the state internal vices. However, the pessimism and negativism surrounding the police force has continued to be on an increase. Rising from the corruption, pervasion of justice, extortion, bribery, extra judicial killings, malpractices etc. the Police force have therefore been tagged amongst the bad eggs of the country. According to transparency international (2022) Nigeria was ranked 150/180 in the corruption index with a 24/100 score, and the Nigeria Police was ranked most corrupt agency in the Nigeria Polity. Despite the fact that resources allocated to the police force to carry out their functions effectively, the police have not been able to deliver professional and worthwhile results. Consequent upon this, the paper investigated the challenges facing the Nigeria police force in promoting security in Nigeria. The paper adopted qualitative research method with the application of the constructive theory for better explanation of issues relating to the security in Nigeria. Findings of the research work revealed that the Nigeria Police Force do not possess adequate new technologies and enough ammunition cum the inadequate remuneration and benefits payment of police officers.The study recommends that procurement of advanced technologies, ammunition and discipline for the purpose of promoting security in Nigeria.

Introduction

The coming together of individuals to end the state of nature and give rise to the social contract that happened in Europe can also be likened to the divine rule system that was practiced in the African society. The idea of law and order in Nigeria, can be traced to the pre-colonial era traditional rulers. The rulers were seen as high in wisdom, and divine mandated to rule the kingdom. The maintance of law and order was a collective responsibility, however the Kings and Traditional rulers had a standing force similar to the police force of present age which carries out maintance of law and order.

Nigeria a country blessed with so many resources both human and natural resources. The nature of the country Economic, political and social system has been characterized with slow development. There is no doubt that the spate of challenges to the security in the country is alarming. The peace and prosperity of a state lie on so many factors ranging from international relationships, intra-relationship between and amongst its citizen, security, the judicious and economical management of scarce resources by the government along with the harmonious advancement in the various sectors of the nation. In other for there to be peaceful co-existence, amongst the various sectors and individuals, security is therefore paramount and this Security ranges from the economic, political, social and international relationship. (Lambe 2022). The presence of insecurity is not a concept that has condescended to only third world countries, but a general and worldwide phenomenon

One of the primary purposes of government of any nation is the provision of peace and security. This function is emphasized in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of the government" (Section 14(2) (b). In performing this role, the government delegate the duty of maintenance of internal security to the Nigeria police. The Nigeria police are by law saddled with the responsibility of preventing and detecting crime, preserving peace and order and enforcing all laws and regulations. Fundamentally, this functions envisages the presence of peace, safety and the protection of human and physical resources or absence of crisis or threats to human dignity all of which facilitates development and progress of human and societal lives.

The Nigeria Police force and the mirage of security in the globalized world seems to be an optical illusion. Nigeria has a serious problem with police corruption, at all levels. At the top, senior police officials embezzle staggering sums of public funds. To take just one example, in 2012, the former Inspector General of Police, Sunday Ehindero, faced trial for embezzling 16 million Naira (approximately US$44,422). Meanwhile, at the lower levels, rank-and-file police officers regularly extort money from the public, and crime victims must pay bribes before the police will handle their cases. As a 102-page report by Human Rights Watch documented, police extortion is so institutionalized that Nigerians are more likely to encounter police demanding bribes than enforcing the law. No wonder Nigeria's police force was ranked as the worst of those included in the 2016 World Internal Security and Police Index, and that Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer survey found that a staggering 69% of Nigerian citizens think that most or all police officers are corrupt. (ihehukreme 2019)

There are many factors that abound to be the factors responsible for the incessant challenges to the security, and one of them include the challenges facing the Nigeria police. The problems facing the police include: poor welfare, poor salaries and remuneration, inadequate funding, inadequate equipment, negative image, lack of respect, corruption, inadequate number of police officers, legal/ establishment challenges, operational challenges and political challenges.

Statement of the Problem

The main agents of the government in the maintance of civility and orderliness is the Nigeria Police. However, time without number the police have been shortcoming in the carrying out of its functions. Problems of funding to carry out their functions, to bribery and perveasion of justice, un-professionalism, political control etc.

The non-performance of the Nigeria police in the present condition has been noted by various thinkers to be due to internal impedimentson the part of the Police force and these includesthe funding for apparatus, training and other logistics has not been adequate. The Nigeria police are part and parcel of the civil society. Poor funding for major development of the force such as training, logistics, arms and ammunitions etc. and under-utilization of funds are cogs in the wheel of adequate police performance. According to Stephen **(**2022**)** At least $277,153,670,501 are spent by the USA on security. In which he said two main categories to count are 1) spending on federal law enforcement and prisons, and 2) spending on police and prisons by state and local governments. Total federal spending on law enforcement and prisons totaled $71,931,937,501 in fiscal year 2021. While The Nigeria Senate on Wednesday approved N11.3 billion (11,352,457,101.70) as the budget of the Nigeria Police Trust Fund (NPTF) for the 2020 fiscal year. About N1.3 billion (1,362,814,243) of

the amount was allocated for the procurement of teargas. Only 0.5 per cent of the total revenue that accrued to the Federation Account and 0.5 per cent of the total Value Added Tax were remitted to the NPTF account; Compared to the amount spent on other agency and infrastructure which amounts to higherpercentage of the budget shows that the police budget is very low.

More so, morality among the police is not a virtue. Alemika (1999) discuss that corruption and extortion among the police is a serious issue because they are expected to be moral as law enforcement agents. In the quest for officers to meet up withmates in the society they ended up slaughtering efficient and effective performance of duty on the slab of corruptions extortions. According to Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index 2019, Nigeria is the second most corrupt country in West Africa and 34th most corrupt country in the world. Transparency International in a new report also affirmed that corruption now worse in Nigeria.

Research Objectives

The main objectives of the research are to investigate the challenges of the police force in combating insecurity. The specific objectives of the research are toascertain if the structural organizational of the Nigeria police are adequate and investigate the training method and conditions for recruitment of the police.

Methodology

Data were sourced from literature such as textbooks, articles, research papers, Journals, newspapers, Television reports, Internet sources and qualitative methods was employed to analyzed contending issues in the security matters of the country. It is important to note that this research is descriptive and analytical.

Theoretical Framework

Constructivism

The **Constructivism** was expounded by Ernst Glaserfeld.Constructivism argues "that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature". Constructivism is 'an approach to learning that holds that people actively construct or make their own knowledge and that reality is determined by the experiences of the learner. Constructivism is the claim that significant aspects of relations are historically and socially constructed, rather than inevitable consequences of human nature or other essential characteristics of world politics. To this theorist's relations are based on shared ideas which becomes a theory.

Relevance of the Theory

These theory explains the problem of the Police has a shared idea that has been passed from generations of officers to the new ones. The ideas surrounding the Nigeria Police force have been negative overtime. And this has built a pessimistic and distrust relationship between the citizens and the Police. The Police are therefore known. The culture of the police corruption and how money making tactics are being made are passed from senior officers to the junior ones who takes up the idea. More, the citizen's lack of trust on the Police is duly to the constructiveidea of mistrust and negativism shared among the citizens pertaining the Police force.

Conceptual Clarification

Concept of Security and national security

Security can be viewed from many perspectives and prisms but no single definition can lay claim to universality and perfection. In any case, the common element to all definitions of security is that of protection against threats (Akinyeye, 2001). Security is the protection of the wellbeing, values, interest and freedom of all individuals in the state from internal or external forces. Security is a multi-dimensional concept which can be likened to mean different things at different times. The notion of security is safety, well-being, freedom and protection. Security is a state of well-being both mentally, physically and economically.

Security is the process of being safe from danger or harm; more, security is the freedom of ideas, values, decisions, and actions without fear of infringements and threats of freedom.it can also be viewed as the protections, defense, and preservation of values as well as the

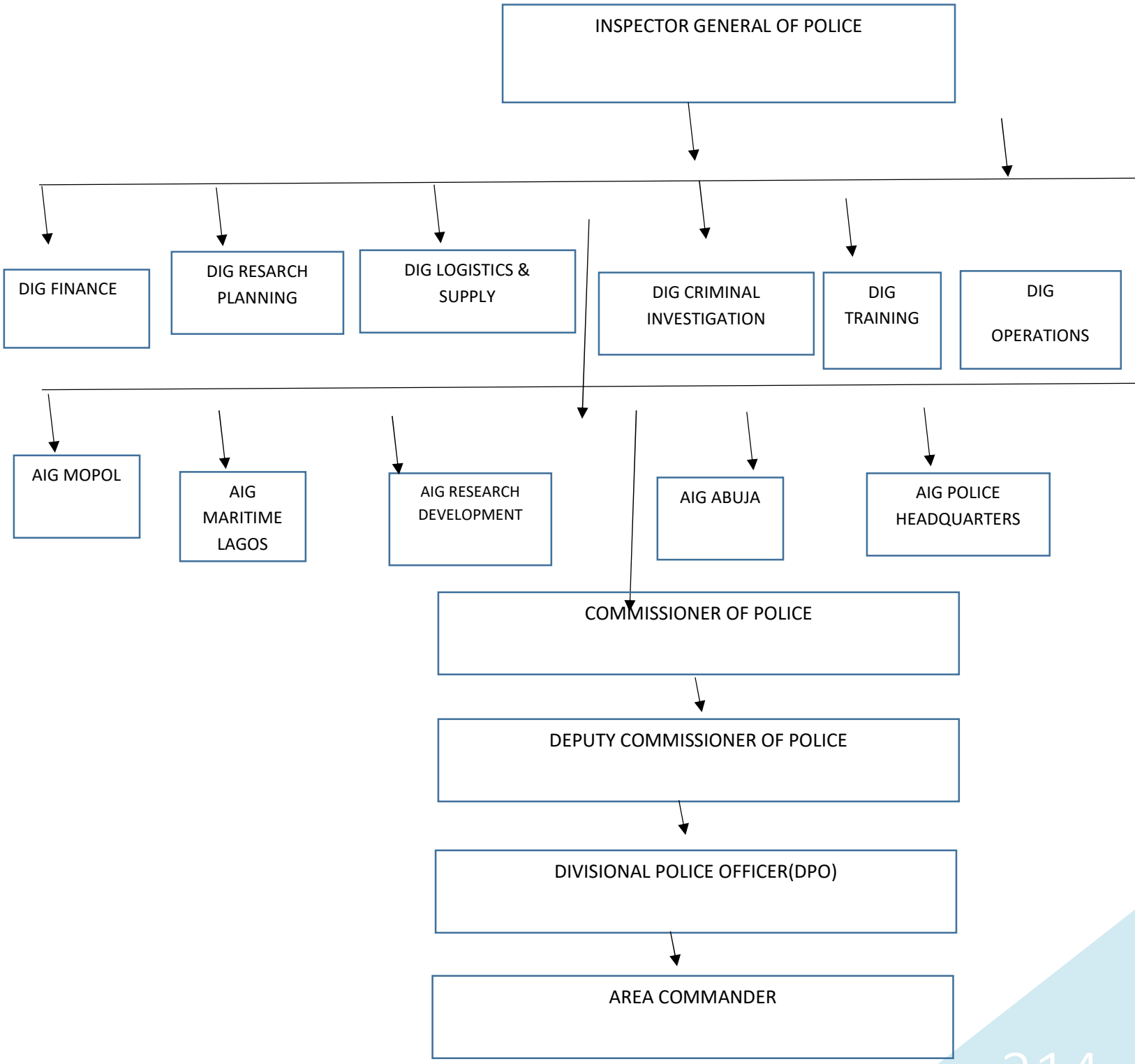
absence of threats to acquire values. This safety, freedom, well-beingare sustained through internal security mediums, constitutional provision, law and orderliness etc. Based on the above definitions of security therefore, insecurity can be deduced as when an individual, community or nation is faced with threat or danger. It can also be referred to as the state of being exposed to danger or threat from internal or external forces.

National security, is the overarching safety of a state at the micro and macro level.it involves both economic, social, political and state survival. National security most of the time is used to expound military and territorial survival of a state, however, the survival of a state has gone beyond just military and territorial protection.

The Nigeria police trust funds

The Nigeria Police Trust Fund (Establishment) Act, 2019 ("the Act") established a Fund for training, providing modern state-of-the-art security equipment and other related facilities for personnel of the Nigeria Police. Section 4(1)(a) and (b) of the Act provides for an amount constituting 0.5% of the total revenue accruing to the Federation Account, and a levy of 0.005% of the net profit of companies operating in Nigeria respectively to be remitted to the Fund. Based on this provision, the Federal Government (FG) deducted 0.5% of the total revenue accruing to the Federation Account for the month of March 2020 and remitted to the Fund.

Structure of the N.P.F



Challenges Faced by the NPF in Fighting Insecurity

The pessimism and distrust faced by the Nigeria police force despite the protection rendered by the force can be likened to be caused by some salient problems which has germinated to be thorn. The challenges facing the Nigeria police force is both historical, structural, financial and individual. The problems of the Nigeria police forceis not a contemporary issue buta problem that metamorphosed into what it is now.

Structural problems

The Nigeria police force structure does not give room for accountability, proper transparency and its human laden. Situations whereby human intuition are the only check for accountability and transparency corruption will not be farfetched. Overtime the Nigeria police has been faced with some cumulative problems that contribute to the diminishing performance of the force. This ranges from material to human and external challenges. Widespread of corruption among the members of the Nigeria police is alarming. This has greatly soiled the image of the police. The police have over time been seen or known for the pervasion of justice, bribery, misrepresentation of justice, false allegations, evidence bunkering etc. this has been one of the characteristics issues that has made the people lose trust in the police. A structure that gives room for unaccountability will endeavor the thriving of corruption. The presence of accountability and bureaucratic procedures is very little in the police force. For example, if a citizen's complaint is not recorded by the police under whatever guise, the citizen should have the option of going to an independent regulator that is empowered to check the police and ensure compliance to minimum standards of service delivery to the public.

More, Automation of Crime and complain reporting the present system where the recording of crime and complains of the public is left at the discretion of officer is grossly inadequate. This has contributed to the growing rate of 'dark figures' of crime as well as increased corrupt practices among the officers. Since the registration of complaint is the first step towards receiving justice, citizens are compelled to pay bribe in order to get their complaints registered. The wregistration of crime is sometimes left at the hands of officer decreetion which often than not negates professional activities. "I can kill you or make you disappear" are one of the statement usually spoken by officer which portrays the lack of accountability and regards for due processes in the Force

Security is a matter of intelligence, technology and outreach. These three elements the Nigeria police lacks. The citizens and the police are in a paradoxical relationship. Without intelligence from average citizens who knows what's going on in the society, the police cannot be promptly informed. The structure of the police gives room for unaccountability and transparency. Police officers can do and un-do at their willingness. Evidence, injustice can be easily undertaken because officers can easily beat the system. According to Are Babalola (2022) Accurate information about the prevalence of police corruption is hard to come by, since the corrupt activities tend to happen in secret and Police Organisations have little incentive to publish information about corruption.

Financial Problems

The perceived poor salary and low welfares in the police to some scholars is the perceived beginning of the corruption in the police force. Furthermore, looking at the issue of funding, salary determination, welfare benefits and remuneration The Nigeria police force members have been faced with the poor remuneration which some have seen to be the cause of their negative actions. Odekunle (2004) argue that the Nigeria police has human problems that not only aggravate its material in sufficiency's, but one also of tremendous adverse import on its general performance from day to day among them is discouraging salaries. Currently, new recruits in the Nigerian Police Force earns 608,702 naira annually (infoguide 2022). Though some thinkers argue that compared to other civil servant the police force are well paid, therefore salary is not the issue.

Rank	S
Inspector General of Police	₦
Deputy Inspector General of Police	₦
Assistant Inspector General of Police	₦
Commissioner of Police	₦
Deputy Commissioner of Police	₦
Assistant Commissioner of Police	₦
Chief Superintendent of Police	₦
Superintendent of Police	₦
Deputy Superintendent of Police	₦
Assistant Superintendent of Police	₦
Inspector of Police	₦
Sergeant Major	₦

Source: VICTOR USIFO (2023)

More, equivalent of these money to dollar are as follows;

S/No	Rank	Salary per month	Salary per annum	$ Equivalent per month	$ E
1	CP	#39,649.00k	#475,788.00k	$287.3	$3
2	DC	#34,993.00k	#419,916.00k	$253.5	$3
3	AC	#31,605.00k	#379,260.00k	$229	$2
4	CSP	28.801.00k	#345.612.00k	$208.7	$2

However the salary payment cannot be concluded to be the cause, as the salary structure appears to be more appealing compared to other civil service structureThe issue of police corruption is an undeniable fact with several evidence of their involvement..These among many others are; police connivance with some individuals to help offenders out of police custody after obtaining money from suspects, closure of case files, escorting vehicles loaded with contraband goods and stolen items, stealing from suspects and or accident victims, stealing from crime scenes, supply of police arms and ammunition with police uniforms to criminals for monetary gain. Olurotimi (2012). Corrupt and indiscipline socio-economic environment among others are some of the poor salaries. In 2022 a popular skit maker who also happens to be a naval officer was apprehended for the unauthorized usage of Official property. More in 2023, a Pastor of a church was arrested by

the Police force for the unauthorized handling of a police issued weapon whom he allegedly borrowed from a Police officer who is a member of is church to use as an illustration. With this we can see that proper accountability and security on the ammunition of the police force is Zero and these ammunitions can be easily converted or supplied to the wrong hands for misdeeds.

The spiral effect of the Nigerian police corruption has overtime snowballed into other public and private institutions. The poor and lower-class people without political connections are majorly at the receiving end of the police corruption.

More, it has been noted that the Nigeria police lack adequate equipment and ammunition that can help in assisting them combating crimes in the society. The necessary ammunitions and intelligence facilities needed for the adequate dissemination of functions are not well provided. Abdulkadir (2004) argue that the Nigeria police force lack adequate communication gadgets, vehicles, computers and patrol boats. The Nigerian Police Force, NPF, is indeed, in dire need of fundamental reforms and recharge targeted at vision actualization and rapid results in its mission/goals achievement drive. The level of inadequacy and preparedness of the Nigeria police to combat crime is totally unbelievable. Poor equipment's, or rather lack of modern day equipment's or gadgets and proper technology suitable for the police in this 21st century and era of technology is as a result of inadequate funding of the Nigeria police force

Political influences

People with political backings, or economic or social influence are most times protected from the menace of the police, however the poor or low class citizens with little or no political leaning are mostly at the helms of the police corruption and brutality because of the profound effects that unlawful detention, or the mere threat of arbitrary arrest, have on their livelihoods. Considering the ways and manners that the police operate on Nigerian roads, questions have been raised as to the level of conscience and professional ethics possessed by the institution. In respect of the police coverage of the society, this is grossly inadequate as ordinary Nigerians are denied equal protection under the law. This is as a result of a widespread practice whereby senior police officers sell police protection to Nigeria's wealthy elites for their own benefits and gratification. This further depletes the already low number of police officers available to provide protection in the society. By the accounts of inspector general of police, in 2009 at least 100,000 police officers were working as personal guards for the wealthy, at the expense of the majority (The Africa Report, 2014).

Majorly, political control and influence as over time been the reason for the misconducts of the Nigeria police. During electoral activities and processes the Nigeria police are sometimes used as a tool for oppression and advancement of certain political interest. The misuse of the force gives room for spiral effect and continuity in the vices of the police.

More, the welfares of the Nigeria police force have not been worthwhile. The police force are individuals laden with weapons and intelligence informations of people and institutions in the country. The welfare absence makes them hunt for victims and money to provide for themselves. The police barracks in this country are in bad conditions and are bad sight for the eyes. The clothing's and neatness of most officers are nothing to write home about.

Ironically, government agencies that are expected to monitor and ensure that the police perform its constitutional duties, oversight functions; discipline and reform have failed to root out systemic corruption. Mechanisms for public complaints, internal police controls, and civilian oversight has continued to be weakened, underfunded, and largely ineffective. The Nigeria Police commission has not been proactive overtime in the protection of the citizens from the excesses of the Nigeria police force. It seems even the commission is handicapped in the monitoring and management of the Nigeria Police force.

Policy Recommendations

To combat a deep-rooted and systemic problem, salient steps must be undertaken which includes;

Constitutional/Philosophical Reform. The constitution which serves as the overarching body that promotes and guidesand all agencies and parastatals for government is the first step

towards achieving a reformed police force. The Nigeria police act have been updated and reenactedhowever the police philosophy and the fundamental problems in the act have not been addressed. A need for proper check and accountability in the act. Like the internal affairs in the USA and the Protocol office in the Military. More so, security phenomenon has metamorphosed into a new order of cyber-crime, social crimes, organized crimes etc. Therefore, a modification of cyber and social rules to accommodate, promote and then protect the cyber and social spaces. Litigation is not enough for false information, preventing the employment of employment of misinformation is the core issue.

More, Open justice system from the doctrine of Jeremy Bentham will help ensure appropriate accountability, non-sweeping of cases under the carpet, misappropriation, professional and official litigation system.

Ethical Reform. The Nigeria police force, over achingly is not the problem, however the individual officers are the problems. The code of conduct has not been well established. The practicability and application cannot be established because from the recruitment, training and mode of operations, daily lives of the force moral ethics have not been well established. Therefore, a revised Code of Conduct should be employed to accommodate and prevent salient acts of officers that no longer portraysofficial and professional police acts. Value reorientation of Police officers to ensure justice, fairness and humanity. From the recruitment processes to the training, and admission into the police force strict adherence to rule of law, ethical matters and enforcement matters.

Internal Oversight Reform. To enforce the more stringent ethical standards outlined above, the Nigerian Police Force an internal provost office like the internal affairs in the USA. The present Police service commission has showed inadequacy in preventing, curtailing and preventing the continuous rise of police officer misnomaility and unprofessionalism. The Nigeria police force needs a provost office that will be closer to the officers and the people. The closeness and accountability ensuring force will help reduce the freedom, corruption, extra judicial activities etc.

More so, leadership plays cognizance role in internal control, if the top hierarch allows for the thriving of wrong doing without consequential follow ups therefore corruption will thrive. So, the leadership of the police needs to be looked at succinctly.

Political Autonomy Reform. The political side of the Nigeria police force more, constitutes a problem the police force as presently constituted gives room for political influence die to insufficient independence. The elite and influential people access to the police implicates and compromise the force officer into doing the biddings of the elite individuals. More, officers also fear to investigate matters of concern to the elite due to fear of employment. Therefore, appointment, selection, promotion of the Nigerian Police Force, needs to be reorganized in other to breed independency and equality.

The present Nigeria Police commission is only an administrative head which the political elite still has influential control over. There is a dire need for the police to be given adequate autonomy to operate without interferences from the political class in the country. Employment of the police force for selfish, unprofessional and political objective defeats the purpose of the force. Consequently, the selection of the leadership and management of the police such as the inspector general of police, state commissioners, their transfers and redeployments should be entrusted to an independent expert committee that are apolitical and bureaucrats.

Transparency Reform. The key to an official and professional police force is laying under the carpet of transparency. Transparency in activities, duties, litigation, investigation, arresting, processes etc. the international convention which stipulates the international rules and standards for policing, international human rights standards for law enforcement, code of conduct of the UNODC etc all establish that transparency is key to professional conduct in the police force. So far an accountable and transparent process of actions and inactions has not been well established by the police force, therefore adoption of bureaucratic, technological and official procedure of force engagements, investigation, litigation, and dispute resolution must be established into the police act.

More**,** Operations and performance monitoring Though, there are intra and inter monitoring agencies should be put in place to monitor and check the excesses of the force officers, independent and civil society groups should also be co-opted into the system by the government. Measures of performance as used in private organizations can also be adopted.

Salary Reform. Remuneration, welfare and benefits plays a major role in motivating for or against. The salary structure of the Nigeria police is not the problem, the benefits and protection for on the job risks is a core and salient matter. The benefit weighing to the cost of risk of life the police force officer has to go through shows that the motivation of the staff to ensure adequate and loyal work input matters. Financial incentive is a one of the major reasons citizens go into the force therefore to get their undiluted concentration and dedication the financial aspect of the police officer has to be restructured. This is to say that salary increase with working on other aspect of the financial aspect will not yield good results. More, for the daily carrying out of Police force activities, finance and funds are needed for the day to day activities such as fueling, electricity bills, tracking of criminals, purchase of papers and stationaries etc. therefore a standing order funds must be earmarked separate from the budget to meet the day to day activities of the police force.

While a comprehensive reform agenda like that sketched above may seem like a huge undertaking, it is the only way to disrupt the entrenched police corruption that has taken root in Nigeria over a period of decades. With a problem this serious, bold and far-reaching reforms, not half-measures, are essential. **(iheuhkrume 2019)**

Conclusion

Security is an exponential factor that has resulting effect on the various sectors of the society. Individually, nationally and internationally, the inability of the Nigeria police force can be traced to so many factors which has engulfed the society in a tragedy of mirage. Therefore, in a society where police brutality, corruption, mismanagement, unaccountability and uncontrolled force exist peace and unity becomes an illusion. The Nigeria police has been engulfed in a crisis of trustworthiness and positivity. The average Nigerians no longer trust the government, they see the government and its agencies are not existing for their own good. A situation whereby the citizens and the Police force becomes a paradox insecurity will ensue. The misuse of the police for political gains, the inability to curtail bribery and pervasion of justice, the unaccountability and lack of transparency in the Police has created a contagious and attendant effect on the image of the force and the nation globally.

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UNVEILING THE ROOTS OF ENDURING COMMUNAL CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA: INDIGENE-SETTLER RIVALRY AND THE PATH FORWARD

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KEYWORDS

ABSTRACT

The enduring conflict between indigenes and settlers in Nigeria has escalated over time, resulting in persistent and often violent communal disputes. These conflicts have inflicted significant harm, including widespread community devastation, loss of life, displacement of millions, and severe human rights violations, particularly impacting vulnerable populations like women and children. Despite governmental efforts to mitigate these conflicts, the fundamental issues remain largely unaddressed, with governance structures often struggling to manage the crises effectively and provide lasting solutions. This article examines the underlying factors contributing to intra/inter-communal conflicts arising from indigene and settler rivalries in Nigeria, utilizing the lens of elite theory. By comprehensively analyzing these factors, a deeper understanding of the intricate dynamics at play is gained, allowing for the identification of potential avenues for meaningful intervention. This study adopts qualitative research design to arrive at its conclusion, finding and recommendation. It is imperative to recognize that these conflicts are deeply entrenched in historical, social, economic, and political factors that have shaped Nigeria's societal landscape.

Introduction

One major factor contributing to the widespread disputes between ethnic groups in Nigeria is the ongoing competition between natives and settlers in different regions of the country (Higazi, 2018). According to Mang and Ehrhardt (2018), if this phenomenon is allowed to continue uncontrolled, it might have disastrous effects similar to a malignant illness within any country's political system. Unchecked disputes between indigenous peoples and settlers can pose a serious threat to national integration and nation-building, just like cancer can spread and cause havoc across the entire body. Community disputes and interethnic crises have been prevalent themes throughout history, spanning from pre-colonial times to the colonial era. Internal conflicts between various ethnic groups were common in many ancient African kingdoms (Mang & Ehrhardt, 2018).

According to Krause (2017), the idea, definition, and perception of what it means to be an indigene and what it means to be a settler—which establishes the rights that indigenes have over non-indigenes—are the root causes of the unresolvable conflicts that

have arisen from the story of the indigene/settler in different parts of Nigeria in contemporary society. In the harsh fight for limited resources to satisfy the competing needs of human connections in a defined society, unhealthy ethnic-based varied goals, ambitions, and aspirations gave rise to the value of "indigene status" (Nwagwu, 2016; Che, 2016; Ehrhardt, 2017). The unyielding trend has resulted in the destruction of several towns, the documented loss of enormous numbers of lives and property, and the vulnerability of millions of displaced people to abuse (e.g. rape, hunger, infections, epidemics) and other related consequences (Oyediran, 2018). The majority of victims and casualties of the lawlessness are women and children. Nigeria has a wealth of experience with intracommunal strife, inter-indigene feuds, and ethno-religious crises that often touch on settler and indigenous disputes. For example, it was stated that Fulani invaders mercilessly murdered Gyang Dantong, a senator representing the Plateau North Senatorial District, and Gyang Filani, a member of the Plateau State House of Assembly from the BarikinLadi seat, in cold blood.

When the Fulani herdsmen assaulted Gabriel Suswan's convoy in 2014 while he was on an inspection visit of the crisis region in Benue State, the governor of that state barely avoided death. Other examples are the Tiv-JukunWukari war in Taraba State (1999-2001); the Aguleri crisis in Kaduna State (1992-2001) between the Atyaps (natives) and Hausa/Fulani tribes; and the Zangon-Kataf crisis in Kaduna State (1992-2001). Women and children make up the bulk of the lawlessness' victims and casualties. Nigeria has extensive history with conflicts involving settler and indigenous people, such as intracommunal fighting, inter-indigenous feuds, and ethno-religious crises. For instance, it was claimed that Gyang Dantong, a senator from the Plateau North Senatorial District, and Gyang Filani, a member of the Plateau State House of Assembly representing the BarikinLadi seat, were ruthlessly and cold-bloodedly killed by Fulani invaders. The governor of Benue State almost escaped death in 2014 when Fulani herdsmen attacked Gabriel Suswan's convoy on an inspection tour of the crisis area in that state.

All established techniques for resolving conflicts appear to have failed to address these enduring issues of intercommunal and ethnoreligious rivalry (Akinyosoye, 2019). According to Oladipo (2020), the upsurge appears to have progressively overtaken the government's repressive apparatuses, resulting in the crises being handled instead of resolved. This research aims to explore the underlying causes of intra- and inter-communal conflicts centered on rivalry between indigenous people and settlers, as well as the implications and significance for national integration and nation-building. The essay also looked at the reasons why all levels of government have been unable to provide long-term answers to this terrible problem that is destroying communities.

Concept of Indigenous Peoples

The term "indigenous peoples" is used to describe a wide range of people according to different historical, legal, and cultural circumstances. The original or native occupants of colonized territories, especially in areas conquered by Europeans like Africa, Asia, America, and Australasia, are referred to as indigenous peoples, according to Ikpeze (2020). With the International Labour Organization's 1957 approval of ILO Convention No. 107, which addressed the integration and protection of indigenous and tribal groups in sovereign nations, this phrase became widely recognized (Okaneme, 2018).

"Indigenous" refers to someone who was born or raised within a certain area that is claimed as traditional tribal land. The phrase originates from the Ancient Greek terms "indo" and "genous," which mean "inside/within" and "birth/born," respectively (Kyernum, and Agba, 2022). Because of their historical connections and cultural differences from other people, indigenous inhabitants are also known as aboriginal, native, original, or hereditary owners (Merriam-Webster).

Indigenous peoples are defined by international and state law as persons who have unique rights because of their cultural or historical distinctiveness and historical links to a particular place (Harris, 2021). The susceptibility of indigenous peoples to exploitation, marginalization, and oppression by dominant political or ethnic groups has been addressed by these legal categories as they have developed throughout time. For instance, indigenous Australians in Australia have experienced dispossession, marginalization, and abuse, as evidenced by policies such as the "Stolen Generations" (Anderson, 2020).

Indigenous peoples face a number of difficulties, such as discrimination, poverty, environmental degradation, political autonomy, land rights, and the preservation of their culture and languages (Wilson, 2015). Throughout history, there have been a variety of intricate interactions between indigenous and non-indigenous communities, from domination and violence to mutual gain and cultural exchange (Garcia, 2021).

Incidence of Indigene and Settlers Conflicts in Nigeria

Mang and Ehrhardt (2018) noted that the fact that natives and settlers are the same people who equally claim Nigerian citizenship and have been involved in political, religious, cultural, and economic interactions for more than a century is one of the state's enduring contradictions. The so-called settlers pay taxes, worship, socialize, trade, and marry so-called indigenes (Ojo, 2017). However, when it comes to sharing resources, including land ownership, indigene/settler sentiments are whipped up, and the so-called settlers frequently face egregious injustices such as discrimination and persecution (Akinyosoye, 2019). The following discusses two instances of confrontations between native people and newcomers:

Zangon-Kataf Crisis

Conflicts have existed in the Zangon-Kataf crises from 1992 and have lasted until 2010 (Egwu, Salihu, & Kure, 2017). The southern Kaduna State region is mostly home to Christians, with a small minority of Hausa/Fulani Muslims (Adetula & Dung, 2019). Ethnic chauvinism, perceived socio-political marginalization, lack of access to basic economic resources, unequal opportunities, unresolved fear of dominance, and unhealthy religious and cultural rivalries among communities are the main causes of ethno-religious conflicts (Akpuru-Aja, 2017). While the Hausa/Fulani assert ancient Zaria Emirate sovereignty over Zangon-Kataf, resulting in governmental dominance over the indigenous people, the Atyaps claim possession of Zangon-Kataf since the 1850s (Adetula & Dung, 2019).

In Christian and Muslim communities, poverty, culture, and religion all play a big role in triggering violent disputes. The 1992 Zangon-Kataf riots resulted from Muslims' simple fear that the local government chairman, a Christian, intended to move the city's main market (Egwu et al., 2020). The decision was misinterpreted as an attempt to move the major market from the crowded urban center to a neutral location inside the local government buildings, depriving Hausa/Fulani indigenous people of their political influence in the area.

The Hausa/Fulani's superiority over other indigenous people in the social, political, and economic spheres is further exacerbated by the differences between Muslims and Christians (Adetula & Dung, 2019). Socio-religious divisions were caused by the colonial authority's establishment of Native Authority Schools for Muslims and Mission Schools for Christians (Egwu et al., 2020). Feeling oppressed by Hausa/Fulani hegemony, the Atyaps turned to Christianity as a way out of their situation, which resulted in the establishment of two competing legal systems and disparate educational programs in the area. Deepening ethno-religious divides, this increased Atyaps' social and political consciousness (Akpuru-Aja, 2017). There have been allegations of government collusion in their ineffective intervention attempts, resulting in a large loss of life and property as a consequence of the war.

Hausa/Fulani and Berom/Anaguta/Afizere Crisis in Jos

The Berom people are the indigenous ethnic group of Jos, Plateau State in Nigeria. Within the State, they concentrated mostly in the local government areas of Jos South, Jos North, Barkin Ladi (Gwol), and Riyom. Berom has a population of 1,083,000 out of which 96% are Christians, according to 2006 census. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berom_people). Ironically, the Jos crisis is multicultural, multifarious, and multilateral in nature and scope. It has many ethnic group contenders for Indigeneship of the land “Jos”, particularly the Jos North Local Government Area. Berom tribe is one of the contenders, who claims that Jos is their ancestral inheritance. They claim that Berom settled and secured Jos along with Anaguta people prior to the adventure of the colonialists who made Jos the administrative centre of their government by conquest. According to them, Hausa/Fulani people were brought into Jos by British colonial masters as cheap labour in the Tin mining activities, which was the main commercial activity in the area then. (Sampson, n.d).

The native ethnic group of Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria, is known as the Berom people. They were predominantly found in the local government districts of Barkin Ladi (Gwol), Jos South, Jos North, and Riyom within the State. Based on the 2006 census, Berom has 1,083,000 residents, of whom 96% identify as Christians. (http://Berom_people.wikipedia.org).
Paradoxically, the Jos problem has a multinational, multicultural, and diverse reach. There are several ethnic groups vying to be considered indigenous to the "Jos" territory, especially in the Jos North Local Government Area. Among the candidates is the Berom tribe, which asserts that Jos is their original homeland.

Another ethnic group in Jos, the Afizere, supported Berom's assertion that the Hausa/Fulani people living there are foreign immigrants who do not value or return the kindness extended to them by their host communities. The Hausa/Fulani are viewed by the Afizere as a group that lacks the power to assert its customary territory and authority in Jos. They refuted assertions that ethnic groups from the Anaguta and Berom tribes owned Jos. Afizere asserts that Jos is their property, and they have a lot of data to support this claim. The Bukuru Low Cost Bridge was supposed to mark the border between Afizere and Berom, but colonial officials combined Afizere's holdings with Bauchi Province, and Berom easily took over the majority of Jos (http://www.nairaland.com/998903/perspectives-causes-conflictsjos).

The Hausa/Fulani communities assert that they founded Jos from scratch and brought it to its current state of development without the assistance of the purported indigenous ethnic groups. The main point of contention in their argument is that Jos was founded in the 1800s on uninhabited ground, and no indigenous tribes were present in the area they currently claim as their own. The most important Hausa/Fulani leader in Jos, Turakin Jos, Alhaji Inuwa Ali, reiterated in 2002 that Jos is a Hausa settlement and that Mr. Ames, a colonial administrator, had confirmed this. He made this statement during a speech he gave at the Presidential Retreat on Peace and Conflict Resolution at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies, Kuru, Jos, 23–26 January.

Causes of Indigene and Settlers Conflicts

Many complicated and multidimensional factors, including as historical grievances and current socio-political dynamics, are the primary causes of confrontations between indigenous people and settlers. Conflicts in Zango/Kataf stem from Muslims from the Zaria Emirate imposing aristocratic authority on the indigenous Atyaps, which led to political and socioeconomic dominance and the enforcement of Sharia law against non-Muslims (Kpuru-Aja, 2017). Conflicts over land usage also result from the displacement of the community market and the violent intrusion of Fulani herders into farming regions (Kpuru-Aja, 2017). Tensions already present in Jos, Plateau State, are exacerbated by rival claims of indigeneity between the Hausa/Fulani and the Berom/Anaguta/Afizere. Distress and discord are caused by the federal government's nepotistic appointments that benefit the Hausa/Fulani settlers at the expense of other marginalized ethnic groups (Oke, 2016). prejudice based on religion and culture.

According to Falola and Heaton (2018), the atrocities carried out by violent extremists belonging to both Christian and Muslim sides fuel the deepening of hostilities and result in a furious competition for political control, resource distribution, and citizenship status. In Nigerian politics, ethnic patronage is still a significant factor, with people using their ethnicity to get support and expand their power (Falola & Heaton, 2018).

Ethnic and religious tensions compound historical injustices, socioeconomic disparities, and political grievances to give birth to wars. In order to establish long-lasting peace and harmony in Nigeria, addressing these fundamental problems calls for comprehensive solutions that support inclusion, equitable resource allocation, and intergroup communication.

The Dynamics of Indigene and Settlers Conflicts in Nigeria

Government reactions are one of the major elements influencing the dynamics of disputes between indigenous peoples and settlers in Nigeria. As stated in the constitution, Akpuru-Aja (2017) asserts that the government's main duty is to protect the safety and well-being of the populace. Tensions can turn into major

crises when the government is unable to appropriately handle conflict signals. On the other hand, prompt and unbiased reactions can aid in preventing disputes from getting worseThis is consistent with the results of Albert (2021), who pointed out that rather than being caused by underlying problems in the communities themselves, the continuation of conflicts like the Ife-Modakeke crises is frequently the result of ineffective government interventions. Furthermore, Osaghae and Suberu's (2019) study highlights the crucial role that the state plays in preserving peace and security, noting that the state's inability to carry out this duty can escalate conflicts and create crises of legitimacy.

The partisanship of consecutive administrations and their handling of sensitive issues exacerbate ethnic strife. Akpuru-Aja (2017) points out that the government's seeming support of Hausa/Fulani assertions of superiority and authority exacerbates ethnoreligious conflicts.

This is seen by the way that state administrations' attempts to resolve disputes locally are undermined when appointments and interventions by the government favor Hausa/Fulani interests. As noted by Akpuru-Aja (2017), the Chief Justice of Nigeria's reluctance to swear in a judge due to ethnic reasons is an example of how government acts sustain feuds between indigenous people and settlers. Furthermore, Ibrahim's study from 2022 highlights how conflicts are made worse when one group dominates political positions at the federal government level since nominations to the federal government frequently give priority to the interests of particular ethnic groups.

Moreover, the government's credibility and power are weakened by its inability to defend civilians against violence and bring criminal charges against those who do it. Ibrahim (2022) contends that the state loses credibility and legitimacy when it is thought to be biased in favor of one group over another. Partisan management of ethnoreligious disputes has detrimental effects on national security and development, which adds to Nigeria's current security issues. This is consistent with the conclusions of Akpuru-Aja (2017), who highlights the need for responsive institutions, unbiased governance, and coordinated efforts to foster peace and unity among various ethnic groups in order to address these disputes.

Way Forward on Settlers/Indigenes Issues in Nigerian Federalism

In the framework of Nigerian federalism, resolving the complicated issues pertaining to settlers and indigenous peoples calls for a multipronged strategy that places a premium on inclusion, equity, and the rule of law. Adopting laws and procedures that support inclusivity and true federal character in governance and decision-making processes is one possible path ahead. As required by the constitution, this entails making sure that appointees to important positions at the federal and state levels appropriately represent the variety of Nigeria's ethnic and religious landscape (Otite, 2017). Governments may promote a sense of unity and belonging among diverse ethnic groups by upholding the federal character principles, which help to lessen sentiments of marginalization and exclusion (Anyanwu &Erero, 2022).

Furthermore, safeguarding the basic liberties and rights of every person, irrespective of ancestry or religion, should be the top priority in any endeavor to resolve concerns pertaining to settlers and indigenous people. This entails defending the freedoms of movement, property ownership, and equitable access to opportunities in the fields of work, healthcare, and education. The government must make sure that laws and regulations are applied impartially, openly, and without bias or prejudice against any one group (Anyanwu &Erero, 2022).

Fostering interethnic communication, understanding, and reconciliation is essential for establishing trust and advancing social cohesion in addition to legislative and policy changes. productive talks and productive interactions between settlers and indigenous people can be facilitated by initiatives like interfaith dialogues, cultural exchange programs, and indigenous forums. The promotion of tolerance, mutual respect, and peaceful coexistence may be greatly aided by the involvement of civil society actors, grassroots groups, and religious leaders (Adesina & Mordi, 2016).

Effective conflict resolution procedures are also required in order to quickly and impartially resolve complaints and disagreements between settlers and native people. This might entail creating committees for conflict resolution

based on indigenous knowledge, bolstering established legal institutions, and granting access to other dispute settlement procedures. In order to enable local leaders and institutions to settle disputes amicably and advance social justice, the government should also fund capacity-building programs (Ofoeze& Ezeani, 2017).In the end, it will take a coordinated effort from all parties involved—the government, civic society, religious authorities, traditional leaders, and indigenous people—to achieve long-lasting peace and harmony between settlers and indigenous people. Nigeria can get past its settler/indigenes difficulties and move toward a more prosperous and inclusive future for all of its residents by embracing diversity, enforcing the rule of law, encouraging discourse, and investing in conflict resolution systems.

Theoretical Framework

The elite theory, which was developed in the early 20th century by sociologists Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, and Robert Michels, serves as the theoretical foundation for this research. According to Gauba (2003), Mosca, in his work "The Ruling Class" (1896), viewed society as separated into two groups: the governed (masses) and the rulers (elite). Pareto introduced the term "elite" to refer to a group of persons displaying remarkable talent in various professions. According to traditional elitists, society is necessarily dominated by elites, with power resting in the hands of a small minority, making democracy and socialism unachievable (Lopez, 2013). This idea is captured in Mosca's concept of the political class and Pareto's rule of elite circulation, which hold that elites take power by peaceful or violent means, leaving the majority always under the control of a minority (Lopez, 2013). According to elite theory, a minority that includes the economic elite and policy-planning networks holds the majority of power outside of democratic political procedures (Sambo, 1999). In order to preserve their supremacy, the elite employ manipulative strategies including persuasion and oratory, which results in the concentration of power among a small number of people (Gauba, 2003).

The Nigerian settlers-indigene dichotomy is seen through the prism of elite manipulation, which takes advantage of ethnic feelings to uphold their authority and keep the public divided (Azeez and Ibukunoluwa, 2015). Nigerian federalism is in danger because self-serving political elites use this contradiction to maintain their political relevance and expand their authority (Lopez, 2013). The elite thesis thus highlights the role of political elites in maintaining social divisions for their own profit and sheds light on the dynamics of settler-indigene conflicts in Nigeria.

Methodology

This study employs a qualitative research design, utilizing a literature review as the primary data collection method. The review focuses on articles published between 2021 and 2024, delving into community and settlers' conflict in Nigeria. The chosen timeframe ensures the inclusion of recent perspectives and developments, providing a current and relevant understanding of the community and settlers conflict in Nigeria. This methodology aims to contribute valuable insights to the ongoing discourse surrounding the rivalry between indigenes and settlers in Nigeria

Conclusion

Nigeria's settler-indigenous conflict problem is a complicated, long-standing problem with major ramifications for the growth and cohesion of the country. These long-lasting disputes, which have their roots in historical, social, and political factors, have heightened tensions between different ethnic groups and impeded the pursuit of peace and development. The theoretical framework of elite theory clarifies how political elites exacerbate public differences and thwart attempts at integration and reconciliation by sustaining and profiting from these conflicts. Resolving historical injustices, advancing inclusive government, and encouraging communication and understanding amongst many ethnic groups are all necessary components of a multidimensional strategy to address the underlying causes of settler-indigenous conflicts. Moreover, coordinated efforts are required to strengthen social cohesiveness, empower vulnerable populations, and create a society that is more inclusive and equitable. Nigeria may advance toward a more secure and prosperous future, based on the values of justice, equality, and togetherness, by resolving the underlying grievances and injustices that drive settler-indigenous conflicts.

Recommendations

1. The government should acknowledge historical injustices and implement policies to address grievances, promoting reconciliation and integration.

2. Political leaders should prioritize diversity and inclusion in policymaking and decision-making processes, appointing representatives from diverse backgrounds to key positions.

3. Civil society organizations, religious leaders, and community elders should take the lead in organizing peacebuilding forums and mediation sessions to promote dialogue and conflict resolution.

4. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and development agencies should collaborate with local communities to design and implement empowerment initiatives tailored to their specific needs.

5. Educational institutions, cultural organizations, and media outlets should play a role in promoting intercultural understanding and celebrating Nigeria's diverse heritage through collaborative projects and campaigns.

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE STRATEGY ON THE WAR AGAINST INSURGENCY IN NIGERIA. A STUDY OF IGABI LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA IN KADUNA STATE. 2016– 2023

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KEYWORDS
Insurgency, Defence, Strategy, War, International community, Sovereignty

ABSTRACT
The growing challenges in Nigeria's National Security hasbecome a major threat to the overall well-being of everyone living in Nigeria, neighbouring countries and her sovereignty in general. This challenge is closely tied to the lapses inherent in national defence policies and inadequate implementation. The expanded and worrisome attacks by armed insurgent groups within Nigeria cannot be unconnected to uncoordinated national intelligence sharing by authorised agencies, lack of sophistication in security infrastructure, shortage in manpower, advanced information and technological backwardness. This research examines the impact of Nigeria's national defence policy on anti-insurgency war in Kaduna State and Igabi Local Government Area (LGA) in particular between 2016 and 2023. The research adopted the quantitative analysis and secondary data capture. The research identified that some of the main reasons for the escalated activities of the armed insurgency group is tied to prolonged economic backwardness of most Nigerians, political instability, ethno religious conflict, impunity, and unemployment. The Clausewitz theory of applied strategy has been adopted for this research. In its findings, the Nigeria national defence policy is a much needed strategy that will further pull the victory in the war on insurgency much closer if adequately implemented. The study recommends the need for professionalization and mobilization of all national security apparatuses as key to her sovereignty.

Introduction

Fundamentally, the responsibility and obligation of any state is to provide security to its citizens. This involves relative absence of security challenges and harmful threats to their lives and properties. The importance and relevance of this to the survival, progress and material development of any state cannot be over emphasised. In a situation where a state possesses the capabilities to defend and promote her national interests, the question of independence, territorial sovereignty and national development are certainly assured. Conversely, a state that lacks the basic capabilities as political, economic, infrastructural, industrial and technological capacities to establish and project strong national defence and security structure would become vulnerable and exposed to various threats and challenges that could undermine her independence and development. (Musa, 2015)

Presently, Nigeria could be ranked among countries with lowest national defence capability in the world. The reasons are simple to establish. The basic ingredients, which make states independent, are absent. States with well-built defence capability have a well-built economic, industrial and technological base. This supports the defence infrastructure like the armed forces and arms industries. Since independence, Nigeria operates a weak and royalty- oriented economy, characterised by the absence of strong and self-supporting industrial and technological capacity. National productive sector, in essence is virtually empty, making her heavily dependent on imports, foreign aid, and goodwill. (Gillian, 2018)

Essentially, national defence policy is an embodiment of a nation's security priorities, including an assessment of her strategic environment, threat analysis and resources allocation for maximum realisation of objectives. Its conception and formulation therefore involves an evaluation of national resources, economic and industrial capacity, strength and weakness of its political and other vital national institutions, scientific and technological attainment and the general level of social justice and equality. Against this background, any serious national defence conception must be hinged on the fact that the indigenous economic structure offers a foundation for the organisational and technological progress of the military as the major instrument of national defence in particular and other vital sectors of national development such as agriculture and social empowerment in general. (Ministry of Internal Security and Home Affairs, Kaduna State, 2020)

This research primarily seeks to analyse and determine the fundamental concern and orientation of the policy vis-à-vis policy objectives, instruments and resources, as well as the environment in which the policy operates. It also analyses the capability of the military in terms of its technological readiness and human resource expertise. (Agbiboa, 2020)

The effect of these serious and gross threat miss analyses which lead to severe consequences for Nigeria's national security hence the emergence of various organised regional armed groups like the Niger delta militant group, Oodua People Congress and presently the Boko Haram insurgents. (ACCORD, 2020) Granted that Nigeria cannot independently sustain her militaristic national defence strategy economically and technologically, the changing pattern and evolution of new trends and challenges in international environment such as terrorism, cybercrime, and global warming and energy insecurity revolutionises the approach to national security in the 21st century beyond conventional security doctrines alone. So long as third-world countries rely on military technology designed and mostly produced in industrial countries, and so long as developing countries adopt military doctrines which have been conceived in the industrialised countries and transferred, imposed via military aid and training, political independence and military self-reliance cannot be achieved in developing countries. (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2019)

The new national defence strategy is poised at addressing these challenges with great emphasis on political will of leaders, collective peaceful coexistence amongst all diverse groups, protection of lives, properties and investments, active role play in the international community, economic and political stability as well as an improved and technologically advanced security formation that can defend her territory and sovereignty. (Council on Foreign Relations, 2020)

Operational Definition of Key Terms

Insurgency: An insurgency is a rebellion against authority when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents. An insurgency can be fought via counter-insurgency warfare, and may also be opposed by measures to protect the population, and by political and economic actions of various kinds aimed at undermining the insurgents' claims against the incumbent regime. However, not all rebellions are insurgencies, as a state of belligerency may exist between one or more sovereign states and rebel forces. (Adam Higazi. (2015)

Strategy: a plan of action designed to achieve a long-term or overall aim or the art of planning and directing overall military operations and movements in a war or battle. (United States Embassy in Nigeria, 2014).

War: a state of armed conflict between different countries or different groups within a country. (Ebegbulem, Ekpe and Adejumo, 2013)

Defence Policy: Military policy (also called defence policy) is public policy dealing with international security and the military. It comprises the measures and initiatives that governments do or do not take in relation to decision-making and strategic goals, such as when and how to commit national armed forces. (Emmanuel and Tari, 2015)

Sovereignty: The authority of a state to govern itself or another state; or supreme and independent power or authority in government as possessed or claimed by a state or community. (Adam Higazi, 2015)

International Community: the countries of the world considered collectively. The international community is a phrase used in international relations to refer to a broad group of peoples and governments of the world. The term is typically used to imply the existence of a common point of view towards such matters as specific issues of human rights. Activists, politicians, and commentators often use the term in calling for action to be taken; e.g., action against what is in their opinion political repression in a target country. (Ebegbulem, Ekpe and Adejumo, 2013)

Literature Review

The research is concerned with the major events, which directly or indirectly shaped the direction of recent national defence policies of the Republic of Georgia and China as well as the main factors that gave insight into policy formulation process and its operationalization in these countries.

The Republic of Georgia: Strategic Defence Review: 2016

The primary mission of the Georgian Armed Forces (GAF) is to protect the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Georgia, to fulfil international commitments and assist civil authorities during natural and man-made disasters. (GFCR- 2016)

The strategic defence Review 2013 - 2016 (GFCR-2016) represents the guideline document for the Ministry of defence (MOD) of Georgia, that identifies main directions for the development of the MOD and Georgian Armed Forces (GAF) through 2016 and aims to enhance GAF capabilities and the north Atlantic treaty organisation (NATO) interoperability. The 2008 Russian War on Georgia significantly changed the security environment requiring a review of national security policy and defence planning. In 2009, the policy was to institutionalize Georgia's security policy and to develop broader, whole-of-government approach. The National Security Review (NSR) process was initiated by the National Security Council. (Hedenskog &Korkmaz, 2016)

The 2008 Russian War on Georgia significantly changed the security environment and necessitated a review of SDR 2007 recommendations. The SDR 2013 - 2016 process used a threat-based methodology and provided the main direction for future Armed Force development and its final structure. This process also took into consideration lessons learned from 2008 Russian military aggression. SDR 2013 - 2016 was elaborated considering recommendations by NATO experts, interagency coordination and active engagement with civil society. According to SDR 2013 - 2016, defence transformation will continue in further development of the necessary defence capabilities to address a changing security environment. (Hedenskog &Korkmaz, 2016)

Georgia faces risks and challenges due to its geopolitical location and changing security environment in the region. To address these risks, in 2009 the National Security Review (NSR) was initiated led by the National Security Council, which includes institutionalized policy coordination among state agencies, increased cooperation between military and civil institutions, and the development of integrated strategies for all agencies involved in the security sector. Defence transformation is based on values, interests and national security policies identified in the NSR and the threats and challenges defined in "Georgia's Threat Assessment Document". (Hedenskog & Korkmaz, 2016)

In this modern era of globalization, Georgia's security environment is impacted by national, regional and international factors. Occupation of Georgian territories by Russia remains a threat to the country's sovereignty and integrity and constitutes a major factor for political, economic and social destabilization. Euro-Atlantic Integration remains a main priority of Georgia's foreign and security policy.

The People's Republic of China: 2012 China National Defence Strategy

China is today the largest military spender after U.S (China's National Defence in the New Era, 2019). Many analysts' suspects China of imperialist designs. This charge of imperialism or what General Guangkai IN 2008 called "China threat", can be explained within economic expansionism and not necessarily, political expansionism. Fears of territorial imperialism, no matter how hard she tries, cannot easily be dispelled especially among her comparatively poor South East Asian neighbours. China defence policy includes deterrence and defence. In order to understand the nature of the Chinese defence policy, it is important to understand two interrelated factors. These are the need to examine the fundamental principles of her defence policy as well as the historic and geo-strategic considerations, which informs Chinese thinking on national security and defence in this century.

China's National defence policy, principles and objectives cannot be over emphasised. The 2012 edition of China's National Defence Policy amply captures and demonstrates the level of awareness in Beijing of the changing trends in international politics, and the need to meet these challenges. China, unlike US has no visible imperialist or expansionist agenda in political terms. For instance, China has no troop contingents of any kind on overseas assignment. She equally operates no military base outside of the country. The same applies to military blocs. China, unlike many other countries, subscribes to no one. Her only concern seems to be on how to contain the Taiwan and Tibet 'bugs' around her. China's National Defence in the New Era, 2019).

To avoid recurrence, China resolved to build a modern and strong military. The China's National Defence Policy echoes this feeling thus: The People's Liberation Army (PLA) in implementing the strategy of building a strong military through science and technology, has accelerated the R & D of defence (sic) weaponry and equipment, trained higher-quality military personnel of new type, established a scientific organisational structure, develop theories of military operations with Chinese characteristics, and strengthen its capability for joint, mobile and multi-purpose operations. (China's National Defence in the new era, 2019).

Chinese strategy of national defence is not military-centred. The strategy is people-centred, which in case of invasion the entire populace would easily be mobilised to resist the invaders.

Assessment of Impact of Nigeria's National Security Strategy on Anti Insurgency in Igabi Local Government Area of Kaduna State Between 2016 and 2023

The Core Objectives of the Nigeria'snational defencestrategy is to provide quick, efficient, decisive response by preventing occurrences and arresting cases within the shortest acceptable time frame. The 21st century creeping menace of insurgence in Nigeria, has put the nation's security apparatus on the spot; opening to public doubt and scrutiny of an intelligence community that has enjoyed shadow coverage and handling since the nations return to democracy. This prevailing era of insecurity to life and property experienced so far cuts across many facets that include political, economic, social and even in the religious arenas. The overwhelming challenge of the internal security in postcolonial Nigeria and averred that; Nigeria's national security is threatened by the problem of Inefficiency, collusion and despondency of its major institutions and structures as instruments of social action and rectification. (Felbab-Brown and Militias, 2020)

Response of Nigeria's Security Agencies in the War on Insurgency

Garba and Dankano, (2017) identified sources of security threats in Nigeria to include: militarism, and military experiences, ethnic/religious pluralism, unemployment, poverty and failure of governance, socio-economic inequalities and demographic factors, small arms and ammunition trafficking, migration and indigene question in Nigeria, her socio-economic status in Africa and the illegal alien issues, globalization, porous security heritage, borders and external influence. It is necessary to distinguish between different causes as each may require different remedy. Like in other countries, the sources of insecurity in Nigeria can be traced to a number of factors. Beyond the external-internal dichotomy, sources of insecurity can equally be classified as either remote or proximate and immediate. In Nigeria, the challenge is not so much about external sources but rather that of internal sources. Terrorism is the most fundamental source of insecurity in Nigeria. (Effiong, U. 2014)

Nonetheless, despite subsequent media coverage indicating that Nigeria may have reached a turning point, insurgency remains a major threat within Nigeria and to West Africa, made clear by recent attacks. We have seen this pattern before. All too often claims of success against terrorists and insurgents are later found to be premature, particularly in assessing the long-term impact of the latest killing of a high value target or the impact of "successful clearing operations." Generally, insurgents do not stand and fight for territory. Rather, will withdraw in the face of a concerted government security campaign and blend into the population to fight another day. Boko Haram's resilience is tied to its ability to "go to ground" and later reappear to coerce, threaten, and terrorize local communities and direct attacks on local police, military units, and government institutions. (Idakwoji, Ojomah, Usman, and Orokpo, 2018)

While Nigerian security force offensives have taken a significant toll on insurgent leadership and, at times, on its fighting strength, the Nigerian forces have also suffered heavy losses in insurgents' attacks. In the face of international criticism and a recent ambush that left several soldiers dead, reports circulated in mid-May 2018 of a mutiny by troops in the army'sseventh division, which is deployed in the northeast to counter Boko Haram. The commander of the division (whom troops reportedly shot at) was subsequently replaced. In 2019 the Nigerian defenceministry announced that two divisions of the military had been stationed in the border region near Chad, Cameroon, and Niger, where they will coordinate with their regional counterparts to track the girls. Apparent shortfalls in regional intelligence-sharing and interoperability, which stem from a lack of capacity, political tensions, and historic factors, are a key challenge. Many experts suggest that, even with good intelligence on the location of the girls, rescue operations would be extremely dangerous, and argue that a negotiated release of the hostages would be preferable. While the Nigerian government has reportedly accepted foreign offers of assistance in response to the kidnappings, it remains unclear how quickly and to what extent Nigerian officials are cooperating with foreign advisors and experts. (Jamestown Foundation, 2020)

Some analysts have faulted government's over-reliance on hard power and the security forces alleged heavy-handedness which in their view tends to alienate the public from the fight against Boko Haram. The Nigerian government's declaration of a state of emergency in areas highly affected by the sect's activities gave the police and security forces enormous powers to search without warrants, arrest, detain, and impose restrictions on movements through the enforcement of curfews. Interagency rivalry and lack of coordination is a common feature of the Nigerian security architecture. Interagency rivalry is often caused by competition for resources, need for visibility, and quest for a favorable public rating of the agency's effectiveness. The unwieldy number of agencies that make up the NFPT made coordination of its activities difficult despite the centralization of oversight functions on the NSA. Such a framework must address areas of interface such as policy coordination, intelligence sharing, integration of resources, and joint planning and conduct of operations. This common framework should also designate an appropriate hierarchical structure that would foster decisive actions at critical times. (Omokhoa I. E., Okuchukwu, 2018)

Theoretical Framework

The study adopted theory of applied strategy. Thecore objective of the theory is that the concept of conventional defence strategy is obtained from the viewpoint that acquisition

and building of strong and sophisticated armed forces is a necessary element and guarantor for national security.

Clausewitz: Theory of Applied Strategy

It is a very difficult task to construct a scientific theory for the art of war, and so many attempts have failed that most people say that it is impossible, since it deals with matters that no permanent law can provide for. (Clausewitz, 1976) However, Clausewitz recognized only two levels of war: strategic (the use of battles to achieve the military and political objective of the war) and tactical (the art of winning battles). This is the theoretical framework that will best suit this study because of the details and strong view of the scholar.

Clausewitz was quick to point out that neither form of war existed independently. A well-conducted defence, he wrote, usually consisted of many offensive blows (e.g., counterattacks and spoiling attacks): "One cannot think of the defence without that necessary component of the concept, the counterattack. ... Even in a defensive position awaiting the enemy assault, our bullets take the offensive." (Clausewitz, 1976) Likewise, attackers must occasionally employ defensive measures to gain time or to re-locate forces, particularly if the resources to press forward continuously and evenly across an entire front are not available. Thus, "the act of attack, particularly in strategy, is a constant alternation and combination of attack and defence.

Relevance of thetheory to the study

The adoption of this theory as basis for the examination of the impact of the new national defence strategy truly enhances our understanding of the Nigeria's war on insurgency. The Clausewitz's approach differed from others in that, his attempted to account for all the impediments to action, all the unknown genius, chance, friction, uncertainty and all the variations in scenario that result from the particularity of individual circumstances and prevent war from becoming a science. Given the tendencies of the day, Clausewitz's response to the crisis in theory was itself rather astonishing as he redefined the term 'theory.' The national defence strategy therefore should also consider much use of non-kinetic approach at some points. Involving communities in conflict management and actualization of sustained peace and tranquillity should be adopted. Eventually, guns don't win battles. Humans do.

Criticism Labelled against Theory of Applied Strategy

Conventional doctrine fails to understand that, the issue of defence transcends military force and encompasses the general well-being and progress of all members of the society. The state can only remain safe and secured when its citizenry has a sense of belonging to a common political authority, enjoy equal economic, political and human freedoms. According to this view, the utility of military power is declining and this means that states ought to concern themselves with issues of economic development that would benefit their people. A state will be said to be experiencing a sense of false security if it still wallows in food shortages, population explosion, low level of productivity and per capita income, a higher rate of illiteracy, unemployment and much more. Security follows from economic development and other essential welfareprogrammes designed to guarantee the wellbeing of a people rather than over-indulgence in military power which only gives spurious sense of security.

Research Methodology

The study employed qualitative means to elicit data through interviews and focus groups discussions. Data collected was analysed through qualitative data miner software.

Area of Study

The study area is Igabi Local Government Area in Kaduna State.It is one of the most populated LGA in Kaduna State and most affected by insurgents' attacks within the period under review.

Population of the study

Igabi Local Government Area has a population of 636,400 Population (2022 projection) and an area size projection of 3,222 km² Area 197.5/km².

Sample Size and Sampling Technique

The sample size for this research is based on arriving at data saturation through the interview conducted. The sample is the representative of the whole population in the area under study. The respondents for FGD and KII were arrived at using purposive sampling based on snowball sampling technique.

Source of Data Collection

Data will be sourced primarily from interviews with internally displaced persons, front line health workers, government officials, security agents and traditional rulers within Igabi LGA. The research will also make use of secondary source of data to help solve the research problem been considered. This would be done through accessing government records, official publications of organisations, text books, articles and journals related to the subject matter.

Method of Data Collection

This research work will use the qualitative method of data collection using survey research design. The respondents were from within Igabi LGA. A session of focus group discussion with eight (8) groups of respondents were conducted which comprised 4 groups for men and 4 for women. KII with 6 traditional authorities and 26 security personnel was conducted which explained the reality of less insurgency attacks in the area. Additional data was gathered form review of magazines, newspapers, internet sources, government publications, unpublished materials, edited opinions, which are all secondary data.

Method Data Analysis

The data was analysed using thematic content analysis of qualitative data miner (QDM) software. The analysed data formed the basis for generating findings of the study.

Research findings

This research shows that Nigeria's defence strategy has left much to be desired hence did not adequately address or significantly improve chances of gaining undeniable victory in the war on insurgency.

1. One of the research findings shows that a major setback in the war on insurgency lies with the inadequate implementation of the provisions of the policy.

2. The finding of the research also indicates the justification for the establishment of the new national defence policy as an additional effort towards cubing the violent activities of the insurgency groups.

3. It also identified the need for a joint international collaboration especially with neighboring countries to ensure adequate border patrol and constant surveillance

4. The finding also indicates the urgent need for the review of the current national defence policy to meet up with operational diversity of insurgent groups.

5. One of the major challenges of the national defense strategy is poor inter agency collaboration. A reviewed security strategy must ensure unlimited and uncensored intelligence sharing to increase tendencies of victory against terrorism.

Summary

The title of the research is 'an examination of the impact of Nigeria's national defence strategy on the war against insurgency in Nigeria. A study of Igabi local government area in Kaduna state between 2016 and 2023. The study adopted Clausewitz theory of applied strategy as its theoretical framework. The study anchored on survey research in which mixed method of qualitative and quantitative methods were used. The study utilized both primary and secondary sources of data. The study reviewed some related literature on insurgency and military operations. The study discovered some gaps from literature reviewed which ought to

be filled. Such gaps include the clamour for a reviewed security policy to further check insurgency in Igabi LGA.

Conclusion

Winning the war on insurgency requires a combination of political settlement, civil society participation and military solution. After several false starts, genuine talks should begin without further delay. The federal government should proceed in ensuring unlimited synergy between all security agencies to boost chances of defeating insurgency and insurgents in Igabi LGA and Nigeria ta large. Dialogue with radical Islamists, however, may fail, and other aggrieved groups currently ignored by the authorities could become real threats. The most urgent national question is the constitutional and practical devolution of power, responsibilities and resources from the centre to the states and local councils. Many feel the central government is too powerful and are unhappy with how it allocates resources. A functional, restructured and capacitated Nigeria should be able to tackle the root causes of conflict and violence and end it.

Recommendations

It is recommended that the federal government of Nigeria should among others;

1. Ensure adequate implementation of Nigeria's national security policy.

2. Hasten the review of the current national defence policy haven identified major lapses in its provisions and inability to provide adequate guide to defeat insurgency.

3. Improve intelligence gathering and surveillance so that law enforcement agents could become proactive and reasonably predict potential crime with near accuracy rather than being reactive.

4. Increase its gear towards achieving efficient logistics and transportation network, secure communications, and integrated joint and partner intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities.

5. Collaborate with civil society to advance the importance of security in Nigeria. With active involvement of civil society in security management, it is most likely that we could have less violence, human right abuses and social injustice.

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National Population Projection. 2022

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL SCIENCE DISCIPLINES: ANALYZING THE PROPINQUITY AND CONTRIBUTIONS

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KEYWORDS
Public Administration, Political science, Social Sciences, Interdisciplinary practices, Relevance

ABSTRACT
Public administration as a body of knowledge and subject of study continues to shift from a political science-dominated paradigm to an interdisciplinary mix of theoretical contributions from all social science fields. Therefore, understanding of the theories, concepts, and ideas of social science disciplines is very crucial to understanding the theory and practice of modern public administration. This paper examines the close propinquity between public administration and social science disciplines. In order to carry out this work, data were obtained largely from secondary sources from books, articles journals, Nigerian constitution, published and unpublished materials available as well as internet sources and it was analysed through discourse analyses from different perspectives of disciplinary evolution, development, scope, boundary, research, theory and practice, interrelationship among social sciences, It has been discovered inter-alia that the study and practice of public administration has been significantly influenced and shaped by various social science disciplines like political science, law, sociology, psychology, economics as it incorporates various ideas, concepts and principles in terms of policy formulation, implementation, evaluation as well as general human resource management. The paper recommends that in view of the increasing concern for effectiveness and efficiency in the act of administration, good understanding of the various social science disciplines is very desideratum for administrators especially with expanding demand for public policy reforms related to satisfaction of needs and aspiration of the people. Public administrators should be more proactive pursuit of innovation and breakthroughs in formulation and implementation of policies and programmes for the public interest.

1.0 Introduction

The scope and significance of public administration as a discipline and as an activity of state has grown dramatically over the past decades, a function of population increase, growth and expansion political and bureaucratic institutions, as well as scientific and technological advancements. Increased attention has been paid to the discipline of public administration. Despite the fact that public Administration as discipline of study has undergone transition through various paradigmatic phases when it originally emerged from Political Science, however, the works of theorists such as Gulick (1937), Simon (1946), Rowat (1961), Waldo (1968), and Caiden (1991) contributed significantly to establish public administration as a distinct discipline, (Sarker, Chanthamith, Anusara, Huda Al-Amin, Jiachen, & Nasrin, 2018). As a result of analysis of its various characteristics, the discipline has now been crystallized into many fields and it draws it methods and principles from quite a number of social science disciplines that has close propinquity. This development was largely influenced courtesy of Industrial Revolution which gave rise to issues requiring investigation by specialists. Hence, the broad division of Social Science disciplines into Economics, history, Political Science, Public Administration, Sociology, psychology, law etc has enhance our understanding and solving of several problems posed by social phenomena.

Indeed, the writings in Social Sciences in the 20th century testify to the phenomenal expansion of specialization. This is **so** because, no social event is "uni-dimensinal" nor does it occur in isolation, rather, it is linked with, economic, political, administrative and social systems of a country (Sarker, Chanthamith, Anusara, Huda Al-Amin, Jiachen, & Nasrin, 2018). However, what remains, is the "boundary questions" that public administration as a relative young and emerging study field needs to concern itself. In other words, what kind of contributions could other related disciplines make to the quest for new knowledge that is trans-disciplinary, multi-faceted, interdependent and intertwined in its insights and rationality?

The main research question of this paper therefore, is "what are the contributions of Social Science disciplines to the study and by extension, practice of public administration?" How does the interdisciplinary relationship among social sciences, shape the focus and extend the horizon of public administration?" The major objective of this study therefore is to identify and critically determine the nexus or close propinquity between social disciplines on one hand, and the study and practice of public administration in another hand. In answering these questions, we started by establishing nexus and close propinquity between public administration and social science disciplines consisting Political science, Economics, Sociology, Psychology as well as Law. We then went ahead and explore how theories, ideas, concepts and principles of each of these disciplines shapes and influences the practice of public administration in Nigerian milieu.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Exploring the Concept of Public Administration and Social Science Disciplines

Public administration is made up of two different terms: public and administration. The term "public" refers to government, which is primarily concerned with government activities and actions. On the other hand, "administration" is derived from the Latin word "Administer," which means to serve, guide, control, care for, or look after others. Literally, "administration" refers to the management of public or private affairs. As a result, public administration might simply be defined as the management of public affairs. It manages the people's affairs and provides services to them (Thapar, 2020). Public administration deals with the basic function of implementing the laws of the nation. In essence, public administration is the single most important aspect of bureaucracies across the world. "It encompasses all those operations having for their purpose the fulfillment or enforcement of public policy or the work which the government does to give effect to a law"(White 1951).

According to Pffiner and Presthus (1960), public administration simply means getting the work of government done by coordinating the efforts of the people. It is a broad ranging and amorphous combination of theory and practice for the purpose of promoting a superior

understanding of government and its relationship with the society. Identified as a "field of inquiry with a diverse scope" whose main objective is to "advance management and policies so that government can function." Public management is "centrally concerned with the organization of government policies and programs as well as the behavior of officials (usually non-elected) formally responsible for their conduct" (Thapar, 2020; Sarker, Chanthamith, Anusara, Huda Al-Amin, Jiachen, & Nasrin, 2018). Public administrators include a wide range of unelected public servants, such as cabinet secretaries, human resources (HR) directors, municipal budget directors, city managers, census managers, state mental health directors, and heads of county, regional, state, and federal departments. Public administrators are employees of the state who work in all governmental branches' departments and agencies.

According to Hodgson (1969), public administration comprises all activities of persons or groups in government or their agencies whether these organizations are international, regional or local in their scope in order to fulfill the purpose of these government or agencies.

From the above definitions, it could be understood that public administration is deals with the operations of government, it is the business side of the government, and as such it is concerned with policy making and execution in order to provide essential services to the people. In addition to being the field of study that focuses on this application of government policy and trains future public officials, public administration is the act of carrying out policies.

When we consider the history of the modern social sciences we must recognize the debt that all disciplines owe to one another (Akyildiz, 2012). Each discipline has developed according to its own genius and each has produced its own fruit. Each has generated some form of institution that has served as an example to others; and each, in turn, has borrowed from the other. At the beginning, Public administration suffered from identity crisis to the extent that it has to borrow many theories and approaches for establishing, explaining, and interpreting its affairs, (Akyildiz, 2012).

2.2 Social Science Disciplines

Rollo and Christine (2023) described social science as the study of human society and the social relationships that occur between people. Studying social science is important because it helps to determine why humans act the way that they do. Social science is any academic field of study or research that studies human behavior in its social and cultural contexts. Cultural (or social) anthropology, sociology, psychology, political science, and economics are common examples of social sciences disciplines. Every aspect or branch of social science deals with one aspect of human behaviour and its interaction with social and physical environment. Generally social science deals with the social structure and its functions, social processes, and its causes and laws, starting from the social phenomena and through social relations and social actions (Rashid, 2014). The question is how “scientific” is social science and what are the social science disciplines?

The major purpose of social science is to characterize, clarify, and forecast the nature of the social phenomena and its future developments. This can be done through description, explanation, and prediction to implement social standards, social critique, and education. The social sciences of humanity, which conclude that social sciences should make some effort to study issues concerning people, groups, society, culture, history, and other fundamental issues in order for the social sciences of discipline construction to lay a more solid foundation of understanding, are also what give the social sciences their value (Dogan, 1975). This decision made by science is not the only one that highlights the worth of social sciences.

2.3 How Scientific is Social Science?

One of the basic challenges confronting practically all social sciences is the lack of certain essential characteristics of science, such as exactness, validity, and predictability. Generally, sciences have verifiable laws; sciences follow a systematic procedure of observation, investigation, experimentation, hypothesis formulation, hypothesis verification by facts, tabulation, classification, and correlation of facts in order to arrive at valid reliable conclusions that can be used for generalizations (Rutgers 2010). Thus, exactness,

universal validity and predictability are ensured. “But just as the way we call Physical Sciences which deal with physical phenomena as exact Science or Sciences, we cannot call Social Sciences which deal with human beings as Sciences”. The reason, as emphasized by Rutgers (2010) is that, the social phenomena in which human beings play a major role, cannot be accurately predicted the way we can study and predict phenomena in physical sciences.

Furthermore, no social science can claim to be capable of making such accurate forecasts. This does not rule out the creation of effective laws guiding human behavior. The point is that the level of precision reached in Physical Sciences cannot be replicated in Social Sciences. This is because, in order to be qualified as science, social sciences must have generally applicable and valid principles. Some subjects in the Social Sciences can claim to have originated such concepts, whilst others cannot. The reason is that human behaviour is, so complex that it is difficult to account for it, using the same principles in every context (Curry, Walle, & Gadellaa, 2014). The social sciences are a dual knowledge system made up of philosophical perspectives and empirical techniques. The omnipresence of individual social phenomena leads to the development of a generalized and abstracted system of concepts, paradigms, and propositions that answer and explain the "how" and "why" of social facts. Sociological knowledge is the theoretical perspective of social sciences, where observation, description, and analysis of actual facts serve as the rules and procedures for obtaining and increasing understanding (Curry, Walle, & Gadellaa, 2014). As Ringeling, (2013) observed, sociological knowledge serves as a sociological technique. Theory is the vehicle for knowledge. The approach is a way of constructing and expanding knowledge. The theoretical procedure demonstrates the method’s properties. The method’s use is inextricably linked to its theoretical basis. As a result, social sciences are always a synthesis of theory and methodology.

In the realm of social sciences, perception may be broadly classified into four types. The first involves using the entire social phenomenon as the subject of study and establishing positivism as the sociological tradition in the field. Concentrating on people and their social conduct is the second. The third approach is on analyzing and developing a sociological critique of tradition, with Karl Marx serving as its major proponent. Fourth, several contemporary terms such as "the remaining theory," "discipline theory," "survey," and so on (Vigoda, 2002). According to Pollitt (2010), the main research methods used by social sciences to collect data and analyze data are case law, investigation law, observation law, experimental law, historical law and comparative law.

3.0 Methodology

This paper adopted documentary research. This is based on the premise that documentary research involves analysing, conceptualizing and assessing available information to support a viewpoint or argument of an academic work as rightly pointed out by Scott (2006) and Balihar (2007). In addition, the use of this method was justified on premise that information needed for the study is sufficiently available to provide a reasonable ground and arrive at valid conclusion. A conceptual framework was therefore developed for explaining the interdisciplinary relationship among social science disciplines, political science and public administration through an extensive review of the literature. The study mainly focuses on disciplinary definition, the main branches, research methods, perspectives and the theory and practice aspects. Data was obtained from purely secondary sources.

4.0 Discussions

The debt that all disciplines owe to one another must be acknowledged when examining the history of the modern social sciences (Akyildiz, 2012). Every discipline has grown in accordance with its own brilliance and yielded unique results. Each has created an institution of some kind that has inspired others, and each has also taken inspiration from the other. Public administration first experienced such an identity crisis that it had to adopt numerous ideas and methods in order to construct, explain, and understand its operations (Akyildiz, 2012). Theories, perspectives, approaches and research methods used in social sciences have had a profound impact on the theory and practice of public administration. In terms of theoretical value, social sciences help public management to establish scientific social knowledge. By analyzing the disciplines of social sciences

focusing on the public nature of public administration, we were able to expand and improve the multi-level public administration research (Niculescu & Usaci, 2013).

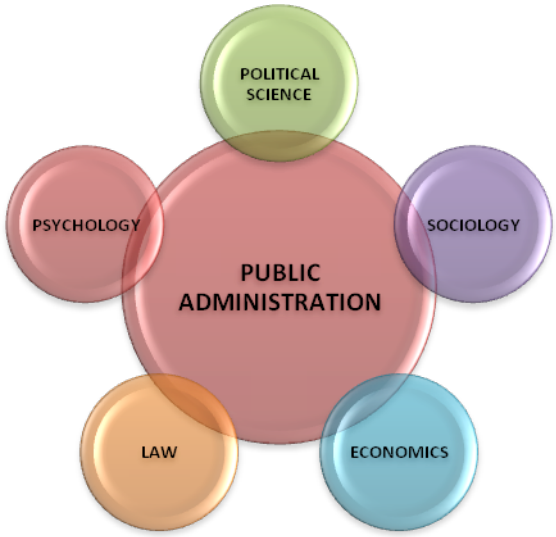


Figure 1: *Public Administration and Social Sciences*

Source: *Designed by Researcher (2024)*

Figure 1 demonstrate the inter-relationships between public administration and social science disciplines which consist of Political science, Economics, Sociology, Psychology, and Law. In practical terms, social sciences help public management pay attention to social facts instead of relying solely on the research norms of data analysis, so as to help people to maintain and improve existing social structures and social systems and to reform social systems that are not conducive to social development. Public administration avoids blindness, enhances self consciousness, and makes our social actions more reasonable and more in line with regularity (Vigoda, 2003).

Now let us diagnose and see how each of these social science disciplines relates and contributes to the theory and practice of public administration.

4.1 Public Administration and Political Science

From initiation, public administration is one of the pillars of political science and political science remains the natural home of public administration. That is why scholars like Wright, (2011), maintained the view that of all the social science disciplines, political science offers the most enormous contribution to the emergence and development of public administration as a discipline of study and as an activity of government. Indeed, public administration itself is a sub-set of political science. Although, the writings of Woodrow Wilson which appeared in the "political Science Quarterly" tries to drew a sharp dichotomy between administration and politics, but, it must be recognized that politics gave rise to public administration, which was previously seen to be a significant area of the field. Major topics in national politics, including state, class, governance, political parties, democracy, and so on, are the subject of political science (Connaughton & Randma, 2002). Political

science and public management share many of the same academic topics.

For example, in Nigeria, a good number of Universities and institutions of higher learning offers Political Science as part of the subjects to be taken while studying public administration, so also public administration is one of the subjects taken while studying political science. Premier institutes like Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, University of Nigeria Nsukka, University of Lagos and many others offered political science as one of the essential requirement for those studying public administration.

From a theoretical perspective, political science one provides the ideological foundation for the development of public administration. Again, the development and improvement of later public management theories have largely inherited and developed the research perspectives, approaches and methods of political science, such as systematic theory of political science, group theory, process theory, elite theory, institutional theory, and game theory (Waldt, 2014). Many theoretical ideas of political science also provide important guidance for solving the practical problems of public administration in reality.

From a practical perspective, political science is increasingly concerned with the research of pressing social and political issues (Olsen 2016). Its reality is being constantly strengthened and reflects the way of knowledge generation in contemporary social sciences from discipline-centered to problem-centered. While analyzing administrative organization, policy development and execution, and public sector management, the political process and its features are critical aspects that public officials must consider (Wright, 2011).

In terms of the relationship between the two, political science provides an important foundation for public administration to investigate government behaviour and can be considered one of the first disciplines of public administration (Dunleavy & Hood, 2016). As an important branch of political science, public administration can be synchronized with the formation and development of modern political science (Wu, Hou, & Ma, 2016).

In addition, Waldt, (2014) opined that political science provides the meta-theory and method for the theory and practice of public administration, which can guarantee the core value orientation of the development of the theory and practice of public administration. It always positions the theory and practice of the public management discipline in the direction of the public interest, to prevent the corresponding deviation of the value of public management theory and practice (Cunliffe & Jun, 2005). The six major fields make up public administration, according to the American Political Science Review (APSR), which published its first issue in 1906 are political theory; comparative legislation; constitutional law, which includes lawmaking and political parties; administrative law, which includes colonial, national, state, and local administration; historical jurisprudence; and international law, which includes diplomacy (Khodr, 2005).

Drawing analogy from the above, we can understand that political science offers a tremendous contribution to the study and application of public administration, both in theory and in practice. Leading public administration professors not only contributed to the formation of APSA, but also trained government managers. A brief but thorough analysis of the previous presidents of both areas' professional bodies demonstrates that political scientists made the majority of contributions to the burgeoning activity of public administration. Six of the first eleven presidents of APSA were from public administration and played key roles in shaping the new field. Similarly, five of the first presidents of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) were political scientists (Sarker, Chanthamith, Anusara, Huda Al-Amin, Jiachen, and Nasrin, 2018).

The domain of public administration concerned with policy formulation, implementation, bureaucracy, public sector accounting, public services, public interest and host of others. Political science centres on establishment and maintenance of political institutions through election and electioneering, power sharing between key organs, arms and structures of government, as well as establishment and maintenance of political relations.

4.2 Public Administration and Sociology

Beyond the iota of any doubt, sociological theories, ideas and experiments offers tremendous contribution to the study and practice of public administration.

Administration as we are aware, operates in the context of the society of which it is a part. Hence, it influences and being influenced by realities and peculiarities of its society in which it exists. Just as the society is concerned with goals, values, belief systems, so also should be the administration.

Sociology is the scientific study of society, social relationships, social interactions, and everyday culture. Sociology is a social science that combines diverse methods of empirical study and critical analysis to produce a body of knowledge on social order, acceptance, and change, also known as social evolution; thus, it can be considered the general science of society. It is a discipline that integrates political, economic, familial, religious, and other ties in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of human social existence (Ashley 2005). On the other hand, Public administration deals with management of man's administrative affairs in society and is concerned with the fulfillment of the communal needs such as security of life, health, education, etc. In order to be responsive and responsible to the needs of the people, the administrators should learn to be conscious of the social goals of the society. To this end, public administration has been shaped and guided by knowledge of sociology.

This explains why Dimock (1937) rightly describes the intimate relationship between public administration and sociology in the following words: "administration exists in a social setting and the pattern of administration is determined by society; but through sensitive administrative leadership, society itself may be changed. That the administrator is not merely an executive; he is also a social engineer, helping society to fulfil itself".

Supporting this view, Sharma, Sadana and Kaur (2013) opined that sociology is concerned with the behavior of man as the member of a group. It studies the various kinds of groups which arises in society and the way in which they influence human instincts and activity. Administration on the other hand is a cooperative enterprise in which usually a large number of people have to meet and act together. Thus, the personnel employed by any organization may be taken to be a social group. Within the larger group of entire personnel, there arise smaller ones based on the common branch or unit of work, common status, personal sympathies and antipathies. These groups and sub-groups have their own loyalties and their own ethos and outlook which gave so many twists and turns to the formal arrangements of the organization and thus deeply influence its work. Knowledge of the way in which groups arise, function and influence their members can illumine many of the phenomenon of administration which remain otherwise incomprehensible. Since such knowledge comes to us from sociology, the importance of this science to public administration need not be overemphasized.

Through the contributions of numerous sociologists, it is clear that sociology has a significant impact on public administration. Max Weber (1864–1920), a famous German sociologist, made the most significant contribution to bureaucratic theory. In addition to bureaucracy, both fields frequently study concepts and terminology including authority, organization, affiliation, alienation, and social change. Sociologists have proposed how to efficiently manage an organization by addressing topics such as motivation, decision making, rewards, punishment, dispute resolution, and many more.

According to scholars such as F. W. Riggs, public administration in developing nations can be comprehended solely by analyzing their social context. In the current administrative state of affairs, public administration has an impact on welfare, social security, and taxation, even on issues like marriage and family. Administrative restrictions have largely taken the role of the more conventional forms of social control used by castes, families, and religious institutions.

Similarly, George Elton Mayo's Hawthorne Studies (1927–1936) unequivocally established that an employee is a "social animal" who derives satisfaction from belonging to a stable group rather than the group as a whole. This was accomplished by encouraging each employee to form positive opinions about their circumstances and by avoiding situations that could cause them to feel threatened or frustrated. This further highlights the role that sociological factors play in raising employee productivity, a point that all administrators should be aware of. The behaviouralists applied the methods and findings of sociology in order to understand organizational behavior. Recent behavioural studies in administration have emphasized socio-psychological dimensions, particularly in the areas of leadership and motivation.

The tools developed by Sociology are made use of by the scholars of Public Administration in order to understand the sociology of administrators. If one looks at the administrative structures engaged in the reconstruction of societies, especially those of developing countries, one will find that the bureaucracy is engaged in community action.

Modern administrators have to face a lot of trade Unions activities, strikes, lockouts, and demonstration are order of the day. The administrators must know how to deal with mobs and crowds and this is an issue that is related to the field of sociology, (Eghe, 2011). Sociology thus provides considerable assistance to public administration.

In our modern time 'Behaviouralists' have particularly laid stress on the close relationship of sociology with public administration. They feel that public administration is only mechanism of social acts and that no administrative problem can be solved unless that is viewed from social view point. This relationship becomes still clearer when one finds public administration carrying out sample surveys and opinion polls for formulation and execution of future and reviewing of the present policies. One also finds that social security and welfare activities are engaging more and more attention of public administrators. Family pension schemes, old age pension, right to work, benevolent funds are some of the measures which have been initiated by public administrators for the advantage of the society as a whole.

4.3 Public Administration and Psychology

Just like sociology, psychology also made significant contribution to the emergence of theories and practice of public administration. Psychology, which began to influence the study of political science at the turn of present century, has now made its appearance in the study of public administration too. Administration is concerned with human behaviour and psychology invariably has contribution to make to the understanding of it. Appleby (1949) also laid emphasis on psychological approach as one of the qualities mentioned by him for a good administrator. A good administrator, according to him "praises good performance in preference to offering criticisms of mistakes. If criticism is really called for, it is offered privately and as in-offensively as possible."

The main point which has emerged from psychological studies of administration is that as a result of psychological reaction of the individuals and groups, there develops an informal organization modifying and supplementing the formal one, shown on the organization chart, in important ways and that the administrator can ignore it only at his peril. The psychological method has largely been applied to business administration and a new branch of psychology known as "industrial Psychology" has developed. In the application of the psychological method to administration, Miss Marry Parker Follet was a pioneer and showed how the wishes, prejudices and values of the individual and groups influence their behaviour in administration. Viewed psychologically, administration becomes essentially a problem of human relations.

A lot of books and research articles have been published by prominent psychologists in the world of public administration which by extension widen our horizon of understanding dynamics and dynamism of organizations. The emergence of **Neoclassical Theory/School of Administrative Thought** consisting of behaviouralist Movement and Human Relationist Movement offered tremendous contribution to the understanding of public administration. Prominent psychologist Like Abraham Maslow, Fredrick Hertzberg, Douglas MC Gregor, David Mc Lelland and host of others also demonstrate how psychology enhance the understanding of the theories and practice of administration in general and public administration in particular.

The Neo-Classical Approach was an attempt at incorporating the behavioral sciences into management thought in order to solve the problems caused by classical theory practices. The premise of this inclusion was based on the idea that the role of management is to use employees to get things done in organizations. Rather than focus on production, structures, or technology, the neoclassical theory was concerned with the employee. Neoclassical theorists concentrated on answering questions related to the best way to motivate, structure, and support employees within the organization.

For instance, **The Behavioral Movement** came from various psychologists who focused on the psychological aspect of workers and other emotional elements such as feelings, and sentiments to explain human behaviour and performance in organization. They used the

knowledge of social psychology and management to in particular emphasizing those intrinsic rewards, psychological needs and self motivation motivates worker. Some prominent pioneers of this school are Abraham Maslow with his Hierarchy of Needs Theory, MC Gregory with his Theory X and Y, Fredrick Hertzberg with his Two Factor Theory, John Stacy Adams with his Equity Theory, David McClelland with his Maturity and Immaturity Theory, Chester Ivan Bernard with his Acceptance Theory.

Contributors like Abraham Maslow, Douglas McGregor, and Chris Argyris had made significant impact. While Maslow's focus was on the importance of human needs—major driving force for human motivation, McGregor had made certain assumptions about people, categorizing them under Theory X and Theory Y. Theory X essentially represents negative views about people, i.e., people are, by nature, lazy, have little ambitions, dislike work, avoid responsibility and require direction to work. Theory Y, on the contrary, assumes people are more positive, capable of self-control, innovative and creative, do not inherently dislike work. **Chris Argyris's** contributions to the behavioural school of thoughts are extremely important. His contributions are **Maturity-Immaturity theory,** integration of individual and organizational goals and pattern of Model-I and Model-II. According to maturity-immaturity theory, people progress from a stage of immaturity and dependence to a state of maturity and independence.

The well-known Hawthorne investigations (1927–1936) by Elton Mayo and his Harvard associates, also demonstrated the significance of psychological and social aspect of a worker as an individual and his work group towards enhancing employee performance. Therefore, for an administrator to be successful, he must encourage Team-working. Team work is possible only when team-spirit is created among the subordinates. If an administrator has to create team-spirit among his employees, he must possess a good knowledge of psychology. Perhaps that is why Cassey (1970) believes that administrators must have training in human relations, but he insists on the right use of his training in human relations. In his words, "the good which comes from training in human relations skills is proportional to the integrity and prudence with which these skills are applied", in administrative processes.

4.4 Public Administration and Economics

Economic theories, ideas concepts and constructs plays significant role in evolution of academic discipline of public administration. As one of the earliest prominent social science subject, economics is concerned with effective and efficient mobilization, allocation, distribution and utilization of human material resources. According to Eghe (2011), both public administration and economics deal with man, though from different viewpoints. Economics consider the wellbeing of people from economic perspective while administration considers the wellbeing of people from administrative point of view. Scholars like famous British economist, Lionel Robbins, (1898 – 1984) defines it as "the science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative use". This definition suggests that economics is as much concerned with human behaviour as many other Social Science disciplines.

This close relationship between economics and public administration makes it imperative for public administration to borrow a lot of concepts, ideas and principles from economics with a view to satisfying economic yearnings and aspirations of the people. This also becomes clearer when we look at the fact that economic activities of modern governments are increasing day by day. As such, the administrators have to shoulder more and more responsibilities. This position was corroborated by the submission of Sharma, Sadana Kaur (2013), who observed that the major objectives of administration during 18th and a good part of 19th century were maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue, as well as protection of lives and properties.

Today, public administrators must have a comprehensive knowledge of economics in order to be able to function and operate properly. This is because every administrative policy has to be evaluated in terms of its economic consequences. Most pressure groups and pulls which seek to influence government policy have economic interest attached to them. It is considered to be the foremost duty of administration to ensure economic prosperity and strength of the nation. It must fight adverse business cycle, inflations, and depressions, secure employment for the unemployed, maintain as far as possible favourable balance of trade and balance of

payment and do everything within its power to safeguard the financial credit and stability of nation, (Sharma, Sadana & Kaur 2013).

Similarly, as democracy is being established and considered as the best form of government with main purpose of ensuring social justice, equality and fairness among the society. Hence, democratic government believed in equal distribution of wealth among the members of the society. Therefore, we may be right to state that unless administrators have equipped themselves with basic knowledge of economics, they cannot fulfill the wishes and the aspirations of the masses.

This submission is in line with the provision of 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN as Amended). According to Section **16.** (2);

> *The State shall direct its policy towards ensuring the promotion of a planned and balanced economic development; that the material resources of the nation are harnessed and distributed as best as possible to serve the common good; that the economic system is not operated in such a manner as to permit the concentration of wealth or the means of production and exchange in the hands of few individuals or of a group; and that suitable and adequate shelter, suitable and adequate food, reasonable national minimum living wage, old age care and pensions, and unemployment, sick benefits and welfare of the disabled are provided for all citizens.*

The section made it very imperative for Nigerian government to harness the resources of the nation and promote national prosperity and an efficient, a dynamic and self-reliant economy; control the national economy in such manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity; without prejudice to its right to operate or participate in areas of the economy, other than the major sectors of the economy, manage and operate the major sectors of the economy, without prejudice to the right of any person to participate in areas of the economy within the major sector of the economy, protect the right of every citizen to engage in any economic activities outside the major sectors of the economy.

Furthermore, modern age is the age of Economic planning which is one of the most significant instruments of accelerating national development. Through nation planning, government stipulates its economic policies and objectives for a given period of time. As such, problems related to planning cannot be handled by administrators if they do not have basic knowledge of economics, (Eghe (2011). According to Set (1969), planning in the modern jargon involves government control of production in some form or the other. Planned development needs fixing targets, which are to be achieved within a fixed time limit. These targets will remain paper work if the administrators are unable to do their work properly. They are persons who have to face political difficulties relating to targets.

In addition, the increasing preoccupation of modern state with economic and industrial matters has led to the idea of economic and industrial civil service distinct from the traditional civil service in its methods of recruitment, promotion, compensation, tenure and responsibility. In these several ways, economics influence and affected the theory and practice of public administration which in its modern context cannot be satisfactorily be understood without some knowledge of economics.

4.5 Public Administration and Law

Law owes a lot to the emergence of academic discipline of public administration. In other words, Administration is very closely related to constitutional law and can make valuable contributions to it. Woodrow Wilson explained this relationship where he said that "the study of administration, philosophically viewed is closely connected with the study of the proper distribution of constitutional authority. To be efficient, it must discover the simplest arrangements, by which responsibilities can unmistakably be fixed upon officials, the best way of dividing authority without hampering it, and responsibility without obscuring it. And this question of distribution of authority, when taken in to the

sphere of the higher, the original functions of government is obviously a central constitutional question. If administrative study can discover the best principle upon which to base such distribution it will have done constitutional study an invaluable service."

Public administration and law is so intimate that administration is always operating within the parameters of the laws of the land. Hence, nothing that is contrary to law can be attempted by the administrator, however, reasonable or desirable it may be on other grounds. Indeed, the public administrator has to be on the right side of law not only negatively in the sense of not breaking it, but also positively, in the sense of not doing anything unless the laws warrants it. If it does, it will amount to *ultra-vires,* (Sharma, Sadana & Kaur 2013). Jennings (1971) adds that administrative law is a branch of law which is concerned with composition, powers, duties, responsibilities rights and liabilities of the various organs of government which are engaged in public administration.

Public administration for long has been considered as part of constitutional law. This is clear from the definitions of constitutional law given by Dicey when he says that "constitutional law as the term is used in England, appears to include all rules which directly and indirectly affect the distribution or exercise of the sovereign power in the state. The distribution or the exercise of the power points towards the administrative side".

Delegated legislation also brings law and administration close to each other. In every country, the legislature is over saddled with responsibilities of law making. But sometimes, the legislature for lack of time passes law in skeletal form. The details are to be filled in by administrative authorities by making rules and regulations in the light of the bills passed. In this respect, administrators indirectly enjoy law making power.

Most laws contain in them expression of public policy ie they prescribe what shall be done and from that point of view as Wilson (1941) put it, public administration becomes the systematic and detailed execution of public law. It is on account of intimate relationship that in many countries public administration is studied as branch of law. Law and Public administration are also very closely linked with each other. That is why a public administrator is required to work within the framework of laws and as such he must have a close study and knowledge of laws of the land. He is also required to see that there is nothing contrary to the existing rules and also constitution of the country. A public administrator also helps in making laws and equally assists his political head in enacting new laws. In fact, all laws which his minister enunciates in the legislature are on the direct initiative of his senior civil servants who have felt their necessity in actual working.

The close relationship can also be examined when one finds that without laws a public administrator cannot function. Public administration must have a set of laws within which it will be required to work. Similarly, laws are most essential for checking public administration in their attempt to encroach upon the rights of the citizens which otherwise would have been on the mercy of the senior civil servants or others enjoying authority and power. It is this useful information and material which helps public administration in formulation and execution of policies. Without it, the task of public administration would have become very difficult and complicated.

5.0 Conclusion

The paper established that social sciences disciplines have close propinquity with the study and practice of public administration in various aspects. All social phenomena are found integrated in nature. No social event can have understood completely without an understanding of its various dimensions. While knowledge is regarded as single entity, the need to study different aspects of it led to specialization. Therefore, the study of various disciplines *vis-a-vis* others has become necessary. Public Administration as a discipline is only about 100 years old. It got separated from Political Science a few decades ago. It has close relations with other Social Sciences which is being increasingly felt and influenced by the disciplines. This is because Social science disciplines are considered as prime movers of public administration. Social sciences take "social person" as premise of human nature hypothesis, emphasizes cultural function and social structure, explains individual self-awareness, identity and role-playing.

At present, most of the developed and developing countries like Nigeria are in a crucial

period of social transition with profound changes in various interests and concepts. With the continuous promotion of various measures related to government reform, the demand for public administration research is also expanding day by day to cover all the related social science disciplines. Taking into account the complexity of various behaviours of people in social activities, a good understanding of the impact of public administration on various social disciplines can serve as a bridge and link for expanding the ideas, approaches and methods of public administration.

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SOCIAL WORK ROLES AND THE WELLBEING OF ORPHANS AND VULNERABLE CHILDREN IN CALABAR MUNICIPALITY, CROSS RIVER STATE, NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS
Social Welfare, services, socio-economic wellbeing

ABSTRACT
The objective of this study is to examine the correlation between social welfare services and the socio-economic well-being of individuals in Calabar South, Cross River State, Nigeria. To accomplish this objective, a hypothesis was formulated to guide the study. The sample size consisted of four hundred respondents (400). A descriptive survey research approach was employed, utilizing research questionnaires as the primary data collection instrument. Data analysis was conducted using chi-square, simple percentages, and tables. The study's findings indicate a significant relationship between social welfare services in Calabar South and family income. This suggests that the income of many families in the area experiences an uplift during periods of heightened social welfare activities. The study underscores the importance of these findings for the residents of Calabar South.Base on the results, it is recommended that the government take prompt action to raise awareness and exposure among the populace, particularly through community mobilization, traditional leaders, youth groups, and faith-based organizations, regarding the opportunities provided by social welfare service activities in the area. Additionally, the role of non-governmental organizations in enhancing the socio-economic well-being of the population should be emphasized.

Introduction

Social welfare services encompass a broad spectrum of both public and voluntary initiatives, ranging from education and healthcare to community development, social insurance, housing, and more. These services are aimed at aiding disadvantaged groups who may face neglect, dependency, physical challenges, or deprivation due to political, religious, or ethnic reasons, thereby denying them the opportunity for a fulfilling life.

According to Esu (1982), social welfare services are essential for societal improvement, striving to achieve higher levels of social justice, security, freedom, and overall quality of life, considered inherent rights for every individual. These services are defined as initiatives designed to enhance the well-being of individuals, families, groups, and local communities, enabling them to effectively address the social issues prevalent in a constantly evolving society. Social welfare services gained prominence in the aftermath of World War II, particularly under British colonial rule, when global economic recession hindered the financing of developmental projects. Daric (2008) highlights family interference as a significant contributor to broken homes, often linked to gender preferences and polygamous marriages, leading to neglect and emotional strains within families.

Children in broken homes often struggle to maintain healthy relationships with their parents, leading to emotional and psychological challenges. Persistent broken homes can result in girls growing anxious and neurotic, while boys may exhibit aggressive or delinquent behavior. Ekanem and Nya (2010) emphasize the socio-economic repercussions of broken homes, including increased poverty, lower educational attainment, and reduced employment opportunities, particularly in single-parent households.

Social welfare services, such as financial aid, healthcare, education, housing support, and childcare, serve as a vital safety net for families in need. Financial assistance programs, including cash transfers and food aid, can alleviate poverty and provide stability. Access to healthcare, including mental health services, supports families' physical and emotional well-being. Education and job training programs offer avenues for single parents to enhance their skills and income potential. Housing assistance ensures access to safe and affordable living arrangements, while childcare facilitates parents' ability to work and provide for their families (Okoi, 2009).

However, it's important to recognize that social welfare services alone cannot address all the challenges faced by single-parent households. Factors such as social support, job opportunities, and discrimination also influence well-being. Nonetheless, social welfare services play a crucial role in providing a safety net and supporting the socio-economic well-being of families.

Social economic well-being encompasses the overall economic and social welfare of individuals and communities, including factors like education, healthcare, housing, employment, income distribution, social safety nets, and poverty levels (Eso, 2011). Efforts to promote social economic well-being involve policies and programs aimed at reducing poverty and inequality, improving access to education and healthcare, fostering job creation and economic growth, and providing social safety nets for vulnerable populations.

Statement of Problem

In contemporary society, the issue of broken homes has become contentious, constituting a significant social problem within economic communities. This study places particular emphasis on the Calabar South Local Government Area of Cross River State. A considerable portion of the population in this area is comprised of individuals with limited education, leading to a prevalence of superstitions. For instance, some men hold the belief that if their wives cannot conceive male children, the solution is to seek another wife, disregarding the biological fact that it is the male who determines the sex of a child, not the female. Additionally, in households practicing polygamy, husbands often show favoritism towards one wife, causing discord within the family and potentially resulting in broken homes.

Furthermore, there exists a skepticism towards the interventions provided by social

welfare agents, with some individuals questioning their legitimacy in interfering with family issues. Others exhibit reluctance to cooperate, viewing social welfare services as a futile endeavor. This study seeks to explore the role of social welfare services and their impact on the socio-economic aspects of broken homes.

Conceptual Review

Government policies and educational system in Calabar South Local Government Area of Cross River State

The relationship between government policies and the education system is fundamental, with governments wielding significant influence over educational structures and practices in many countries. As outlined by Ubi (2015), government policies can shape various facets of education, encompassing curriculum design, funding allocation, teacher recruitment and training, student evaluations, and more. For instance, policies dictate which subjects are taught, instructional methodologies, and resource provision for educators and learners. Moreover, government policies determine the financial investment in education and its distribution among educational institutions, profoundly impacting educational quality and resource availability.

Furthermore, governmental directives impact teacher recruitment criteria, training standards, and professional accountability measures. Certain governments may mandate specific qualifications or examinations for teacher certification, shaping the caliber of educators. Overall, governmental policies wield considerable influence over the education system, molding the educational experiences of students. Governments bear the responsibility of crafting and implementing policies to enhance societal well-being, fostering an orderly and conducive environment for societal advancement. However, as explored by Sunday and Awusa (2011), the complexity of governance and policy-making can lead to unintended consequences. In Nigeria, for instance, societal fragmentation among ethnic groups presents a significant challenge to national unity. To address this, governments introduce policies like educational quotas aimed at fostering inclusivity and bridging divides. While such policies promote unity, they may inadvertently undermine educational quality, as seen in the case of university quotas impacting academic standards.

Additionally, ill-informed policies such as uneven fund distribution can disrupt academic activities, exemplified by salary arrears prompting strikes among lecturers and support staff. These disruptions directly impede educational processes within affected institutions. In summary, while government policies are essential for societal progress and cohesion, their impact on education must be carefully balanced to ensure both unity and academic excellence are upheld.

Economic condition and family income in Calabar South Local Government Area of Cross River State

Socioeconomic status (SES) serves as a comprehensive measure, blending economic and sociological factors to assess an individual's or family's position within society relative to others. As highlighted by Marmot and Michael (2014), when evaluating SES, factors such as household income, educational attainment of earners, and occupational status are scrutinized. This holistic approach contrasts with individual assessments, where personal attributes are considered.

Lareau (2013) categorizes SES into three main tiers: high, middle, and low, representing the spectrum of socioeconomic positions. Assigning individuals or families to these categories involves assessing any or all of the three primary variables: income, education, and occupation.

Furthermore, empirical evidence suggests that low income and limited educational attainment serve as potent predictors of various physical and mental health issues, often attributable to adverse environmental conditions that perpetuate social disadvantages (Simiyu, 2011).

When examining income, it encompasses various sources such as wages, profits, rents, and other forms of earnings, including governmental assistance. Income can be understood in both relative and absolute terms. Absolute income, as posited by economist Keynes, indicates that consumption increases proportionally with income, albeit not at an identical rate. Conversely, relative income influences savings and consumption patterns relative to others within society. Income

inequality, a prominent issue globally, is commonly assessed using the Gini Coefficient, where a value of 0 signifies perfect income equality, while 1 indicates absolute inequality (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2014). This measure enables policymakers and researchers to gauge and address disparities in wealth distribution.

Overall, income serves as a widely utilized metric for assessing socioeconomic status due to its accessibility and comprehensiveness. Understanding and addressing income inequality are crucial steps towards promoting social equity and improving overall societal well-being.

Social Attitudes and Safety Nets in Calabar South Local Government Area, Cross River State

The impact of broken homes on both families and society has been extensively studied. Polanen (2010) highlights various effects, some immediate and others manifesting over time.

Colcord (2019) emphasizes the significant impact on children from broken homes, leading to long-lasting intellectual, physical, and emotional scars. Saheed (2018) and Okoi&Omang (2018) further note the development of Attachment Disorder in such children due to lack of emotional support.

McLanahan (2019), supported by Ofem et al. (2021), suggests that children from broken homes are more prone to future marital instability. This is attributed to disrupted parental investment and lack of conflict resolution skills.

Margaret (2018) discusses the financial repercussions, stating that divorce increases financial burdens, especially for mothers, leading to decreased standard of living, particularly among lower socio-economic groups. Morgan (2017) adds that assets, including the matrimonial home, may be liquidated post-divorce, further impacting household income negatively. Regarding social welfare, governments implement policies aimed at aiding the needy and less privileged, including financial assistance for the elderly and unemployed youth, healthcare provision, and educational support (Ofem et al., 2020). Understanding how these services relate to broken homes is crucial for effective intervention and support.

Theoretical Framework

Poverty theory by Oscar Lewis (1996)

Oscar Lewis (1996) introduced the theory of poverty, suggesting that the sub-culture within impoverished communities develops mechanisms that perpetuate their condition, such as inadequate clothing, nutrition, and hygiene. Breaking out of this cycle is often difficult or impossible due to limited opportunities. Children born into poverty face obstacles to education, as their families struggle with financial instability, which further exacerbates their circumstances.

This theory is relevant to the research at hand as it underscores how poverty influences parental factors that affect children's academic performance. Parents with low incomes may struggle to provide their children with essential academic resources like textbooks, school fees, and proper nutrition, thereby hindering their educational success.

Furthermore, the theory highlights how sub-cultural values are internalized, particularly impacting those who are illiterate and may resist such values. For instance, the belief that maternal figures are solely responsible for children's education can place a heavy burden on mothers, complicating their ability to support their children academically. Poverty may also force parents to resort to sending their children to work as street hawkers, further impeding their educational progress.

Child development theory by Lev Vygotsky (1896)

Lev Vygotsky (1896) introduced the theory of child development, emphasizing that children acquire knowledge of their environment through physical interaction. His socio-cultural theory posits that learning is inherently social, requiring support from parents, caregivers, peers, and society at large to develop higher psychological functions.

Vygotsky focused on how cultural elements, such as customs, beliefs, skills, and values, are transmitted to new generations within a society. According to his theory, social interaction within the family and with knowledgeable members of the community plays a pivotal role in children's acquisition of

behaviors and cognitive processes relevant to their culture. In this context, adult or peer intervention is crucial for facilitating development.

He argued that while initial development is driven by a child's immediate social interactions, as learning becomes internalized, there is a transition to individual learning. Vygotsky viewed children as apprentices who learn alongside those with greater experience, benefiting from their understanding of their abilities and needs.

Methodology

The research employed a descriptive research design, aimed at uncovering existing phenomena by querying individual respondents about their beliefs and attitudes on the subject matter. This design was chosen because it allows for comprehensive coverage of the study area, facilitated by the ease of gathering information from respondents through questionnaires. The focus of this research project was the Calabar South Local Government Area of Cross River State, situated in the Southern Senatorial District. Established in 1991 from the former Calabar South, it comprises eleven council wards with its headquarters located in Anantigha. These wards are numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

Calabar South is composed of various districts, including Henshaw Town, EfutUwanse, and EfutEbua. Christianity is the predominant religion in this area, while the Efik and English languages are widely spoken. According to the National Population Commission (2006) Census, the population of Calabar South was 191,515. Its geographical coordinates are approximately latitude 5.07N to 4.53N and longitude 8.15E. Various occupations are pursued in the area, including peasant farming, trading, fishing, and some civil service roles, with numerous dialects spoken.

The sample size for the study comprised 400 men and women selected from a study population of 3,742. These individuals included food vendors, riders, hawkers, etc., who shared their experiences relating to events like social welfare service activities. The sample of 400 respondents was drawn after dividing the entire area into four research zones and selecting one hundred respondents from each zone using the stratified sampling technique. This sample size was determined to test the hypotheses proposed for the study.

The sample size was finally arrived by applying the Taro Yamen formula which is:

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Where N = total population for the study

E = standard error which is @ 0.05 level

$$= \frac{374}{374} + (005)^2$$

$$= \frac{3743}{3743}(0.0025)$$

$$3743 = 9.36$$

$$\frac{3743}{9.36} = 400$$

Findings

Table 4.1 Distribution of respondents by sex

Sex	Frequencies	percentage (%)
Male	161	40.45
Female	237	59.54
Total	398	100%

Source: Field survey, 2024

Table 4.1 above indicates that one hundredth and sixty-one (161) of the respondents representing 40.45% were males while two hundredth and sixty-seven (267) of the respondents were females representing 59.54% indicating that more females were selected for the study and also indicating that more females are involved in income generating activities during the peak of social welfare service activities in the area.

Table 4.2 Distribution of respondents by age

Age	Frequencies	percentage (%)
10-13	209	69.5
14-16	105	27.2
17-19	43	2.0
20 and above	41	1.2
Total	398	100%

Source: Field survey, 2024

Table 4.2 above indicates that majority of the respondents that is 209 representing 69.5% were between the ages of 10-13, ages 14-16 were 105 representing 27.2%. ages 17-19 had 45 respondents representing 2.0% while respondents who were 20 years and above were 41 representing 1.2%. This indicates that children of school age are involves in economic activities associated with social welfare service activities in the area

Table 4.3 Distribution of respondents by educational qualification

Educational Qualification	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
B.Sc and above	140	35.4
HND and OND	128	31.7
SSCE and above	130	32.9
Total	398	100%

Source: Field survey, 2024

The table above shows that 140 respondents representing 35.4%, 128 respondents representing 31.7%, while 130 representing 32.9% have B.Sc and above, HND and OND and SSCE and below respectively.

Respondents variables data

Question: Have social welfare service activities impacted positively on family income in Calabar South?

Variables	Frequencies	percentage (%)
Yes	251	63.0
No	147	37.0
Total	398	100%

Source: Field survey, 2024

If yes to above, rate the impact on a scale of 1-5 with 1 as very high impact

1	244	56.3
2	50	12.6
2	75	18.8
4	22	5.5
Total	398	100%

The level of business potentials in Calabar South is directly proportional to level of social welfare service activities in the area.

Variables	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
Yes	244	63.0

No	154	37.0	
Total	398	100%	

Business potentials during social welfare service activities are highest in which sector?

Commercial motor bike	50	12.6
Accommodation and hostel services	75	18.8
Good vendors	95	23.9
Selling of state cultural products	10	3.8
Commercial taxes	163	40.9
Sale of emblems	20	5.0
Total	398	100%

Social welfare service and income generating capacity of people in the study area. Income generating capacity of the people in Calabar South expands during the social welfare service activates in the area.

1 (very high)	199	50%
2 (moderate)	100	30%
3 (the same)	60	10%
4 (indifferent)	39	10%

Test of Hypotheses

There is no significant relationship between level of truism activities

South and family income of the people.

Table showing simple regression analysis between level of social welfare service activities in Calabar South and the income of the families in the area

R	R square	Adjusted R square	Error of the estimate
.173	.068	0.67	6.92000

Model	Sum of squares	DF	Mean square	F	Sig.
Regression	1036.72	2	876.821	49.423	.000
Residual	26229.801	396	45.588		
Total	27266.522	398			

The table above shows that the simple regression analysis on the relationship between social welfare service activities in Calabar South and income of families produced an adjusted R^2 of 67, meaning that the variance of 67.0% can be produced. The F-value of ANOVA shows F - 49.423 having a P value of .000 with 2 and 36 df. at.05 level of significance. With this result t means that the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternate hypothesis which states that there is a significance relationship between level of social welfare service activities in Calabar South and family income.

The development of social welfare service activities in Calabar South does not significantly relate with the development potentials m the area. To test this hypothesis, the contingency chi-square statistic will be used that is:

(X-) = £ (O-E)

Where O = Observed frequency

E = Expected frequency

£ - Summation sign

And E = (RT) (CT)

GT

398 x 320

960 = 114.3

617x320

960 = 205.6

343 x 320 = 114.3

960

617x320 = 205.6

960

343 x 320

960 = 114.3

Discussion of Findings

The following are the findings from the study; Firstly, one notable outcome reveals a substantial correlation between social welfare services activities in Calabar South and family income. This suggests that the income of many families in the area experiences a notable increase during the peak of social welfare service activities, such as the renowned social welfare service events.

The study underscores the significance of these business opportunities for residents of Calabar South, particularly during festive periods, and especially during the height of social welfare service activities in the area.

Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate the correlation between social welfare services and the socio-economic well-being of the residents of Calabar South. A sample of 398 respondents was selected for the study. Data was collected through questionnaires and subjected to rigorous statistical analysis using appropriate tests as per the formulated hypotheses. The analysis revealed a strong and significant relationship between social welfare service activities and various factors including family income, business potentials, and income-generating capacity among the people of Calabar South.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are proposed:

i. Given that family income serves as a pivotal component of national income and an indicator of macroeconomic development, the government should prioritize the development of other sectors of social welfare services to attract more families to the economic benefits offered by such services in the area.

ii. Recognizing that business potentials play a significant role in driving social and economic well-being, it is recommended that services and workshops be organized for the residents of the area to enhance their exposure to such potentials during social welfare service activities.

iii. Addressing the issue of low income generation, particularly in third-world countries like Nigeria, should be prioritized. Further strategies and interventions should be implemented to uplift income levels among the population.

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TOURISM AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC WELLBEING OF PEOPLE IN CALABAR MUNICIPALITY, CROSS RIVER STATE, NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS
Tourism, Socio-economic wellbeing, Family income, Tourism activities, Business potentials, Income generation capacity

ABSTRACT
This research aims to explore the connection between tourism and the socio-economic well-being of the residents of Calabar Municipality in Cross River State, Nigeria. To achieve this objective, three research questions and corresponding hypotheses were formulated to guide the study. The study involved a sample size of four hundred respondents (400), employing a descriptive survey research approach. The primary data collection tool utilized was a research questionnaire, and data analysis involved chi-square, simple percentages, and tables. The study's findings indicate a significant correlation between tourism activities in Calabar Municipality and family income. This suggests that the income of many families in the area experiences a notable increase during peak tourism events, such as the renowned Calabar Carnival. The research underscores the substantial impact of these business potentials on the residents of Calabar Municipality, particularly during festive periods and the height of carnival activities. Additionally, it was observed that the income-generating capacity of residents receives a significant boost during peak tourism periods. Based on these findings, several recommendations are proposed. Firstly, the government should promptly initiate awareness campaigns and expose the community to the opportunities presented by the tourism industry through channels such as community mobilization, engagement with local chiefs, and collaboration with youth and faith-based organizations. Furthermore, there is a need to highlight the role of non-governmental organizations in contributing to the enhancement of the socio-economic well-being of the residents.

Introduction

Countries worldwide are actively seeking alternative sources of income to ensure the welfare of their citizens. While some are diversifying beyond natural resource endowments, others are exploring the potential of tourist attractions (Ofem, et al. 2021). In Africa, notable nations like Kenya, South Africa, Egypt, and our own Nigeria are actively engaged in harnessing their tourist sites to generate income for the benefit of their citizens. Nigeria, in particular, possesses significant tourism potential that, if effectively utilized, can bring substantial economic advantages to its people. Examining some of Nigeria's tourist sites, such as the Aruguga fishing festival in Kebbi State, the Durbar Horse riding in Kano State, and the renowned Calabar Carnival festival, unveils the considerable economic benefits derived from these attractions. In Cross River State, for instance, tourism has played a pivotal role in enhancing the socio-economic well-being of its citizens through the cascading effects of income generation at both individual and family levels. The state's tourism landscape includes the Calabar Carnival, the Calabar Museum, the Monoliths, the Qua Falls, and various other tourist points scattered across the region.

In Calabar Municipality of the State, tourism revolves around the Calabar Carnival, the monorial, The Tinapa Resort and the Calabar Ranch Resort. Tourism activities in these areas have generated economic activities in Calabar creating huge opportunities for investment and income generation for individuals and families. Indeed, most individuals and families have drawn huge benefits from tourism activities by keeping or taping into the economic benefits of tourism in Calabar Municipality and this has impacted positively on the socioeconomic wellbeing of people in Calabar Municipality.

Statement of the Problem

The economic benefit of tourism across the world cannot be overemphasized. In realization of this countries have consistently developed their potentials in this sector and exposing their citizens to key into these benefits. Nigeria's potentials are significant to the wellbeing of her citizens that is why both the federal and state governments is making frantic efforts to maximize these potentials for the benefit of their citizens. Calabar Municipality in Cross River State is not left out in this regard. Here, people have come to realize the importance and economic benefits of this sector by positioning themselves strategically to tap from these benefits. In realization of this, this study is specifically design to x-ray tourism and the socio-economic wellbeing of people in Calabar Municipality paying attention particularly to family income, business potentials generation and income generation capacity of tourism activities in the area.

Objectives of the Study

This study was generally meant to examine tourism and the socioeconomic wellbeing of the people of Calabar Municipality. Specifically, the study is geared towards achieving the following objectives:

i. To access the extent to which tourism has improve family income

ii. To examine how tourism activities have improved on business potentials in the area

iii. To examine the relationship between tourism and the income generation capacity of the people of Calabar Municipality

Research Questions

i. Does any relationship exist between family income and tourism activities in Calabar Municipality?

ii. What is the relationship between tourism and business potentials in Calabar Municipality?

iii. Does any relationship exist between tourism and income generation capacity of the people of Calabar Municipality?

Research Hypotheses

i. There is no significant relationship between family income and tourism activities in Calabar Municipality.

ii. Business potentials in Calabar municipality are not significantly affected by tourism activities in the area

iii. There is no significant relationship between tourism and income generation capacity of the people of Calabar Municipality

Significance of the Study

This study will generally be of enormous importance to the people of Calabar Municipality, but specifically, the study will be of great benefit to government agencies in the state tourism. This study will serve as a reference point for them. They will be properly guided to channel public funds to the appropriate activities in the tourism sector that will generate potentials for the socio-economic wellbeing of the people of the area. Again, this study will also serve as a reference material for future studies on tourism and its significant benefit and potentials to members of the academic communities both within and outside the shores of our country.

Assumptions of the study

For the purpose of this study the following assumptions was made.

First, it is assuming that respondents will cooperate with the investigator, again it will be assumed for the purpose of this study that the investigator will be provided with the opportunity by government agencies in terms of access to some data on tourism activities in the state. It will also be assumed that respondents will feel free to allow the investigator some level of access to their financial transactions especially during the peak of tourism activities in Calabar Municipality.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to Calabar Municipality of Cross River State. Calabar Municipality is located the southern senatorial district of the state. The local government shares boundaries with Odukpani, Akamkpa and Akpabuyo Local Government Areas of the State. It is also the seat of government in Cross River State. Most of the population consists of business people, civil servants and the political class. The area has great potentials in tourism and attracts populations yearly because of the Calabar Carnival which is the most spectacular event that attracts global attention to the area.

Definition of terms

For the purpose of this study, the following terms shall be operationally defined:

Tourism: the movement of people or populations from one geographical location or another for the purpose of relaxation and having fun

Potentials: the ability or capacity of an activity or process to generate benefits for those involve or around the activities

Income: the financial benefits to an individual that is involve or position his/herself for tourism benefits

Wellbeing: the state of management in one's standard of living.

Literature Review

Tourism has emerged as a crucial pillar for the economies of many developing regions, particularly in Europe, Africa, and Asia. According to the 2018 World Tourism Report (WTR), Kenya's economy has experienced increased vitality, with the tourism sector outperforming other industries in the country. Global attention has been drawn to Kenya's thriving tourism industry, which has become a central force driving the nation's economic activities. Similarly, a 2012 report by Wintel revealed that countries in Asia, notably China and India, allocate a substantial percentage of their annual budgets to boost the tourism sector.

In Nigeria, the National Tourism Development Commission (NTDC) reported in 2004 that the cumulative impact of tourism-related activities surpasses the economies of some smaller countries in West and Central Africa. This finding aligns with a study conducted by Amine, Waziri (2018) and Ofem, et al. (2018), which highlighted the economic significance of events like the Arugunga fishing festival in Kebbi State. The study emphasized the festival's role in generating economic activities and benefits for neighboring countries such as Cameroon, Niger, Chad, among others. These activities range from financial transactions through point of sale (POS) points to food vendors along the streets. In another report submitted by the Cross River carnival commission (2012), the report indicates that

calabar Municipality being the seat of attracted over five thousand foreigners with an estimated business value of over five hundred million naira to the Municipality alone.

Again, in its global report of (2020), the World Tourism Association (WTA) describes tourism as the new oil well of some countries especially in Africa and Asia. According to the report, these countries have fully deliver their tourism potentials the maximum levels such that they have become tourism models for other countries and their citizens have fully realized the importance of this by tapping fully into the potentials associated with a develop tourism sector thereby making a living out of it.

According to a 2020 report from the South African Department of Tourism, the department highlighted the significance of the tourism industry and its impact on the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The report indicated that the tourism sector contributed approximately 15% to the nation's GDP. Specifically, in Calabar Municipality, especially during the peak of tourism activities like the Calabar Carnival, various businesses such as vendors, commercial motorcyclists, taxi drivers, and sellers of cultural products experience a surge in their operations, leading to notable increases in sales and subsequently, disposable income. In a parallel development, when discussing the renowned Arugun festival, Mallam Yahaya, the former Commissioner for Tourism Development in Kebbi State, suggested that residents living in proximity to the festival area have witnessed an improvement in their economic status compared to years before the festival commenced.

i) Tourism and family income

The correlation between tourism and family income in Nigeria is of paramount importance. According to the 2017 report from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), states with well-established tourism sectors exhibit a notable improvement in family income, particularly during the peak of activities in the region. Noteworthy mentions in the report include Cross River State, Kebbi, Kano, Edo, and Kaduna States.

Additionally, the advice provided in the 2016 report from the Revenue Mobilization Allocation and Fiscal Commission (NRMAFC) underscores the significance of states bolstering their internally generated revenue (IGR), especially in the face of declining allocations. The report recommends that states focus on actively developing sectors within their economies, with particular emphasis on the tourism sector. This strategic approach is crucial, as dwindling allocations adversely impact the well-being of citizens and their families. The direct correlation between family income and the welfare of its members is particularly emphasized, especially for young families with children. These families require maximum care and attention, particularly in terms of health and nutritional needs. Therefore, a thriving tourism sector can play a pivotal role in enhancing the overall welfare of families in the mentioned states.

ii) Tourism and Business potentials

The intertwining of family income and tourism mirrors the interconnected relationship between tourism and the business prospects of various geographical locations, particularly in Nigeria. Umoren (2020) and Ofem et al. (2020) highlighted this dynamic, asserting that the South-South geographical zone has seen a proliferation of business ideas spurred by tourism activities. This surge in business innovation has significantly enhanced the economic potential and expanded the business landscape of the region. The Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, in its August 2007 quarterly report, commended the tourism sector as a direct catalyst for manufacturing growth in the country. The sector contributed to increased demand for manufactured goods, as noted by Mr. Olayinka Oso, the chairman for the South-West Zone. He specifically cited a rise in demand for consumables such as Indomie noodles, soft drinks, toiletries, and more, attributing this upturn to the vibrant activities within the tourism sector.

iii) Tourism activities and income generation capacity of individuals

Residents in tourism-centric areas can affirm the positive impact of tourism activities on their income. The Arugungu fishing festival, in particular, has significantly contributed to the capacity building of the local population. Young people, especially those in the vicinity of the river, have devised strategies to tap into business opportunities during the peak of activities resulting from the increased influx of visitors. These visitors, arriving in large

numbers, come with diverse needs such as accommodation, food, transportation, and various social engagements. The local youth have honed their skills and intellect to effectively offer the necessary services to meet the demands of the growing number of tourists in the area. The experiences of residents in Calabar Municipality, including motorists and food vendors, serve as substantial evidence of how tourism has substantially enhanced their income-generating capabilities.

Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study, the following theories were used. They are the functionalist perspective and structural model.

i) Functionalist Perspective

The main proponents of functionalism are Durkheim and Spencer. The main idea behind this is the examination of any entity, body or system as a function of different parts working cooperatively to maintain the system or whole. Looking of the level of society it is pertinent to point out the society comprises of different parts or institutions all working cooperatively for the survival, existence and persistent of the society. Going further, the tourism sector and its economic dimension is part of the economy or society contributing significantly to the growth and development of the economy and society. It is an integral part of the whole system with its unique characters differently it from other sectors yet contributing significantly to the whole. The unique characteristics of the tourism sector and its potentials makes it the hob of economic activities and a unique model to be emulated and practice by other sectors and government.

ii) The structural model

Structionalism is rooted in the ideas, Spencer and Comte. In their views they argued that every sector or parts should be studied individually so that the contributions of that or sector to the growth and development of the whole can be understood. Tourism as a unit of the economy and society has different aspects ranging from eco-tourism, cultural tourism and most recently medical tourism. These aspects of tourism must be understood individually and their functions understood and contributions highlighted.

Methodology

The study adopted the descriptive research design. This research design seeks to obtain information and disclose exiting phenomena by asking individual respondent about their beliefs and attitudes on the subject matter. The justification for this research design is based on the fact that it helps the researcher to cover a wide scope of the study since the use of questionnaire for data collection is easy to obtain information from respondents based on enquiry and findings.

The people of Calabar Municipality are mostly make up of Efiks, Quas, people from Northern and Southern Senatorial districts of the state. The main indigenous people are the Quas and Ejagham nations. The populations here are mostly engaged in small or minor level of agriculture, business outlets. The main markets are the Watt and Marian markets.

Hence, other markets also punctuate the landscape of the area. Calabar Municipality has an estimated population of about 400,000 people. The area also houses the seat of government in Cross River State. It shares boundary with Akwa Ibom State, Odukpani, Akamkpa and Calabar South Local Government Areas of the state.

The population for this study comprises of 3,742 households' heads pull out for the study comprising of adult men and women who are directly involve in economic activities associated with tourism.

The sample pulled out of the population for the study is made of 400 men and women pulled out of the study population of 3,742. This include food vendors, motorbike riders, hawkers etc who share their experiences relating events like the Calabar carnival and other tourism activities.

The sample of 400 respondents was carried at after demarcating the entire area into four research zones and one hundred respondents drained from designated research zones using the stratified sampling technique. This sample size will be used to test the hypotheses raised for the study. The sample size was finally arrived by applying the Taro Yamane formula which is

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Where N = total population for the study
E = standard error which is @ 0.05 level

$$= \frac{374}{374+1(005)^2}$$

$$= \frac{374}{3743(0.0025)}$$

$$= \frac{3743}{9.36}$$

$$= 400$$

Findings

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents by Sex

Sex	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
Male	161	40.45
Female	237	59.54
	398	100%

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 1 above indicates that one hundredth and sixty-one (161) of the respondents representing 40.45% were males while two hundredth and thirty-seven (237) of the respondents were females representing 59.54% indicating that more females were selected for the study and also indicating that more females are involved in income generating activities during the peak of tourism activities in the area.

Table 4.2 Distribution of respondents by Age

Age	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
10-13	209	69.5
14-16	105	27.2
17-19	43	' 2.0
20 and above	41	1.2

Source: Field Survey, 2024

Table 2 above indicates that majority of the respondents that is 209 representing 69.5% were between the ages of 10=13, ages 14-16 were 105 representing 27.2%, ages 17-19 had 45 respondents representing 2.0% while respondents who were 20 years and above were 41 representing 1.2%. This indicates that children of school age are involves in economic activities associated with tourism activities in the area.

Table 3: Distribution of Respondents by Educational Qualification

Educational qualification	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
B.Sc and above	140	35.4
HND and OND	128	31.7
SSCE and below	130	32.9
	398	100

Source: Field Survey, 2024

The table above shows that 140 respondents representing 35.4%, 128 respondents representing 31.7%, while 130 representing 32.9% have B.sc and Above, HND and OND and SSCE and below respectively.

Respondents Variables Data

Question: Have tourism activities impacted positively on family income in Calabar Municipality?

Variables	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
Yes	251	63.0
No	147	37.0

If yes to above, rate the impact on a scale of 1-5 with 1 as very high impact

1	244	56.3
2	50	12.6
3	75	18.8
4	22	5.5
Total	398	100%

The level of business potentials in Calabar Municipality is directly proportional to level of Business potentials during tourism activities are highest in which sector?

Variables	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
Yes	244	63.0
No	154	37.0
	398	100%

The level of business potentials in Calabar Municipality is directly proportional to level of tourism activities in the area.

Commercial motor bike	50	12.6
Accommodation and hotel services	75	18.8
Food vendors	95	23.9
Selling of state cultural products	10	3.8
Commercial taxes	163	40.9
Sale of emblems	20	5.0
Total	398	100%

Tourism and income generating capacity of people in the study area. Income generating capacity of the people in Calabar Municipality expands during tourism activities in the area.

Variables	Frequencies	Percentage (%)
Yes	251	71%
No	147	29%
	398	100%

If you have benefited from this and your answer is yes, rate income generating capacity during tourism activities on a scale of 1-4 with 1 as very high.

1 (very high)	199	50%
2 (moderate)	100	30%
3 (the same)	60	10%
4 (indifferent)	39	10%

Test of hypotheses

There is no significant relationship between level of tourism activities in Calabar Municipality and family income of the people.

Table showing simple regression analysis between level of tourism activities in Calabar municipality and the income of the families in the area.

R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Error of the Estimate
.173	.068	0.67	6.92000

Model	Sum of squares	DF	Mean square	F	Sig
Regression	1036.72	2	876.821	49.423	.000
Residual	26229.801	396	45.588		
Total	27266.522	398			

The table above shows that the simple regression analysis on the relationship between tourism activities in Calabar Municipality and income of families produced an adjusted R2 of .067, meaning that the variance of 67.0% can be predicted. The F-value of ANOVA shows F = 49.423 having a P value of .000 with 2 and 396 df. at .05 level of significance. With this result It means that the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternate hypotheses which states that there is a significance relationship between level of tourism activities in Calabar Municipality and family income.

Chi- Square contingency table for hypothesis 2

Cell	0	E	O-E	(O-E)2	$\frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$
A	204	205.6	-1.6	2.56	0.012
B	116	114.3	1.7	2.89	0.025
C	143	205.6	-62.6	3,918.76	19.06
D	117	114.3	62.6	3,931.29	34.39
E	270	205.6	64.4	4,142.36	20.17
F	50	114.3	-643	4,134.49	36.17
					X^2= 109.827

Degree of freedom (df) (R-l) (C-l) = (3-D (2-1) =

(2) (1) = 2

Level of significance = 0.05

Df = 2

Computed x^2 value = 109.827

Tabulated value of x^2 = 5.99 = 75

Decision rule

Reject the null hypotheses which states that there is no significant relationship between the level of tourism activities in Calabar Municipality and the development of business potentials in the area and accept the alternate hypothesis which states that the development of tourism activities in Calabar Municipality directly relate with the development of business potentials in the area.

Discussion of Findings

The comprehensive analysis of this study will be thoroughly examined in this discussion. To begin with, one of the study's outcomes reveals a substantial correlation between tourism activities in Calabar Municipality and family income. This suggests that the majority of families in the area experience an increase in income, particularly during peak tourism events such as the renowned Calabar carnival. The research underscores that the significant findings regarding business potentials primarily benefit residents of Calabar Municipality, especially during the general festive period and, more specifically, during the peak of carnival activities. Additionally, the study highlights that the income-generating capacity of residents in the area consistently receives a boost during the pinnacle of tourism activities.

Summary

This research aimed to investigate the correlation between tourism and the socio-economic welfare of the residents of Calabar Municipality. A total of 398 participants were chosen for the study. Following data collection through questionnaires, the gathered information underwent thorough statistical analysis using relevant test statistics, as outlined by the formulated hypotheses guiding the research. The results revealed a robust and noteworthy association between tourism activities and aspects such as family income, business opportunities, and the income-generating capacity of the Calabar Municipality residents.

Conclusion

Based on a comprehensive review of the study and its specific findings, the following recommendations are proposed:

Recognizing the pivotal role of family income as a crucial component of national income and a significant indicator of macroeconomic development, it is advised that the government focus on diversifying and advancing other sectors of tourism. This strategic approach aims

to attract more families to the economic advantages associated with tourism in the region.

Acknowledging that business potentials play a substantial role in fostering social and economic well-being, it is recommended to organize services and workshops for the local population. This initiative aims to enhance their awareness and exposure to the various opportunities presented by tourism-related activities, contributing to the overall development of the community.

Given the prevalent issue of low income generation, particularly in third-world countries like Nigeria, it is imperative for the government to take prompt action in promoting awareness. This can be achieved through community mobilization, engagement with local chiefs, youth organizations, and faith-based groups. By enlightening the populace about the opportunities within the tourism industry, the government can facilitate the empowerment of the community.

Recommendations

The research suggests the following:

1. Prioritize or integrate additional studies to address persistent challenges.
2. Emphasize the contribution of non-governmental organizations to improving the socio-economic well-being of individuals.
3. Direct attention towards the role of financial institutions in promoting citizens' welfare through tourism.

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THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF AN ETHICIST

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KEYWORDS
Interplay, Religion, Politics, Nigeria, Ethicist

ABSTRACT
The relationship between religion and politics in Nigeria over the years can be considered as a marriage of perceptual harmony and disharmony. Religion and politics in Nigeria and Africa as a whole are like siamese twins that are very difficult to separate and which in a way are themselves connected to the particular historical and developmental trajectories of individual societies and nations around the world. Religion has generally had a considerable impact on politics in many regions of the world, not just in Africa. There is no doubt that religious beliefs and practices reinforced political power in the same waypoliticalapprehensionspermeated to the heart of the religious domain. Both religious leaders and political leaders are people whose well-being was closely linked to their people's health and welfare. Existing literature on the interplay between religion and politics have engaged the narratives from the standpoint of the influence of ethnic affiliation on politics, psychology of politics, politics and national development with little attention paid to the interconnectivity between religion and politics and the position of an ethicist in the discourse. The dearth of research in this regard gave rise to this study. For instance, religious beliefs or solidarity in most cases form the main context for political action and political concerns with religious notions determine the nature of a particular group's collective response. Politics is about power, and due to prevalent religious modes of thinking about the world, this power is widely perceived to be spiritual in nature. Qualitative methodwhich has to do with the use of materials relevant to the study will be employed. Recommendations will be made where necessary to all the stakeholders in religious and political matters.

Introduction

The synergetic relationship between religion and politics in Africa stems from the age-long wider African religio-cultural structure where religion and politics are closely and deeply intertwined as it were. Politics is all about power and how such power could be used for the citizenry and for national development[45]. Power is defined as the ability of a person to

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induce other to act in a way which he or she requires. In human affairs, power is a social attribute that is derived from the way in which individual combine with one another individually or collectively[46]. Religion has been playing significant roles in the appointment and selection of political leaders from time immemorial. Due to the prevailing arguments and thinking as to power and its usage, power is widely perceived to have a divine connection with what RudoffOttor refer to as the numinous (Holy of holy)[47]. In spite of the clamour around the world for the separation between religion and politics, such nations continue to be entangled and enmeshed by the reality of the futility of such venture[48].Recognising and deciding therefore where religion ends and politics begins becomes complex. There is no doubt that religious leaders over the years either intentionally or inadvertently have found themselves being entangled in political cobweb through their contributions to the development of democratic systems and culture, not only in Nigeria but Africa at large[49]. One can hardly find any notable boundary between religion and politics as religious leaders and their followers, are more than never before playing active roles in political matters. In fact, the contemporary religious groups and their leaders in Nigeria, as we have in other countries of the world are more politically conscious and have caused a religious revolution with profound political consequences which has sharpened the democratic direction of the country[50].

Before the coming of imported religions to Africa, (Christianity and Islam) countries in Africa had a well-structured political system and well-grounded religious institutions[51]. Africansbelieved in the existence of a divine being and that both political and religious leaders were the representatives of such being[52]. This is why they are referred to *AlaseekejiOrisa* (representatives of God. That is, their powers to govern were derived from a supreme being. Africa is marked by a high degree of political and religious heterogeneity which makes the study of the two concepts a difficult task.[53] Islam through a gradual process made its way to Africa thousands of years ago and spread to other countries including Nigeria.[54] Christianity came to Africa through the colonization drive of Europeans and France in the 19th century[55]. Longbefore the advent of Christianity and Islam into the shores of Africa, the continent had a strong institution. It is to be noted that Christianity and Islam did not teach Africans how to eat, drink, cultivate, sleep and bear children, the idea about the existence of a divine being is rooted in African Traditional Religion[56]. The political institutions introduced by those that colonized Africansto the existing structure were little, if anything more than the instrument of domination which was

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[52]Paulinus, I.O. 2019. The Essence of African Traditional Religion. A Journal of the McGrath Institute for Church Life. https://churchlifejournal.nd.edu/articles/the-essence-of-african-traditional-religion/. Accessed 4/6/2023.

[53]. Politics and Religion: Politics and African Religious Traditions.https://www.encyclopedia.com/environment/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/politics-and-religion-politics-and-african-religious-traditions. Accessed 7/6/2023.

[54]Islam in West Africa: An Overview. https://study.com/learn/lesson/islam-in-west-africa-origin-establishment-how-did-islam-spread.html. Accessed 6/6/2023.

[55]Etim, E.O.2014. Christian Missions and Colonial Rule in Africa: Objective and Contemporary Analysis. European Scientific Journal. Vol10, No.17.Retrieved on 7/6/2023.

[56]Emeka, C.E.andChike, E. God, Divinities and Spirits in African Traditional Religious Ontology. Vol,1(2) https://www.researchgate.net/publication/313275144_God_divinities_and_spirits_in_African_traditional_religious_ontology

administratively grafted into the rich socio-cultural structure of Africa.[57]In fact, it was a well-orchestrated ploy to use religion as a weapon in the pursuit of their political agenda and dominance.

Religion as Lubricant to Political Wheels in Nigeria

The fact that has remained constant in the political history of Nigeria and Africa at large, is the failure and the lack of political will by successive civilian administrationsto put in place structures for the development of the nation.[58]The breakdown of moral behaviour among the youths that constitutes the majority,worsening economic situation, political instability, conflict and violence that has become a household name, kidnapping for ransom, insecurity of lives and property, killing for ritual purposes are all frequently linked to the consistent and the persistent government failure in the country to push through implementable policies, consolidate appropriate programmes for the social improvements and well- being of the people.[59] People turn to religious leaders for answer to the political conundrums in the country. Organizedlabour unions who are to be mouthpiece of the masses as we had in the past, become toothlessdogs that can only bark, but cannot bite. -bite.[60]Most of the organized protests by the public today are led or include religious leaders who feel that something is fundamentally wrong with our political system. Religious leaders were frequently well represented in the coordination of such protests.[61]

As a result of the insensitivity of political gladiators in the country couple with the stack reality that the masses that constitute the majority are suffering in a country blessed with abundant human and natural resources, religious leaders have begun to engage political stakeholders on matter of national interest.[62] They have continued to be involved in the demands for democracy and its dividends to the people. The unwavering efforts of religious leaders that are politically conscious and tenaciousand who are not afraid of speaking the truth to those in authority has brought the little stride in the country's democratization success. What makes religion and politics to be very difficult to separate is because, the same set of people that are in various religious groups, are also the same set of people we find in the society. Religion cannot be practiced in isolation. No human being, no religion. Its set of belief systems have moral and social effects on the citizens as a result of their activities as political animals. The holy matrimony between religion and politics in Nigeria is due to the multi-religious nature of the country where there is freedom of religion which gives individuals room to align with any religious group he likes without any intimidation. In fact, it will be tantamount to an error of contradiction to say that Nigeria is a secular state. Ever since Nigeria gained her independence from the colonial administration, religion has been a potent factor in deciding political matters.

Manifestations of Religion in Politics in Nigeria.

As discussed earlier, religion has become a weapon used by politicians for their selfishaggrandizement. Issues that should not have anything to do with religion have been introduced into politics to get support of the electorates. It is therefore important to trace the handwriting of religion in political matter in this section of the work.

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[60]Labour Leaders can only bark but cannot bite https://www.thecable.ng/labour-leaders-can-only-bark-they-cant-bite.

[61]Collective action on Corruption in Nigeria: The Role of Religion. Africa Programme 2021. https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-03/2021-03-25-corruption-nigeria-religion-hoffmann-patel.pdf. Accessed 8/6/2023.

[62]. Huma, H. 2016.Religious Leaders and the prevention of violence. Helpdesk Research Report.

Prayers at Religious Gatherings

Oneperceptible thing in the political trajectory of Nigeria, is the important role religion has over the years played in bringing about stability in political discourse[63].Religion performs the key function of providing social solidarity in a society. The rituals, the worship of icons, and the belief in supernatural beings "excite, maintain or recreate certain mental states[64].Religion is an important phenomenon in contemporaryNigeria. It is ever popular and has captured the attention of many Nigerians.[65] For example, traces of religion is foundin political gatherings, campaigns, political meetings, political rallies, workshops, conferences and so on. Prayers are always offered before the commencement of such political meetings with emphasis on the religious affiliation of the people. Prayers are always said in a Christian and Muslim ways in order to avoid conflict that may generate into violence. On many occasions as it were, traditional religion is always sidelined.

Pilgrimage to Holy Lands

Sponsorship of pilgrims to Mecca and Jerusalem has become a weapon in the hands of politicians for political patronage. This is common at both the state and the Federal levels[66]. The political office holders know the importance and the positive effect that such will have on theirpolitical venture and government generally. Though, we must not ignore the fact that the state money is being spent to achieve this, they use this as a way of rewarding their supporters who have given them their mandate during election and for their continue support[67].Government sponsorship was done in most cases for political and not for religious reasonsparse[68]. In spite of agitations and clamour for the withdrawal of such sponsorship because of the current economic reality in Nigeria, many politicians still carry out such sponsorship at the detriment of the masses.[69] State resources that should be used for the interest of all are being spent on their supporters. The actions of politicians could be considered as a misplaced priority. What the citizens need more now, than never before is the provision of basic amenities to better the lots of the electorates.

On Appointment and Promotion

One other area where religion has made an indelible impact on politics is in political appointment. When appointment is to be made by politicians, the issue of religion and due process is brought to the front burner[70]. Serious consideration is given to religion and if peradventure, either by way of error of omission or commission, a particular religion is not well represented or it is chaotically handled, it can lead to violence of unimaginable proportion. Over the years, appointments into various political offices both at the state and national levels have religious undertones. There have been cases of people changing from Christianity to Islam and vis-à-vis for the very purpose of appointment or promotion in their places of work. A case in hand was the one

[63]Fajar, S. 2017. Politicization of Religion: Religion in Political discourse. Walisongo Journal PenelitianSosial Kegamaan.https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324972151_Politicization_of_Religion_Religion_in_Political_Discourse. Accessed 12/6/2023.

[64]Ron M. Introduction to Sociology. https://opentextbc.ca/introductiontosociology/chapter/chapter-15-religion/

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[67]Orosanye Report: Nigerian Government insists on sponsoring Pilgrims to Mecca, Jerusalem.https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/158349-orosanye-report-nigerian-government-insists-sponsoring-pilgrims-mecca-jerusalem.html?tztc=1

[68]Pilgrimage to Mecca and Jerusalem: What Federal and State Government should do. The Guardian Newspaper of July 26, 2015. https://guardian.ng/features/pilgrimage-to-mecca-or-jerusalem-what-federal-and-state-governments-should-do/. Retrieved on 9/6/2023.

[69] Abolish state sponsorship of pilgrimages to holy lands. https://saharareporters.com/2010/02/01. Retrieved on 10/08/2023.

[70] 2021 Report on International Religious Freedom. Office of International Religious Freedom. 2 June, 2022. https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-report-on-international-religious-freedom/nigeria/. Accessed on 12/6/2023.

reported years ago, where a prominent member of a particular religion was reported to be converting people to a religion with a promise of appointment in government. One chief was promised a governorshipticket. He changed to the religion but, was never appointed to the promised position. Also, many Christian students applying to certain schools, especially in Kaduna, adopt Muslim names in order to improve their chances.

Building of Churches and Mosques in the Government Houses

It is very difficult to see any government house in the states across the country that will not have both Mosque and Church. One begins to wonder the presence of places of worship in government houses. The reasons advanced by politicians is for bothMuslims and Christians in the Government House to have a befitting place of worship. This was corroborated by the Governor Rotimi Akeredolu of Ondo State, when he noticed the absence of a Mosque at the government house and promised to construct a befitting mosque inside the Government House, He expressed surprise about the absence of a mosque within the compound but said a place of worship would be constructed inside the official residence of the governor, just like a chapel was built within the premises for Christians. Akeredolu restated his commitment to giving equal treatment to all residents of the state, irrespective of religion, ethnicity or political affiliations and promised to leave no stone unturned in the bid to give all residents a sense of belonging in the scheme of things. He noted that the people of the South West had been living together peacefully, regardless of the religion or political leaning. Most of the times, religious leaders and organisations are randomly invited to the government house for prayers and praise. The wife to the former governor of Oyo state, Mrs. Florence Ajimobi on a monthly basis organized praise night at the government house to pray for the government of Oyo state and Nigeria at large. Clerics of both religions are selected at intervals to conduct services at the government house.

Religious Consideration in Election Process

Furthermore, religious considerations are put forward during electoral process in Nigeria. In fact, in Nigeria, since independence, religion has been a very strong factor in the choice of political party flag bearer. For any party to win an election, such a party must be able to galvanize support of the major religions[71]. Though, there are states in the country, where majority are Christians, in such states, it is evidently clear that the choice of a flag bearer may not be a problem But, most of the states in Nigeria, put religious consideration at the fore front in the scheme of things in their various states to win the support of the electorates. There is usually a Muslim/Christian or Christian/Muslim ticket in order to win the hearts of electorates during elections. Thus in 1979, the National Party of Nigeria (N.P.N) adopted a Muslim/Christian ticket while the Unity Party of Nigeria (U.P.N) did not take religion into consideration, as the party adopted a Christian/Christian ticket. In fact, this was said to have been responsible for the party's loss at that election.

Despite the fact that military administration is considered an aberration in governance, they also give recognition to the efficacy of religion in governance. This is the more reason, why Abacha and Abubakar as the former heads of heads of state considered religion in the choice of their deputies. They picked Diya and Akhigbe (Christians) as their second in command respectively. Successive civilian regimes have maintained the status quo as we haveObasanjo/Atiku (Christian/Muslim), Yar'dua/Jonathan (Muslim/Christian), Jonathan/Sambo(Christian/Muslim), Buhari/Osibanjo(Muslim/Christian). Though, the current president- elect. Asiwaju Ahmed Bola Tinubu, a Muslim picked a Muslim from the North East for both political and religious reason. If he had picked a Christian from the North as his running mate, he would have lost the election[72]. This is because of the voting population of the region at elections.

[71] I.L.Umeanolue.2020. Religious Influences on Politics in Nigeria: Implications for National Development. Origirisi: A new Journal of African Studies. Vol. 15.

[72]Muslim-Muslim or Christian- Christian Ticket.https://the nationonlineng.net/muslim-muslim or Christian-christian Ticket. Retrieved on 12/08/2023.

Campaign in Churches and Mosques

The fact that is constant in the political history of the country in the recent times, is the fact that religious places of worship have become campaign platforms. Religious institutions and places of worship have played a pivotal role in this direction. Both religions (Christianity and Islam) are guilty of this. Religious platforms that are meant to reach out to the adherents and to preach the undiluted words of God, have become a political campaign podium where religious leaders openly pray and convince members to vote for a particular candidate. Many religious leaders as a result of fear of being attacked, do indirect campaign for their favourite candidate. Names are not mentioned, but the description of the candidate is clear to the members. Since politics is all about struggle for power, resource control and representation at different levels while political mobilization refers to the processes of preparation and organization of people for political participation such as voting, lobbying, convincing others to vote and so on. Politics is about "who gets what, when and how" Politicians make use of any method and any platform to get support which include places of worship. This is used copiously in furtherance of their political agenda.

In Nigeria today, with the current religious rhetoric adopted by politicians especially during campaigns, religion has been and continues to be, a vital ingredient of political mobilization during elections. Political office seekers make use of religion as a tool, in as much as they know that Nigerians are notoriously religious. This is also supported by the Pew Research Centre, BBC and Forbes that Nigerians are amongst the most religious people in the world. Religion has long served as a political resource in Nigeria, with Muslims and Christians alike appealing to the sentiment of the faithful, and decrying each other to get the desired support of the electorates and to win elections. In an attempt to make sure that religious institutions are not used for political campaign, the former President of the country, MuhammaduBuhari signed the new electoral bill into Electoral Act 2022, on February 25, 2023 to repeal the Electoral Act 2010. For example, Sections 92, 93, 94, 95 and 96 of the new Electoral Act have prohibitions with penal consequences for campaigns in places of worship, palaces, and places with public offices. In fact, Section 92(3) says specifically that, "Places designated for religious worship, police stations and public offices shall not be used for political campaigns, rallies and processions; or to promote, propagate or attack political parties, candidates or their programmes or ideologies." Politicians still go to various religious gatherings to ask for the mandate of religious adherents.

Ethical Issues in Religion and Politics

Without mincing words, ethics is concerned with human actions. That is, a critical scrutiny of human actions to see if they are right or wrong, good or bad, commendable or condemnable. Any action performed by an individual can be either beneficial or detrimental to the people around and the society at large[73]. Since, both political and religious leaders are members of the same society, their actions are subject to ethical consideration. Electorates and politicians are born with ethical qualities in their personalities. This means that they have freedom of action. Religious leaders as members of the society are under the ethical searchlight to know if their actions are in line with their ministerial ethics and the norms of the society. The society expects its members to act in a way and not to act in another way. Ethics is made up of voluntary actions, actions performed under the normal conditions of man's capacities. It therefore suggests that actions of political gladiators and religious leaders, who have become political contractors in recent time for their own selfish interest need to be examined to see the compatibility of their actions with what the society expect.[74] The claims in some quarters are that actions of political leaders are for the benefits of the members of the public. But, in reality, they contest at election for their own selfish interest; abandoning the members of thepublic who voted them to continue to wallop in abject poverty[75]. This has been the bane of political narratives of Nigeria since independence.

Concluding Remarks

It is very clear that religious leaders are the eyes and the mouths of God. They are the representatives of God on earth, it is then

[73] J.I.Omoregbe.1993. ETHICS: A Systematic and Historical Study. Lagos. Joja Educational Research and publishers Limited.

[74]G.E.Moore. 2004. The Subject Matter of Ethics In J.P.Sterba. Contemporary Ethics: Selected Readings.

[75] K. Bjorvatn et.al. 2021. Election and Selfishness. Electoral Studoes. Vol.69

incumbent upon them to be above board in the discharge of their duty. They should hold tenaciously to their calling, knowing full well that their actions will be accounted for here on earth and hereafter. Both religious and political leaders are expected to be responsible for their actions. Responsibility means accountability. That is, to answer or account for one's conduct. Heavy responsibility means heavy duty. Religion should continue to lubricate the wheels of politicsfor the betterment and progress of the society and not for self-aggrandizement.

Recommendation

Religion and politics have been with us since time immemorial and separating the two phenomena is like shaking an Iroko tree to make a dew fall. We therefore recommend the following to stakeholders in religious and political matters in the nation.

i. Religious leaders in the nation must exhibit virtues of honesty and accountability in their day to day activities. As the representatives of God, they must as much as possible shun any act that will bring the name of God into disrepute. Holiness as a virtue should be exemplified not only in words but also in deed.

ii. Religious leaders should also lead by example. This is important because, many of their members see them as role models. Therefore, they should not be involved in politics at the detriment of their call which is to lead members back to God through an undiluted teaching of the word of God.

iii. Political leaders should try as much as possible to draw a line of demarcation between them and religious leaders. They are fond of using religious leaders as tools for their political ambition.

iv. Citizens and followers too must be able to call both political and religious leaders to order when they are doing contrary to the dictate of theircallings. The challenge in the recent times among the followers is that, they sing praises of political leaders as long as they have a share of the national cake. Speaking the truth to those in government becomes a difficult task.

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FOREIGN POLICIES AND DIPLOMACY OF AFRICAN STATES IN AN ERA OF GLOBALIZATION: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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KEYWORDS
Diplomacy, Foreign Policy, Globalization, Prospects and Challenges

ABSTRACT
This study examines the foreign policies and diplomacy of African states against the backdrop of globalization, assessing the multifaceted challenges they face and exploring the prospects for meaningful engagement on the global stage. In an era characterized by unprecedented interconnectedness, the unique historical, cultural, and economic contexts of African nations shape their approaches to foreign policy formulation and diplomatic endeavors. The research scrutinizes the challenges confronting African states, ranging from economic disparities and political instability to historical conflicts and external influences. It also examines the strategies employed by these nations in navigating a globalized world, emphasizing the role of diplomacy as a crucial tool for addressing shared challenges and advancing national interests. The study further explores the prospects inherent in globalization for African states, investigating opportunities for economic growth, technological advancement, and cultural exchange. It critically evaluates the potential for collaboration and cooperation on regional and global scales and considers the effectiveness of diplomatic initiatives in fostering mutual understanding and shared development. Through a comprehensive analysis of case studies, historical contexts, and contemporary diplomatic efforts, this research contributes to a nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics shaping the foreign policies and diplomacy of African states in an era of globalization. The findings offer insights into the evolving landscape of international relations, highlighting the necessity for adaptive and strategic diplomatic approaches to navigate challenges and harness prospects for the benefit of African nations in the global arena.

1.0 Introduction

In the wake of globalization, the foreign policies of African states have emerged as a critical focal point within the discourse of international relations. As scholars have extensively examined the evolving dynamics of global interconnectedness, a comprehensive understanding of African states' responses to globalization is essential. Existing scholarship on African foreign policies in the era ofglobalization has provided valuable insights into various aspects such as economic integration, peacebuilding efforts, and diplomatic strategies. For example, Smith (2018) explores the role of economic partnerships in shaping Africa's foreign policies in the globalized era, highlighting the impact of trade agreements and investment flows. In the regard of Smith, economic partnership is viewed a way to tackle the multifaceted challenges of globalization. Jones et al. (2020) examine the implications of regional conflicts on African states' diplomatic initiatives, shedding light on the challenges of balancing national interests with regional stability. However, gaps persist within this literature, particularly concerning the nuanced interplay between historical legacies, regional dynamics, and contemporary global forces. While some studies have explored the economic dimensions of globalization on African states, such as Johnson (2019), who focuses on the role of foreign direct investment in driving economic growth and development, others have focused on geopolitical implications or cultural exchanges. Yet, few have comprehensively examined how these factors intersect and shape African foreign policies in the current global context. This paper seeks to fill this gap by adopting a holistic approach that integrates multiple strands of literature and interrogates the underlying assumptions and narratives. By doing so, it aims to contribute to the existing scholarship by offering a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities inherent in African states' responses to globalization. Furthermore, it seeks to extend the scholarly discourse by proposing innovative frameworks for analysing and interpreting the dynamics at play. The prospects for African states lie in leveraging on globalization to enhance economic growth, technological advancement, and cultural exchange. Embracing a diplomatic approach that emphasizes soft power, cultural diplomacy, and innovative economic strategies can position African nations to thrive in the interconnected global arena. While globalization offers opportunities, it also poses threats, including the risk of marginalization, exploitation, and the erosion of cultural identities. Navigating this complex landscape requires astute foreign policies that balance national interests with regional and global cooperation, as well as diplomatic initiatives that foster understanding and collaboration. Thus, the foreign policies and diplomacy of African states in the era of globalization represent dynamic landscape. The challenges are significant, but the prospects for mutual growth and development are equally compelling. Effective diplomacy, grounded in a clear understanding of national interests and global dynamics, is essential for African nations to successfully navigate this intricate terrain and contribute meaningfully to the evolving narrative of global affairs.

2.0 Conceptual Clarifications

2.1 Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is the mechanism national governments use to guide their diplomatic interactions and relationships with other countries. Foreign policies are developed and influenced by a number of factors. These include:

Internal factors such as the country's geography, political trends, national interest and so on.

External factors like the behaviorother countries, international order, and other global trends.

A nation's foreign policy typically works in tandem with its domestic policy, which is another form of public policy that focuses on matters at home. Together, the two policies complement one another and work to strengthen the country's position both within and outside its borders (Ruth. 2020). Leopold von Ranke emphasized the primacy of geography and external threats in shaping foreign policy, but later writers emphasized domestic factors. Diplomacy is the tool of foreign policy, and war, alliances, and international trade may all be manifestations of it (Britannica, 2020). In

essence, Foreign policy refers to a government's set of strategies, decisions, and actions aimed at managing its relations with other countries. It encompasses a wide range of activities, including diplomacy, trade, defense, and international cooperation. The primary goals of foreign policy are to protect national interests, ensure security, and promote economic and diplomatic objectives on the global stage. Foreign policy is shaped by a nation's values, historical experiences, and the evolving dynamics of the international system. Scholars like Hans Morgenthau emphasize the realist approach, focusing on power and security, while others, like Joseph Nye, highlight soft power and the importance of cultural influence

2.2 Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the art and science of maintaining peaceful relationships between nations, groups, or individuals. Often, diplomacy refers to representatives of different groups discussing such issues as conflict, trade, the environment, technology, or security. People who practice diplomacy are called diplomats. Diplomats try to help their own country, encourage cooperation between nations, and maintain peace. A group of diplomats representing one country that lives in another country is called a diplomatic mission. A permanent diplomatic mission is called an embassy. An ambassador is the lead diplomat at an embassy. A large diplomatic mission may have representation besides a single embassy. Other places of representation are called consulates (National Geographic Society).

Nicolson's philosophy of diplomacy centered on its relationship with the principle elements of foreign policy such as balance of power; he emphasized, too, the effects on diplomacy of national character and prestige. His diplomatic theorizing encompassed Ancient Greek, medieval and Renaissance diplomacy as well as Imperial Europe's Old Diplomacy and the so-called New Diplomacy of the twentieth century. Nicolson applied the tenets of liberal realism, an amalgam of idealist and realist outlooks on international relations, in developing an ambitious and original theory of diplomatic intercourse (Derek in Nicolson, 2005). According to Satow's classic definition, diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent States, extending sometimes also to other relations with vassal States (Eduardo, 2017). Thus, Diplomacy is the practice of conducting negotiations and managing relations between nations. It involves skilled communication, tact, and negotiation to address issues, prevent conflicts, and advance a country's interests on the international stage. Diplomats work to build alliances, resolve disputes, and promote cooperation through dialogue and negotiation rather than through force or conflict.

2.3 National Interest

National interest is the most crucial concept in international relations. While formulating foreign policy, all statesmen are guided by their respective national interests. Foreign policy is aimed at achieving national interest. However, this concept is highly vague and difficult to define. According to Frankel, the ambiguity is caused by the different usage of the concept in different contexts. National interest may explain the aspirations of the state. It can also be utilized operationally in the execution of the actual policies and programs followed. It can be used polemically in political arguments to explain, rationalize, or criticize. Contemporary controversies on foreign policy usually come out of these ambiguities and not only from the different ideas about the substance of the national interest. Notwithstanding its vagueness, the notion of national interest is central to any attempt at describing, explaining, predicting, prescribing, and understanding international behavior. From time immemorial, leaders of states justify their actions in the name of the national interest. For example, Coulombs and Wolfe narrate: Alcibiades said he was acting in ancient Athens' interest when he recommended so fervently that the Athenians launched what turned out to be the disastrous Sicilian expedition during the Peloponnesian War. (LinkedIn, 2021).

The national interests, a key concept of international relations, encompass the political interests and other interests of a country. With the state's sovereignty at the core, a country's political interests embody the bulk of its national interests with national security being the most fundamental of the national interest. As an integral part of strategic thinking, the concept of national interests, once formed, will exert great impact on the making and implementation of national strategies. From a cognitive viewpoint, the concept of national interests is deeply influenced by the way of thinking, cultural traditions, values, ideologies

and other characteristics of the subject. Different nations, countries and social classes have different concepts of national interests at different historical times (Liu, 2014). National interest refers to the set of objectives, goals, and priorities that a sovereign state perceives as essential for its well-being, security, and prosperity. The concept of national interest is dynamic, evolving in response to changing geopolitical, economic, and social conditions.

3.0 Relationship between National Interests and Foreign Policy

National interest and foreign policy are intricately linked; as foreign policy is the practical manifestation of a nation's pursuit of its interests on the global stage. Here's an elaborate explanation with examples:

3.1 Security and Defense: Ensuring the security and defense of the nation. A country may engage in alliances, military partnerships, and defense treaties to enhance its security. For example, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) is a military alliance formed by countries with a shared interest in mutual defense (Donald, 1976).

3.2 Economic Prosperity: Promoting economic well-being, growth, and stability. Countries often establish trade agreements, negotiate economic partnerships, and engage in economic diplomacy to boost their economic interests. For instance, the European Union aims to create a common market to facilitate economic growth among member states (Donald, 1976).

3.3 Territorial Integrity: Protecting and preserving sovereignty and territorial boundaries. Nations may engage in diplomatic efforts, international law, and negotiations to settle territorial disputes peacefully. The resolution of border conflicts between India and Bangladesh in 2015 demonstrates a foreign policy focus on territorial integrity (Donald, 1976).

3.4 Political Stability: Ensuring internal political cohesion and stability. Countries may engage in diplomatic efforts to prevent the spread of conflicts and promote political stability in neighboring regions. The United Nations' involvement in peacekeeping missions, such as in the Democratic Republic of Congo, reflects a foreign policy approach to address political instability (Donald, 1976).

3.5 Cultural Identity: Preserving and promoting cultural heritage and identity. Cultural diplomacy involves showcasing a nation's cultural richness abroad. For example, Japan's use of "Cool Japan" initiatives to promote its cultural exports, like anime and cuisine, contributes to its foreign policy objectives by enhancing its global image (Donald, 1976).

3.6 Global Influence: Enhancing influence and reputation on the global stage. Engaging in international organizations, diplomatic forums, and strategic alliances to shape global decision-making. China's Belt and Road Initiative is an example of a foreign policy strategy aimed at expanding influence through economic and infrastructure projects in multiple countries (Donald, 1976).

3.7 Globalisation: A common understanding of globalization is that it's a complex process involving the integration of economies, cultures, and societies on a global scale. Scholars often emphasize the interconnectedness and interdependence that characterize this multifaceted phenomenon. It involves the exchange of goods, services, information, and ideas across borders, leading to increased integration and interrelation among nations. This phenomenon is driven by advancements in technology, communication, and transportation, fostering a more interconnected and interdependent world (Lianna, 2015).

Emphatically, Globalization increases worldwide technology, and the readability of fast, effective communication and consumption of popular products. Globalization links cultures and international relations on a variety of levels; economics, politically, socially, etc. International relations have used globalization to reach its goal: of understanding cultures. International relations focus on how countries, people and organizations interact and globalization is making a profound effect on International relations. Globalization is the process of continuing integration of the countries in the world – is strongly underway in all parts of the globe. It is a complex interconnection between capitalism and democracy, which involves positive and negative featuresthat both empowers and disempowers individuals and groups (Lianna,

2015). From the other hand Globalization is a popular term used by governments, business, academic and a range of diverse non-governmental organizations. It also, however, signifies a new paradigm within world politics and economic relations. While national governments for many years dictated the international political and economic scene, international organizations such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization has now become significant role players. In this "Global Village" national governments have lost some of their importance and perhaps their powers in favor of these major international organizations. As a process of interaction and integration among people, companies and governments of different nations Globalization is a process driven by the International Trade and Investment and aided by Information technology. This process on the environment on culture, on political system, on economic development and prosperity, and on human physical well-being in societies around the world (Lianna, 2015).

4.0 Advantages and Disadvantages of Globalization

Globalization has a range of advantages while it has also disadvantages. The Advantages includes;

i. GDP Increase; statistics shows that GDP in developing countries has increased twice as much as before. Unemployment is reduced. Education has increased.

ii. Competition on Even Platform: The Companies all around the world are competing on a single global platform which allows better options o consumers.

iii. It increased free trade between nations; The Corporations have greater flexibility to operate across borders.

iv. It increases in environmental protection in developed nations. Spread of democratic ideas to developed nations. Reduced cultural barriers increases in the global village effect (Lianna, 2015).

The Disadvantages are considered to be;

i. Uneven Distribution of Wealth, Income Gap Between Developed and Developing Countries, where the wealth of developed countries continues to grow twice as much as the developing world.

ii. Different Wage Standards for Developing Countries, which is explained by the following fat that the technology worker may get more value for his work in a developed country than a worker in a developing country thus there are in the later many dynamic, industrious and enterprising people who are well educated and ready to work with rigor.

iii. Globalization itself is also considered as a disadvantage which is explaining by future factors such as war that can be demand the reveal of the globalization and current process of globalization may just be impossible to reverse.

iv. There is also another aspect of disadvantage of globalization in media sphere. The threat that control of world media by a handful of corporations will limit cultural expression. And the final in my estimation is the chance of reactions for globalization being violent in an attempt to preserve cultural heritage (Lianna, 2015).

5.0 Effects of Globalization

According to Lianna (2015), with the roster of the mentioned disadvantages and advantages Globalization culminates also effective facts such as;

i. Enhancement in the information flow between geographically remote locations.

ii. The global common market has a freedom of exchange of goods and capital.

iii. There is a broad access to a range of goods for consumers and companies.

iv. Worldwide production markets emerge.

v. Free circulation of people of different nations leads to social benefits.

vi. Global environmental problems like cross-boundary pollution, over fishing on oceans, climate changes are solved by discussions.

vii. More trans-border data flow using communication satellites, the Internet, wireless telephones, etc.

viii. International criminal courts and international justice movements are launched.

ix. The standards applied globally like patents, copyright laws and world trade agreements increase.

x. Corporate, national and sub-national borrowers have a better access to external finance.

6.0 Africa's Diplomatic Relations in the Era of Globalisation

In the era of globalization, Africa's diplomatic relations have undergone notable shifts, characterized by multifaceted engagements on political, economic, and social fronts. Here's a detailed exploration:

6.1 Economic Diplomacy/Trade Agreements

African nations actively participate in regional and international trade agreements, enhancing economic cooperation. Examples include the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), fostering intra-Africa trade. The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is a prime example. It aims to create a single market for goods and services in Africa, promoting intra-Africa trade. Member countries engage in diplomatic negotiations to address trade barriers and enhance economic cooperation.

6.2 Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

African countries attract FDI from diverse sources, forming partnerships with global corporations and nations. Investments focus on sectors like energy, infrastructure, and technology. For example; China's economic engagement in Africa is noteworthy. Through initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), China invests in infrastructure projects across the continent, fostering economic ties and contributing to development (Robert, 2012).

6.3 Political Diplomacy/Regional Integration

African nations collaborate within regional organizations (e.g., African Union) to address common challenges, promote peace, and coordinate diplomatic efforts. For example; the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a regional organization promoting economic integration and stability in West Africa. Member states engage diplomatically to address regional challenges and coordinate policies.

6.4 Conflict Resolution

Africa engages in diplomatic initiatives to resolve conflicts within the continent, often in collaboration with international organizations like the United Nations. For example; The African Union (AU) plays a pivotal role in diplomatic efforts for conflict resolution. For example, AU's involvement in the peace process in South Sudan demonstrates continental diplomatic initiatives to address internal conflicts (Robert, 2012).

6.5 Multilateral Engagements/Global Governance

African nations participate in international forums to shape global policies. This involves addressing issues such as climate change, sustainable development, and peacekeeping. For example; African countries participate in international forums such as the United Nations Climate Change Conferences to address global issues. They engage diplomatically to advocate for sustainable development and climate resilience.

6.6 Participation in Global Institutions

African countries actively engage with global institutions like the United Nations, World Trade Organization, and World Bank, contributing to decision-making processes. For example; African nations contribute to decision-making in global institutions. For instance, Nigeria and South Africa have played roles in the United Nations Security Council, influencing diplomatic efforts on global peace and security (Huseynou, 2021).

6.7 Cultural Diplomacy

African nations leverage cultural diplomacy to promote their heritage globally. This involves exchanges in arts, education, and cultural events, fostering understanding and collaboration. For example; Ethiopia's efforts to restore and repatriate cultural artifacts showcase cultural diplomacy. This involves diplomatic negotiations to reclaim and preserve cultural heritage, fostering international understanding (Robert, 2012).

6.8 Technology and Innovation Diplomacy /Digital Connectivity

With the growth of digital technologies, African countries engage in diplomatic efforts to enhance connectivity, bridge the digital divide, and benefit from technological advancements. For example, The West Africa Cable System (WACS) is an undersea cable project linking countries in West Africa. Diplomatic engagements are crucial for the success of such initiatives, enhancing regional connectivity and internet access (Robert, 2012).

6.9 Humanitarian Diplomacy/Global Health Initiatives

African nations collaborate on global health issues, as seen in efforts to address pandemics like HIV/AIDS, Ebola, and more recently, the COVID-19 pandemic. For example; The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria involves diplomatic collaboration to secure international funding for health programs in Africa, highlighting humanitarian diplomacy (Huseynou, 2021).

6.10 Humanitarian Aid and Development

African countries engage in diplomatic efforts to attract international aid and support for development projects, particularly in areas like healthcare, education, and infrastructure. For example; During the Ebola outbreak, African nations collaborated with international organizations and the global community to address the crisis. Diplomatic efforts were crucial in coordinating aid and response strategies (Huseynou, 2021).

6.11 Debt Diplomacy

Some African nations face challenges related to debt, prompting diplomatic engagements with creditors and international financial institutions. For example; African nations engage diplomatically with creditors, as seen in discussions around debt relief. The Debt Service Suspension Initiative (DSSI) is an example of diplomatic efforts to address debt challenges in the era of globalization (Louis et al 2022).

So, Africa's diplomatic relations in the era of globalization reflect a dynamic landscape where nations navigate economic, political, and cultural interactions to address shared challenges and harness opportunities for development and cooperation.

7.0 Collective Foreign Policies of African States

The collective foreign policies of African states often center on regional integration, economic development, and addressing common challenges. Organizations like the African Union (AU) play a key role in fostering unity and coordinating efforts on issues such as peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and trade agreements. African countries also collaborate on global platforms to amplify their voices, advocating for fair representation and addressing shared concerns like climate change and public health. (Substack, 2022).

A list of some these foreign policies with practical examples includes;

7.1 Regional Integration

The African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) aims to create a single market for goods and services, fostering intra-African trade.

7.2 Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution

African Union's involvement in peacekeeping missions, like in Somalia, demonstrates a collective effort to address regional conflicts.

7.3 Development Assistance

African countries collaborate through initiatives like the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) to promote sustainable development and address socio-economic challenges.

7.4 Health Diplomacy

The collaborative response to health crises, such as joint efforts to combat diseases like Ebola or COVID-19, showcases solidarity in the face of global health challenges.

7.5 Climate Change Mitigation

Participation in international climate agreements reflects a collective commitment to address environmental issues, with countries working together to implement sustainable practices.

7.6 Human Rights Advocacy

Joint efforts to address human rights violations, like condemning actions in conflict zones or advocating for international support, exemplify a united stance on human rights issues.

7.7 Anti-terrorism Cooperation

Collaborative efforts, such as the G5 Sahel joint force, highlight the commitment to combating terrorism and ensuring regional security.

7.8 Diplomatic Representation

Coordinated diplomatic efforts, like African countries supporting each other's candidates for international positions, aim to enhance the continent's representation on the global stage. These examples illustrate the diverse ways in which African states collectively approach foreign policies to address common challenges and opportunities (Substack, 2022).

8.0 Challenges of Globalisation to African State's Foreign Policy Making and Implementations

The challenges of globalization pose complex issues for African states in their foreign policy making and implementations. Here's an in-depth exploration with practical examples:

8.1 Economic Inequalities

Globalization can exacerbate economic inequalities, as stronger economies may dominate global markets, leaving African nations with limited bargaining power. For example; The unequal terms of trade and market access can hinder the economic development of African states, impacting their ability to formulate and implement foreign policies that address economic disparities.

8.2 Dependency on Global Markets

African countries are often dependent on global markets for exports, making them vulnerable to fluctuations in commodity prices and global economic downturns. The decline in global demand for certain commodities, such as oil, can significantly impact the foreign policy options of oil-dependent African nations, influencing their diplomatic and economic strategies.

8.3 Debt and Financial Vulnerability

Globalization can expose African states to debt-related challenges, especially with increased borrowing from international financial institutions. Countries facing debt crises, like Zambia or Mozambique, find it challenging to pursue independent foreign policies due to the constraints imposed by creditors, impacting their ability to implement sovereign decisions.

8.4 Security Concerns

Globalization can contribute to the spread of transnational threats, such as terrorism, organized crime, and cyber-attacks, posing challenges to national security. African nations grapple with the transnational nature of security threats, requiring collaborative foreign policies and regional cooperation to address issues like Boko Haram in West Africa or Al-Shabaab in East Africa (Study Smarter, 2021).

8.5 Cultural Homogenization

Globalization may lead to cultural homogenization, threatening the diversity of African cultures and identities. For example; the influx of global media and Western cultural influences can impact local values, requiring

foreign policies that balance cultural preservation with global integration.

8.7 Political Pressures

African states may face political pressures from powerful global actors, influencing their foreign policy decisions. For example; Diplomatic decisions related to international conflicts or alliances may be influenced by external powers, limiting the autonomy of African states in shaping their foreign policies.

8.8 Technological Gaps

The technological divide in the era of globalization can hinder the ability of some African states to fully participate in the digital economy. For example; Countries with limited access to technology face challenges in formulating and implementing foreign policies that leverage digital advancements for economic growth and development. Navigating these challenges requires African states to carefully craft foreign policies that balance global integration with national interests, seeking collaborative solutions to shared problems while safeguarding their sovereignty and development priorities (Louis et al, 2022).

9.0 Prospects of African Foreign Policies and Diplomacy in an Era of Globalisation

African policies and diplomacy in the era of globalization involve navigating economic, political, and social complexities. Prospects include increased regional cooperation for economic growth, leveraging natural resources responsibly, addressing conflicts diplomatically, and actively participating in global trade agreements to enhance international influence. Challenges, however, include balancing development with environmental sustainability and ensuring equitable benefits from globalization for all citizens (IMF eLibrary, 2021).

In the era of globalization, African policies and diplomacy hold several promising prospects that can contribute to the continent's development and global engagement. Here's an in-depth exploration of these prospects:

9.1 Economic Integration and Growth

Regional economic blocs, like the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), provide opportunities for increased intra-Africa trade, fostering economic growth and integration. For example; AfCFTA aims to create a single market, promoting the free movement of goods and services, which can enhance Africa's economic prospects globally (Adams O, 2016).

9.2 Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) Opportunities

Globalization opens doors for increased FDI, allowing African nations to attract investments in critical sectors such as infrastructure, energy, and technology. For example; China's Belt and Road Initiative involves significant investments in African infrastructure projects, providing economic opportunities and strengthening diplomatic ties (IMF eLibrary, 2021).

9.3 Digital Transformation

Embracing digital technologies can leapfrog traditional development stages, allowing African nations to harness the benefits of the digital economy. For example; Mobile banking services in countries like Kenya showcase how technological advancements positively impact financial inclusion and economic growth (IMF eLibrary, 2021).

9.4 Cultural Diplomacy and Soft Power

Africa's rich cultural diversity can be leveraged for cultural diplomacy, fostering positive perceptions and building soft power on the global stage. For example; Nigerian music and films, such as Nollywood, have gained international popularity, contributing to a positive global image and cultural influence (IMF eLibrary, 2021).

10.5 Humanitarian Diplomacy and Global Health Initiatives

African nations can play a pivotal role in global health diplomacy, addressing challenges like pandemics and promoting healthcare cooperation. For example; During the COVID-19 pandemic, African countries engaged in international collaborations for vaccine distribution and response efforts, showcasing diplomatic leadership (Adams O, 2016).

9.6 Climate Change Mitigation and Sustainable Development

As global awareness of climate change grows, African nations can position themselves as leaders in sustainable development and environmental conservation. For example; African participation in international climate agreements, such as the Paris Agreement, demonstrates a commitment to global efforts in addressing climate challenges (Adams O, 2016).

9.7 Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution

African nations can contribute significantly to global peacekeeping efforts and conflict resolution, showcasing diplomatic leadership and regional stability. For example; African Union-led peacekeeping missions in countries like Somalia highlight the continent's commitment to resolving conflicts and maintaining peace (Adams O, 2016).

9.8 Youth Engagement and Innovation

The youth demographic in Africa presents an opportunity for innovation and entrepreneurship, contributing to economic and technological advancements. For example; Initiatives supporting youth-led startups and innovation hubs across the continent contribute to shaping Africa's role in the global innovation landscape (Adams O, 2016).

9.9 Participation in Global Governance

African nations can actively participate in global institutions, influencing policies and decisions that impact the continent. For example; African representation in international forums, such as the United Nations Security Council, allows for contributions to global peace and security discussions (Adams O, 2016).

9.10 Regional Collaborations and Security

Collaborative efforts within regional organizations can enhance security and stability, addressing common challenges. For example; The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has played a role in conflict resolution and peacekeeping in the West African region.

10.0 Conclusion

There is an overall logic to the shift in political rationality under conditions of globalization, it is to do with a change from direct to indirect rule. There has been a move from direct to indirect governing, and indirect governing increasingly involves objects that are to be found beyond the boundaries of the state whose foreign policy tries to govern them. More is left to individuals, and control is growing more indirect, with direct control being increasingly reserved for after-the-fact situations when indirect control has turned out to be too soft to secure the desired result. This logic is working its way into foreign policy-making as well. Consider the training of foreign ministry personnel to deal more independently with other kinds of agents. It hangs on indirect control being effective. By training its employees well in advance, the top of the organization sees to it that the answers given when the top does not listen will be within acceptable parameters. Direct control kicks in when this indirect strategy does not work out. Indirect rule also kicks in where pro-activeness is concerned. It is about orchestrating social situations in advance, in the hope that the outcome will be more favorable than it would otherwise have been. By employing indirect means, one may save the use of more direct means for a later point. Governing takes place from afar. But if one wants to govern from afar, then one needs to be far-sighted. A plan for the long haul is needed in order to consider different outcomes, to listen to second opinions and to have contingency plans. All this changes the faces of foreign policy. Foreign ministries join other parts of the state apparatus in governing through other

state and also non-state entities. The shift in performing policy away from trying directly towards governing from afar is accompanied by a shift in the very meaning of the term foreign policy. Increasingly, foreign policy does not seem to refer to politics happening elsewhere, but to policy which involves different non-domestic agents and so call for MFA orchestration. This shift of meaning poses a challenge to linguistic practices which still presuppose that foreign policy is state policy oriented towards the outside of the state. States may not be able to monopolize the term foreign policy for much longer.

11.0 Recommendations

1. Concerning threats to indigenous cultures by cultural globalization, what Africa needs is to intensify efforts in redeeming whatever is redeemable from its rich cultural heritage. One critical area is the intensification of effort towards the indigenization of its Educational system. The revival of African cultures which has been virtually overwhelmed by Euro-America culture through centuries of slavery, colonialism and imperialism are most urgent before they will be completely wiped out by the forces of globalization.

2. Governments of the various states in Africa should provide enabling environment for an efficient operation of a full market economy, reliable legal system, honest, credible, transparent administration and accountability in order to woo foreign investors. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)is important and would bring new technology and managerial know how, corruption can severely hamper the ability of a country to attract foreign investment (9). It is therefore imperative that government of the individual States in Africa should vigorously fight against corruption.

3. For effective functioning of the National economy, markets need to be regulated by political institutions. Government regulation is necessary to enforce contract, ensure transparency and protect citizens from brutalities from the unrestrained markets, central banking and discretionary fiscal policy are essential to maintain macroeconomic growth and stability.

4. Infrastructure, especially the development and ready access to telecommunication

5. services and stable electric power supply, are vital for any economy. Telecommunication services should be made viable, accountable and accessible to the people. The rural areas pose special challenges in this respect and should be given appropriate and adequate attention.

6. The problem of violence should be properly addressed. The major approach is to deal with poverty as a visible root cause of this problem in real terms in the form of creating, enabling environment for undertaking economic activity. The other remains the provision of subsidies for those activities and items that could improve the welfare of the people. This will go a long way to reduce the tension and pressure on people and, of course, reduce the spate of violence.

7. There is also the need to stem the tide of brain drain in Africa. This can be achieved the through provision of enabling environment that is obtainable elsewhere and also linking up with "globalization", professionals in Diasporas and invite them to the continent. Finally, there is need for human capacity development. This is essential for the economy of Africa. To survive in the context of globalization, it is necessary that African countries invest heavily in human capital especially, education and health Louis A.E, Akah & Pius O. (2022).

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IMPACT OF HYGIENE BATHING AND BREASTFEEDING OF LACTATING MOTHERS ON INFANT MORTALITY IN KATSINA STATE

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KEYWORDS
Mortality, Hygiene Bathing, Breastfeeding, and Lactating Mothers

ABSTRACT
The study examines the influence of cultural practices in terms of attitudes that feeding mothers exhibit towards infant breastfeeding, and infant bathing (general hygiene) on infant mortality in Katsina State. It makes use of a descriptive research design which makes it possible for the collection of data from the selected samples (384) of the population that constitute women of bearing age, medical doctors, nurses and traditional birth attendants. The needed data to address the research questions was collected by making use of copies of questionnaire and structured interview. A multi-samplinig technique was applied in selecting the samples for the study, and the findings indicate that there is a significant positive correlation between hygiene bathing and the attitude of lactating mothers towards breastfeeding their children especially at early hours of delivery on one hand, and level of infant mortality in the study area. It is, therefore, recommended among others that campaigns for infant breastfeeding awareness need to be intensified. This will educate women to understand the dangers associated with delay, denial, and importance offrequent breast feeding of infant at regular interval.

Introduction

Infant mortality is generally used to describe the death of infants or babies that were born alive but died before their first birthday. Park *et al* (2017) and Sharifzadeh *et al* (2018) stated that there is generally marked inequality in infant death proneness between developed and developing nations. In general terms, the level of mortality depends upon the epidemiological situation of a given population. That is, on the prevalence and incidence of diseases and susceptibility of the population to them as reported by Akwenabuaye & Ebingha (2018). Ruzicka, (2014) postulates that the epidemiological situation itself has a correlation with cultural, social, economic, climatic, and with public health and personal medical services, their efficacy and effective utilization. The National Bureau of Statistic (2018) testified approximately four million global neonatal deaths that occur annually, 98% occur in developing countries, where most newborns die at home under the care of their mothers, relatives and traditional birth attendants.

During the past two decades' infant mortality rate has declined very slowly. Despite proven cost-effective solutions to reduce neonatal mortality such as promoting tetanus toxoid, immunization, skilled attendance during delivery, immediate and exclusive breastfeeding and clean cord care, there has been relatively little change in neonatal mortality. The World Health Organization's guidelines for essential newborn care include hygiene during delivery, keeping the newborn warm, early initiation of breast-feeding, exclusive breast-feeding, care of the eyes, care during illness, immunization and care of low birth-weight newborns (WHO 2017).

Neonatal health is found to be dependent on healthcare services, post neonatal health is dependent largely on environmental factors. This statistical index not only indicates the quantity and number of deaths, but is also indicative of life quality. That is why UNICEF (2016) maintains that infant mortality rate is certainly one of the most expressive indices of development concept and this significance has taken shape for the fact that the decrease in child mortality is only possible with an improvement in living circumstances of majority of people. It further states that the rise of infant mortality is attributed to dissatisfied hygienic requirements and unfavorable environmental factors, economic conditions, environmental sanitation and medical care (UNICEF, 2016). Furthermore, infant mortality occurs during neonatal period, especially in the first week and the most important causes of neonatal mortality are prematurity and low birth weight. On the other hand, during post-neonatal period diarrhea and respiratory infections are the most significant causes. Different factors such as social-economic class, mother's age, birth weight, breast feeding, interval from previous delivery, place of delivery, type of delivery, etc, can influence the possibility of infant mortality (Gholam, Kokab, & Hassan, 2018). Therefore, cultural practices play a very vital role on inappropriate antenatal care and neonatal care, late initiation of breastfeeding, discarding colostrums and not practicing exclusive breastfeeding. Improving knowledge heat preservation to prevent using mother care, warm bottle padding was proven methods to reduce infant mortality. Strengthening of health services in screening for high risk cases and anticipate intervention tailored to cultural practices are important to reduce infant mortality among low birth weight (Save the Children, 2014).

The Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey (2018) shows that the infant mortality rate was 67 deaths per 1,000 live births for the 5 years preceding the survey. The child mortality rate was 69 deaths per 1,000 live births, while the under-5 mortality rate was 132 deaths per 1,000 live births. This implies that more than 1 in every 8 children in Nigeria die before their 5th birthday. With respect to other early childhood mortality rates, the neonatal mortality rate was 39 deaths per 1,000 live births and the postneonatal mortality rate was 28 deaths per 1,000 live birth.Despite the arguments that the determinants of infant mortality were extensively investigated and that there was a continued decrease in mortality rates among infants in most of the developing world, these reductions are not impressive when compared to other developed countries like France, Spain and United States. In Nigeria, factors such as economic and political policies had been associated with infant mortality, but some researchers explained that, most of the reasons for the death of infants are deeply rooted in people's beliefs and attitudes towards child care and behavioral practices in relation to health strategies (Save the Children, 2014). It is based on this that this research seeks to investigate the influence of cultural practices in terms of attitudes that feeding mothers exhibit towards infant breastfeeding, and infant bathing (general hygiene) on infant mortality in Katsina State.

Breast Feeding, Hygiene Bathing, and Infant Mortality: Conceptual Elucidations

The death of an infant is a life threatening experience that affects not only the mothers or their immediate families, but also the entire community. In many cultures, the status of a woman is tied to her fertility. For example, in the traditional Nepalese culture it is a disgrace for a woman not to have children (Adhikari, 2010). In some African cultures, infant death may be considered a product of bewitchment (Fottrell, 2011). The death of an infant may leave the family stricken with grief, and they may experience higher levels of depression (Rogers, 2015). The death of a mother can also have equally devastating effects, particularly if the mother leaves behind the infant and other children. Nurses have the skills and knowledge to influence rates of maternal and infant mortality by implementing their knowledge regarding hygiene, the spread of infection, importance of prenatal health checks, and nutrition. The mission of the nurse is to improve health for all people physically, emotionally and

spiritually whether it be providing teaching to a teenage mother about how to properly breastfeed a child or providing support for grieving family members in the event of an infant and maternal death. (Doenges, 2010). The key to prevention of infant and maternal mortality rates is understanding the four main contributors which include preeclampsia, prolonged labor, low birth weight and natal infection (Doenges, 2010). Ruzicka (2014) posits that the epidemiological situation itself has a correlation with cultural, social, economic, climatic, and with public health and personal medical services, their efficacy and effective utilization.

Breastfeeding practices and the nutritional state of the lactating mother is one major determinant of infant mortality. While a shorter breastfeeding period increases the risk of infant mortality, a nutritionally malnourish lactating mother will produce low quality breast milk thereby exposing the infant to health hazards as a result of poorly built immune system. Ogunjuyigbe and Ojofetimi (2015) explained that infant mortality due to food factors is because of the low and inferior status of women and practices associated with childbirth, the breast-feeding and weaning practices. In some communities, infants are usually deprived of colostrums due to delay in initiating breastfeeding, which is important in enriching infants in nutrition. In this case, the study of Ogunjuyigbe focuses on the periodic infant breast feeding and the risk associated with the nutritionally malnourished lactating mother that may produce hazard milk to infant because of poor immune system. Mohammed, Kodua and Karikari(2020)expressed that about 65% of the nursing mothers in the area covered by their study practiced exclusive breastfeeding because of the pieces of advice from midwives. Their study concluded that majority of the nursing mothers initiate breastfeeding within 6 hours, practice exclusive breastfeeding for 6 months, gave artificial milk to babies before breastfeeding them which help in increasing the chances of survival of the children.

According to Gillman *et al.,* (2012), children who received breast milk for more than sevenmonths were 20% less likely to beoverweight and obese than children who received breast milk for less than three months. It was also reported that infants who werenot breastfed at the time of discharge from the hospital after delivery had a higher risk of getting diabetes than those who were breastfed at discharge (Jones *et al.*2010). The reduced risk of leukemia in childhood was higher in children who receivedbreast milk for more than six months (Shu et al. 2019). There has also been malnutrition in pre-term infants and blood pressure inlater life. Singhal et al., (2011) reported that the mean blood pressure of children aged 13-16 years who were born pre-term andreceived breast milk from milk banks was lower than that of children of the same age who received formula.In Africa, over 95% of babies are presently breastfed, however, taking care of feeding practices are frequently deficient; feeding ofnewborn babies with water and other liquids have become a widespread practice by nursing mothers (Heymann et al. 2013).Some womenin Katsina could breastfeed their babies up to 22 months with 53.4% of women practicing this. Regrettably, the rate ofexclusive breastfeeding are very low compared to overall breastfeeding rate due to the practice of giving complementary feedingsto infant. The addition, complementary foods and liquids have been identified as a major cause of diarrhoea illness and highermortality rates in infants (Aidam et al., 2015).

Correspondingly, bathing is generally superior to washing provided basic safety procedures are followed, and has psychological benefits for the infant and parents globally (Lee, 2012). In Nigeria, people perceived that infant requires routine bathing to improve the health related behavioral issues and infant using appropriate safety measures for a duration of 5 to 10 minutes. (Peter, 2012). Traditionally, sponge baths were carried out on newborns until the umbilical cord fell off then tub baths where introducedin urban areas in Nigeria.However, infants born prematurely continued to have sponge baths as part of their routine care (biweekly/daily) during their prolonged hospitalization. It was believed that this practice reduced the risk of infection and bacterial colonization, which can be life threatening for all preterm infants. However, in later research conducted by Ash, (2010) comparing sponge bathing to tub bathing, it was found that there was no significant difference in infection rates. In actual fact, some studies concluded indicate that a sponge bath posed more of a risk due to significant heat loss, physiological alterations, including changes in heart rate, oxygen requirements and saturation levels, and detrimental behavioural cues, including crying, whimpering and thrashing. In addition, the procedure of sponge

bathing was not supportive of family-centred care as neonatal nurses were reported to be carrying out the procedure in the middle of the night when they had more time available, meaning the family were never involved. Bathing procedures therefore moved away from sponge bathing as routine care to the practices currently used today (Ash, 2010).

Methodology

The study made use of a desriptive survay research design that makes possible for the collection of data from a small portion of the identified population and successively generalized. The target population of the study was made up of women of child-bearing age, and health workers from the three senatorial zones of Katsina State (Katsina North, Katsina Central, and Katsina South), which was 3,058,499 as of 2020. The sample size, which was 384, was determined by making use of Krejcie and Morgan formula, and the process of selecting the samples was done using multi-sampling technique. First the State was divided into three senatorial zones where only one major local government was selected from each zone. The selected local governments were Katsina, Daura and Funtua local governments. The researcher then purposively selected one healthcare center from each of the three selected local governments. The selected healthcare centers are Funtua General Hospital, Turai Child and Maternity Hospital Katsina, and General Hospital Daura from Funtua, Katsina and Daura local governments respectively. Finally, the respondents were selected by making use of judgmental sampling technique from the selected healthcare centers. Questionnaire and interview methods were the instruments used in collecting data from the women of child-bearing age and the healthcare workers respectively.

Table I: Selected LGAs and Healthcare Centers

S/n	LGA	Healthcare Center	Sample
1	Funtua	General Hospital Funtua	128
2	Katsina	Turai Yar'adua Child and Maternity Hospital Katsina	128
3	Daura	General Hospital Daura	128
		Total	**384**

Source: *Researcher's Fieldwork (2021)*

Influence of Hygiene Bathing and Breastfeeding of Lactating Mothers on Infant Mortality in Katsina State

In an attempt to examine the impact of hygiene bathing and breastfeeding of lactating mothers on the rate of infant mortality in Katsina State, 384 copies of questionnaire were administered to the nursing mothers from three selected local government areas in the State. Of the 384 copies distributed, the researcher was able to retrieve 302 copies which was equivalent to 78%. Therefore, the presentation and analysis of the data was made based on the data contained in the retrieved copies (302).

Table 2: Variables for Attitude of Lactating Mothers

1	Shameful of Breast feeding Mothers at first delivery	Strongly Agreed	1	188
		Agreed	2	103
		Disagreed	3	7
		Strongly disagreed	4	4
2	Denial of breastfeeding to infant at early hour	Strongly Agreed	1	57
		Agreed	2	176
		Disagreed	3	40
		Strongly disagreed	4	29
3	Malnourished breastfeeding mothers	Strongly Agreed	1	79
		Agreed	2	96

		Disagreed	3	74
		Strongly disagreed	4	53
4	Absence of traditional birth attendant	Strongly Agreed	1	70
		Agreed	2	98
		Disagreed	3	88
		Strongly disagreed	4	46
5	Traditional ritual performance at delivery	Strongly Agreed	1	68
		Agreed	2	78
		Disagreed	3	91
		Strongly disagreed	4	65
6	Delay to breastfeed infant on time	Strongly Agreed	1	105
		Agreed	2	96
		Disagreed	3	54
		Strongly disagreed	4	47

Source:*Researcher's Fieldwork (2021)*

Table 3: Attitude of Lactating Mother Coefficients

Variable	Coefficients	t-Statistic	P-Value
SBM	-.020	-.538	0.591
DBIEH	.185	5.702	<0.001
MBM	.045	.804	0.422
ATBA	-.049	-.820	0.413
TRPBD	.007	.178	0.859
DBITT	.819	22.579	<0.001

Table 3 indicates that out of the six predictors delay to breastfeed infant and denial of breastfeed at early hours have significantly related to infant mortality with P value of < 0.005 each. The linear regression analysis has further reveals that increase in denial of breastfeeding to infant at early hours may increase the risk of infant death. The table further reveals that delaying and denial of breastfeeding infant at early has a negative effect to the life of infant. While the remaining four predicators did not show any negative significant relationship with infant mortality.

Table 4: Variables for Bathing Hygiene

1	Do you agree infant bathing is related to infant mortality?	Strongly Agreed	1	56
		Agreed	2	62
		Disagreed	3	112
		Strongly disagreed	4	72
2	Do agree too much bathing influences infant mortality?	Strongly Agreed	1	66
		Agreed	2	75
		Disagreed	3	86

		Strongly disagreed	4	73
3	Do you agree hiring old woman to wash infant increase infant mortality at first delivery?	Strongly Agreed	1	59
		Agreed	2	56
		Disagreed	3	101
		Strongly disagreed	4	86
4	Do you agree the use of hot water on infant bathing increases rate of infant mortality?	Strongly Agreed	1	46
		Agreed	2	50
		Disagreed	3	98
		Strongly disagreed	4	108
5	Do you agree the use of cool water on infant bathing increases rate of infant mortality?	Strongly Agreed	1	102
		Agreed	2	109
		Disagreed	3	49
		Strongly disagreed	4	42
6	Do you agree general hygiene contributes to the health of an infant?	Strongly Agreed	1	128
		Agreed	2	131
		Disagreed	3	23
		Strongly disagreed	4	20

Source:*Researcher's Fieldwork (2021)*

Table 5: Bathing Hygiene Coefficients

Variable	Coefficients	t-Statistic	P-Value
TIBIM	.372	3.897	.000
IBRIM	.178	2.588	.010
HOWIM	-.492	-5.517	.000
CWCIM	.703	14.700	.000

Table 5 shows that predictors too much bathing, hiring old woman and cool water have significant effect on infant mortality with P value of < 0.005 each. The linear regression analysis has further revealed that increase in any of the stated predicators may affect the life of an infant leading to mortality.

Table 6: Cross Tabulation for Bivariate Analyses

		Infant Mortality					
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	X^2	P-value
Attitude of Breastfeeding Mother	Strongly agree	43	19	18	22	69.693	.000
	Agree	26	41	31	11		
	Disagree	5	13	13	18		
	Strongly disagree	1	4	14	23		
General Hygiene	Strongly Agree	51	25	24	28	68.619	.000
	Agree	23	48	38	22		
	Disagree	1	3	10	9		
	Strongly disagree	0	1	4	15		

Table 6 shows cross tabulation of each and every independent variable with dependent variable: The data has clearly confirmed significant association between attitude of lactating mothers of P<0.05) and chi secure X^2 = 69.693, and bathing hygiene of P<0.05 and chi secure X^2 = 68.619. From this analysis it is observed that both the aforementioned predicators have significant association with infant mortality in the study area.

Discussion of Result

Data on the attitude of lactating mothers shows that only two factors influenced infant mortality i.e. delay to breastfeed infant (P-Value <0.001) and denial of breastfeeding at early hours (P-Value <0.001). These variables indicated negative significant relationship towards infant mortality. Breast feeding is one of the cardinal aspects in nurturing infant. This is because infant requires enough feeding system at regular intervals which will make him healthy, strong and nourished. Delaying or denial of infant breast milk would directly affect the life of infant. Some women or feeding mothers have such attitude because of either shyness or fancy which may result to certain morbidities, malnourishment and infant death. An interview with a medical doctor stated that most of the women in the area do not belief in breastfeeding their children at early hours and some mothers are even ashamed of regular breastfeeding of their infants especially at their first delivery. Equally, if the child is with a friend or a family member crying of hunger she does no bother to receive and breastfeed the child. This results to certain morbidities that endanger the infant to death.

Data regarding bathing hygiene illustrated that too much bathing, hiring old woman to bath baby and the use of cold water to bath infants have significant effect with infant mortality, any increase in in the rate at which infant are supposed to be bathed may increase the risk of their death. Thus it is observed that bathing, good shelter, and good wares contributed properly in improving infant health condition, but some mothers adhered to adopt the system of their cultural attributes based on their cultural belief systems. In some localities in the study area, some families accept hiring old women, using cold water etc. for infant bathing. This attitude negatively affects the life of the infant. It was further identified that there were three major causes accounting for three quarters of newborn deaths in Nigeria as: birth asphyxia (when the baby do not cry at birth), preterm birth complications, and infections. According to Utuk (2005), majority of deaths/ illnesses occurring in children aged 1-2 weeks are caused by neonatal tetanus that associated cultural background. Similarly, data obtained from an interview revealed that the required facility in their locality is expected to

be a good working condition environment because infant generally are weak. The facility needs to consist of hardworking staff who are always present.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Culture has an important influence in the health behaviour of the people especially in developing countries where majority of the people are traditionally oriented and superstitious. Among predominantly rural populace, ill health is commonly believed to be due to evil mechanization of witchcraft, magician, wizard, gods and ancestors and this influence the health seeking behaviour of the people. The study has shown that whatever affects the health of the mother affects the child (WHO: 1994). It is observed that when a woman gets inadequate medical care, or none at all during pregnancy, childbirth, and postnatal period, her baby also receives little or no medical care. Thus, the guidelines for essential new born care include hygiene during delivery, keeping the new born baby warm, early initiation of breastfeeding, exclusive breast-feeding, care of the eyes, care during illness, immunization and care of low birth-weight of the new born. It is based on its findings that the study recommends the following;

i. Campaigns for infant breastfeeding awareness need to be intensified. This will educate women to understand the dangers associated with delay, denial, and importance of frequent breast feeding of infant at regular interval.

ii. Environmental sanitation is required at all point. This involves the cleanness of infant clothes, bathing, where to sleep, objects around and the mother's purification concerning her clothes, body cleanness, etc.

iii. Governments at all levels should ensure that enough primary, secondary and tertiary healthcare facilities are provided everywhere in the State. The provision of these facilities would reduce the practices of these traditional beliefs regarding the newborn babies for most of them were due to inadequacies of hospitals.

iv. There should be networking of NGOs. The NGOs should work together so that their goals will be achieved through national and regional level seminars. Workshops can be organized to sensitize and build capacity among the NGOs on various issues pertaining to cultural practices based on the finding of the study. The government (both state and local) should give support and create chances for Non-Governmental Organizations through providing enabling environment. This could be done through public enlightenment and provision of financial assistance to the NGOs on regular basis.

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ETHNIC POLITICS AND SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY IN NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS
Ethnic, Politics, Sustainable, Democracy

ABSTRACT
Since Nigeria gained independence, there has been a persistent demand for an electoral system that would foster a functional democratic process. Despite numerous reform efforts, the outcome appears to deteriorate with each successive general election. This study employs content analysis, drawing on the conflict theory proposed by Karl Marx. It examines the influence of ethnic politics on Nigeria's pursuit of a sustainable democracy. The research contends that the endemic nature of ethnic politics presents significant hurdles to democracy's survival in Nigeria. The findings reveal various symptoms and ramifications of ethnic politics that hinder the consolidation of democracy, including heightened calls for self-determination, escalating insecurity, and stalled development. However, the paper advocates for a two-party system to mitigate regional dominance in power structures, emphasizes strict adherence to federal principles, and proposes restructuring as crucial measures to address the challenges posed by ethnic politics in Nigeria. The contribution to the literature lies in the nuanced exploration of the interplay between ethnic politics and democratic consolidation in Nigeria, grounded in the framework of conflict theory. While previous studies have acknowledged the disruptive role of ethnic politics, this research delves deeper into its multifaceted effects on the democratic process. By advocating for specific reforms such as a two-party system and structural adjustments, this study offers practical insights for policymakers and scholars seeking to address the complexities of Nigeria's political landscape.

1 Introduction

Nigeria, akin to many African nations, has traversed a convoluted historical trajectory, deeply influenced by the infiltration of European colonizers into the continent. These colonial powers, driven primarily by self-interest, formulated policies and agendas that prioritized their social and economic goals over the well-being of indigenous Africans. Consequently, the colonial administration, in its pursuit of administrative convenience, disregarded ethnic boundaries in the partitioning of Africa, leading to the arbitrary amalgamation of diverse ethnic groups within newly formed nations. According to Uwaifo(2016), this foundational amalgamation, devoid of consideration for linguistic, religious, and cultural differences, laid the groundwork for the enduring ethnic tensions that have plagued Nigeria and other African countries, impeding efforts towards national unity and integration. The roots of ethnic politics in

Nigeria can be traced back to its colonial past, where the imposition of artificial boundaries and administrative structures disregarded ethnic identities and differences. As put by Adeibijola, (2016), this disregard for ethnic sensitivities persisted through the pre and post-independence periods, as evidenced by the emergence of political parties organized along ethnic lines. For instance, the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroun (NCC), the Northern People's Congress (NPC), and the Action Group (AG) all represented the interests of specific ethnic regions within the country.

The period preceding Nigeria's independence was characterized by escalating ethnic tensions and political instability. From the 1962-1965 crises to the subsequent collapse of the first republic, ethnic divisions deeply permeated the country's democratic process. Despite constitutional attempts to balance regional interests and central authority, such as the 1960 federal structure, the dominance of the Hausa/Fulani North in federal leadership roles perpetuated ethnic disparities and undermined the principle of federal character enshrined in the constitution. Despite efforts to address ethnic grievances through constitutional amendments, ethnic politics has remained a pervasive force in Nigeria's democratic landscape. The transition to the fourth republic in 1999 did little to alleviate these tensions, as evidenced by the proliferation of ethnically based political parties and alliances. The 2023 general elections marked a resurgence of ethnic politics, exacerbated by rising insecurity and regional alliances, further undermining democratic stability (Olaniyan&Omotola, 2015; Adeibijola, 2016). In the pre and post-independence era of Nigerian politics, ethnic politics proliferated, with distinct regional interests shaping the trajectory of the nation's democratic evolution. As early as 1922, the formation of political parties along clearly delineated ethnic lines underscored the depth of ethnic polarization within the Nigerian political landscape. The National Council for Nigeria and Cameroun (NCC), led by figures such as Dr. NnamdiAzikiwe, represented the Eastern region, while the Northern People's Congress (NPC), born out of the Northern Nigeria Cultural Organization, championed Northern interests under the leadership of Sir Ahmadu Bello and Sir AbubakarTafawaBalewa. Similarly, the Yoruba Cultural Organization birthed the Action Group (AG), led by Chief ObafemiAwolowo. These three major political parties dominated Nigerian politics until the military takeover in 1966 (Adeibijola, 2016).

The period preceding Nigeria's independence was fraught with ethnic tensions that permeated every aspect of the democratic process. From 1962 to 1965, the nation grappled with a series of crises, including North-South ethnic tensions, political vendettas, and thuggery, culminating in the collapse of the first republic in 1965. Despite constitutional attempts to balance regional interests, such as the 1960 federal structure, the dominance of the Hausa/Fulani North in federal leadership roles perpetuated ethnic disparities, undermining the principle of federal character enshrined in the constitution. The struggle for political power and fear of domination further exacerbated ethnic politics in Nigeria. Despite subsequent constitutional amendments, including the creation of states and the enshrinement of the federal character principle, ethnic politics remained deeply entrenched in the country's democratic process. Since the advent of the fourth republic in 1999, ethnic politics has continued to exert a stronghold on Nigeria's democratization process, with recent studies highlighting its role in perpetuating violence and instability (Olaniyan&Omotola, 2015). The 2023 general elections marked a pinnacle in the escalation of ethnic politics, fueled by rising insecurity and regional alliances. The emergence of alliances such as the coalition between the All Nigeria People Party (ANPP) and the Alliance Democracy (AD), which birthed the All People's Congress (APC), underscored the entrenchment of ethnic politics in Nigerian politics. This persistent ethnic politicking has hindered democratic consolidation and economic development in the country, perpetuating suspense and fear with each electoral cycle (Adeleke&Uche, 2015).

The concept of ethnicism, characterized by a total allegiance to one's ethnic group, poses a significant threat to Nigeria's democratic values and national unity. By examining the effects of ethnic politics on Nigeria's democratic process, this paper seeks to interrogate whether ethnic politics has bolstered or undermined democratic values and gains, this paper seeks to examine the impact of ethnic politics on Nigeria's democratic values, probing whether it has contributed to the consolidation or erosion of democratic principles. The pervasive influence of ethnic politics poses a grave threat to Nigeria's nascent democracy and national unity, perpetuating divisions and impeding

progress towards inclusive governance (Adeleke&Uche, 2015; Nwankwo, 2013). By examining the repercussions of ethnic politics on democratic governance, this study aims to provide insights into the complexities of Nigeria's political landscape and explore strategies for fostering a more cohesive and inclusive democracy

2 Conceptual Framework:

Ethnic/ Ethnicity:

Ethnicity embodies a complex interplay of emotions and historical ties, evoking a deep sense of attachment to primordial cleavages. It encompasses a fervent expression of allegiance to one's cultural heritage, prioritizing its values and aspirations above all others. An ethnic group is defined by its distinctive communal character, spanning geographical boundaries and sharing common cultural and social traits (Olaniyan&Omotola, 2015). This collective identity fosters a sense of belonging and significantly influences individual behavior within societal and political contexts. Central to ethnic identity is language, serving as the primary symbol of group cohesion and identity (Iwaloye&Ibeanu, 1997). Despite variations in dialects, language unifies members of an ethnic group, facilitating communication and reinforcing social bonds from birth or through historical inheritance. Leadership structures within ethnic groups play a pivotal role in maintaining cohesion and navigating relationships with other groups. Whether centralized or decentralized, leadership defines the group's interactions and responses to external dynamics, seeking peace or conflict as dictated by diplomatic imperatives. The mode of dressing serves as a tangible manifestation of ethnic identity, enabling easy identification of group affiliation. Similarly, religion often forms a cornerstone of ethnic identity, with members predominantly adhering to a shared faith. The mode of worship becomes a deeply ingrained aspect of cultural identity, fiercely defended even at the expense of personal or collective sacrifice.

Security concerns loom large within ethnic cleavages, prompting the establishment of dedicated apparatuses to safeguard lives and property. Youth cohorts often form the backbone of these security structures, tasked with defending the group's interests and maintaining law and order. Historical narratives weave the fabric of ethnic identity, reflecting shared experiences and collective struggles. Through inter-ethnic conflicts, quests for political autonomy, and cultural ceremonies, each ethnic group forges a distinct historical trajectory that binds its members together in solidarity. In essence, ethnicity encapsulates a multifaceted phenomenon encompassing language, leadership, dressing, religion, security, and history. These features collectively define the contours of ethnic identity, shaping individual and collective behaviors within societal and political spheres.

Ethnic Politics:

The term "ethnic politics" has taken on a derogatory connotation, signifying negative behaviors and actions among members of ethnic groups vying for dominance and control over power and resources within a specific territory. It has evolved into a self-perpetuating cycle, characterized by intrigues and deceit aimed at maintaining power. Ethnic politics represents a shift from the spirit of nationalism to that of ethnicism, undermining the ethos of collective national identity. In Nigeria, ethnic politics manifests as the exploitation of ethnicity by ethnic chauvinists in the realm of politics (Oladira, 2013). It revolves around questions such as who will ascend to leadership, which ethnic group's turn it is to wield power, and whose interests a leader will serve. This quest for answers and the ensuing intense struggles epitomize ethnic politics, resembling a form of simulated warfare where considerable resources, energy, and time are expended in the contest. In Nigeria, as in many African countries, lives and property are often sacrificed in the ethnic power struggle. Ethnic politics erodes the principles of nationalism and promotes mediocrity, generating adverse political conditions that polarize the polity and foster self-serving policies detrimental to national development.

Democracy:

Democracy stands as one of the foremost contemporary political systems embraced by nations striving for sustainable development. Embraced for its capacity to safeguard liberties, freedoms, and rights crucial for progress and prosperity (Abubakar, 2019), democracy epitomizes government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Robert Dahl, as cited in Okeke et al. (2015), delineates seven

salient features of democracy, termed "polyarchy," essential for distinguishing it from other historical and theoretical forms of governance. These features include: the authorization of elected officials to make policy decisions, the peaceful selection and removal of officials through free and fair elections, universal adult suffrage, rule of law and separation of powers, protection of human rights by the constitution, access to unbiased information, the right of association, government accountability to the public, consultation with the people through mass media and consideration of public opinion, and recognition of socio-cultural factors and opposition parties. Sustainable democracy entails the consolidation of democratic values to ensure the provision of functional education, quality shelter, healthcare, protection of rights, and other dividends positively impacting citizens' lives. As a system of governance, democracy is tasked with providing an institutional framework for governance and the delivery of these dividends.

3 Theoretical Framework

Conflict Theory and Human Need Theory

The paper, ethnic politics and sustainable democracy in Nigeria is anchored on Conflict Theory and Human Need Theory.The theoretical framework draws upon Conflict Theory and Human Needs Theory to illuminate the dynamics of ethnic politics and its implications for democratic sustainability. Conflict Theory, pioneered by Karl Marx, posits that societal conflict arises from the pursuit of power and resources by individuals and groups. It underscores the competition among groups for control over limited resources, often leading to ethnic tensions and political strife. Conflict Theory suggests that social order is maintained through power relations rather than consensus, with dominant groups seeking to preserve their authority through manipulation and suppression (Horowitz, 1985; Hayes, 2022).

The application of Conflict Theory emphasizes the role of ethnic conflict in shaping Nigeria's political landscape. Rather than viewing ethnic politics as a peripheral issue, this paper underscores its central role in exacerbating societal divisions and hindering democratic consolidation. By highlighting the ways in which ethnic elites mobilize support and exploit group identities to maintain power, thereby contributing to a deeper understanding of the underlying dynamics driving ethnic politics in Nigeria.

Furthermore, the paper incorporates John Burton's Human Needs Theory, which posits that ethnic conflicts stem from the denial of basic human needs, both biological and psychological. This theoretical framework emphasizes the importance of identity, recognition, participation, and autonomy in conflict resolution (Burton, 1979). By applying Human Needs Theory, the paper offers insights into the root causes of ethnic conflict in Nigeria, where successive governments have struggled to address the diverse needs of ethnic groups. It offers practical insights for policymakers and scholars seeking to foster sustainable democracy in ethnically diverse societies by examining how the denial of basic human needs contributes to ethnic tensions and political instability, and by proposing strategies to address ethnic tensions and promote peaceful coexistence.

4 Discussions and Findings

The findings and discussions shall be discussed under the following headlines:

A. Symptoms of Ethnic Politics in Nigeria

B. Effects of Ethnic Politics in Nigeria

C. Measures to Contain Ethnic Politics and Sustain the Nation’s Democracy

Symptoms of Ethnic Politics in Nigeria

Nigeria's journey toward democracy, despite the hopeful aspirations of its citizens, encountered significant obstacles right from its inception. The early nationalists, in their quest for independence, regrettably succumbed to the allure of ethnic politics, aided by colonial institutions that entrenched ethnic hegemony. Unfortunately, since the first republic, little has changed; rather, it appears that the problem has intensified with each subsequent election. Many discernible symptoms of ethnic politics persist:

1. **Insecurity:** The pervasive insecurity in Nigeria has elevated the nation to one of the most volatile countries globally.

Terrorist groups, such as Boko Haram and bandits, have wreaked havoc, instigating fear and unrest among the populace. Accusations and counter-accusations among ethnic groups regarding sponsorship of these attacks have become commonplace, exacerbating tensions and perpetuating a cycle of violence and political turmoil (Nnamani, 2020).

2. **Agitations for self-rule:** Decades-long agitation for self-rule by various ethnic groups stems from the injustices and inequities in the distribution of political power and resources. The dominant ethnic group's stranglehold on political positions and resources since independence has fueled discontent and fragmentation within the nation. The North's historical advantage in electoral victories and resource allocation has fueled resentment and renewed calls for self-determination from marginalized regions (Osaghae, 2015).

3. **Institutional decay:** Ethnic politics has precipitated institutional decay, characterized by the appointment of unqualified individuals to critical positions, particularly during certain administrations. This practice, notably evident during the Buhari presidency, has hampered development and perpetuated mediocrity, further exacerbating socio-economic challenges (Umar, 2019).

4. **Injustice and lack of equity:** In the landscape of ethnic politics, injustice, discrimination, and marginalization persist. Minority ethnic groups often find themselves sidelined in the political arena, relegated to the periphery by the dominant ethnic group. The manipulation of governmental institutions by the dominant ethnic group reinforces disparities and undermines the principles of democracy and equity (Omotola, 2018).

Addressing these symptoms requires comprehensive reforms aimed at fostering national unity, promoting inclusivity, and ensuring equitable distribution of resources and opportunities for all citizens, regardless of ethnicity.

Effects of Ethnic Politics on Nigeria

1. Effects on development Ethnic politics acts as a hindrance to development, a sentiment echoed by Nnoli (1978) in his assessment of African nations. The struggle for power and resources fueled by ethnic politics often results in internal armed conflicts, prolonged ethnic wars, political turmoil, and insecurity. These conflicts not only devastate the economy but also instill fear and tension within society. Sustainable development requires peace and security, elements that are compromised by the prevalence of ethnic politics. Furthermore, the promotion of mediocrity due to ethnic considerations exacerbates economic challenges, leading to increased poverty, unemployment, and hardship. Eniemeh (2021) highlights how public policies are often formulated through the lens of ethnic bias, further impeding national development efforts.

2. Effects on Unity Despite the rhetoric of unity in diversity, ethnic politics undermines the fragile unity achieved through shared history, geography, and relationships. Marginalization of certain ethnic groups, escalating insecurity, and economic hardships contribute to heightened disunity. The perpetuation of ethnic politics exacerbates these divisions, pushing unity further into the background.

3. Effects on Democracy Ethnic politics emerges from the relentless struggle of ethnic groups to seize control of power and resources at both state and national levels, compromising democratic principles in the process. Democratic values, centered around free and fair elections, are undermined by the manipulation of electoral processes to secure victory. Rigged elections, compromised electoral tribunals, judiciary interference, and falsified results are the impact of ethnic politics on democracy.

4. Rise of Insecurity The recurring pattern of heightened tension surrounding general elections suggests a looming fracture within Nigeria's social fabric. Since gaining independence in 1960,

general elections have been marred by ethnic-based political posturing, often exacerbated by inflammatory rhetoric from politicians. The ethnic tensions that characterized the first republic eventually culminated in a civil war fought along ethnic lines. Recent escalations in insecurity within Nigeria can be traced back to the lingering animosities fostered by ethnic politics.

Measures to Contain Ethnic Politics and Sustain the Nation's Democracy

1. Constitutional Amendments/Restructuring Addressing the challenges posed by ethnic politics necessitates convening a constitutional conference to facilitate dialogue among Nigerian citizens on the nation's future trajectory. The call for restructuring is paramount to rectify the imbalanced structural framework underpinning the country's operations. Various issues must be deliberated to foster unity and development before ethnic politics precipitates the nation's demise (Nnoli, 1978).

2. Implementation of Federal Character Principles The principle of federal character was enshrined in Nigeria's polity to ensure inclusivity and equitable representation of all ethnic groups. However, ethnic politics often undermines this principle, promoting winner-takes-all scenarios and sidelining equality. Strengthening the constitutional backing of the federal character principle is imperative to prevent any single ethnic group from monopolizing federal positions or resources (Adeleke&Uche, 2015; Hassan &Salawu, 2011).

3. Upholding Democratic Principles Democracy is characterized by foundational principles, and any deviation from these principles risks descending into tyranny. Persistent breaches of democratic tenets by Nigerian leaders imperil the nation's democratic survival. Constitutional safeguards must be instituted to prevent political actors from manipulating democratic principles for their benefit.

4. Good Governance Responsive and accountable governance is pivotal in safeguarding democratic processes from the pressures of ethnic politics. Nigeria's current political turmoil stems from leadership devoid of vision and disregard for constitutional obligations. The nation's fortunes hinge on leaders committed to fostering inclusive, responsive governance conducive to national progress and unity in diversity (Hassan &Salawu, 2011).

5. Functional Judicial System A robust judiciary ensures justice and serves as the bulwark against tyranny. However, pervasive corruption and bias erode public trust in Nigeria's legal system, instilling fear and uncertainty. Rebuilding public confidence necessitates a judiciary that dispenses impartial justice with compassion and integrity.

6. Evaluation of Multi-Party System The experience of Nigeria's third republic underscores the potential efficacy of a two-party system in a multi-ethnic nation. While additional measures are indispensable to operationalize this option effectively, eliminating the proliferation of parties could streamline political dynamics and mitigate ethnic tensions.

7. National Integration/Unity Despite efforts to promote national integration through initiatives like the National Youth Service Corps and cultural festivals, ethnic sentiments among elites undermine these endeavors. Urgent steps are needed to align elite behavior with national aspirations, transcending ethnic affiliations to pursue a unified national agenda (Ebegbulem, 2015).

5 Conclusion

Ethnic politics dynamics influences the trajectory of democratic governance and the formulation of effective strategies to ensure its resilience is imperative. Contemporary conceptual frameworks such as Conflict Theory and Human Needs Theory, offers a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted nature of ethnic politics, projecting its inquiry within the socio-political landscape of post-colonial Nigeria

(Olaniyan&Omotola, 2015). The work unraveled the persistent patterns of ethnic polarization and their ramifications for democratic consolidation. Through a rigorous analysis of power relations, institutional structures, and socio-economic factors, the paper advocate for measures such as constitutional reforms, the strengthening of democratic institutions, and the promotion of inclusive governance to mitigate the adverse effects of ethnic politics (Ebegbulem, 2015; Adeleke&Uche, 2015). The work provides valuable insights that can inform policy interventions and contribute to the advancement of democratic governance in Nigeria and beyond.

Sustainable democracy hinges on consolidating democratic values to enhance education, healthcare, and citizens' rights. Effective governance requires adherence to democratic principles, while addressing ethnic politics demands structural reforms and constitutional amendments to ensure fairness and inclusivity and fostering peace, unity, and national integration, Nigeria can mitigate the detrimental effects of ethnic politics and sustain its democratic journey for sustainable development.

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GLOBALIZATION, COVID-19 PANDEMIC AND THE SITUATION IN AFRICA

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KEYWORDS
Health System, Education, Covid-19 pandemic, State, Globalisation

ABSTRACT
The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in Wuhan, China, in December 2019 is closely linked to present global economic meltdown. Today, many African countries are still struggling to recover from the negative effects of the Covid-19 pandemic on their respective economy. Therefore, this study seeks to examine the influence of globalization on the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic and the situation in Africa.Moreover, secondary sources of data such as books, journals, and online resources was used for this study while content analysiswas used to analyse the data collected. However, this study is situated within the globalists perspective. The studyargues that globalisation contributed to the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic in Africa. This study argues that the Covid-19 virus spread from Wuhan in China, to other parts of the world within a very short time, due to movement of persons across international borders. The study also argues that many African countries' economies are currently experiencing extreme pressure, which has overstretched their economy. Lastly, the influence of globalisation on the spread of the Covid-19 cannot be overemphasised because it has significantly impacted on African states capacity to develop. As a result, African states should place more emphasis on the advantages of globalisation than on how it facilitates the spread oftheCovid-19Pandemic.

Introduction

The concept of "Globalisation" is one of the most discussed and contested concepts in the social science literature because its origin and impact has been an issue of controversy. For instance, there is no consensus in the literature on the historical origin of globalization. Some scholars have argued that, globalisation has existed since the first century BC, when human migration routes began to establish (Momoh, 2020).

Humans have been exchanging goods for a very long time, but the development of the Silk Road is often regarded as one of the earliest significant examples of globalisation in

terms of transferring items across boundaries. For the first time, Chinese goods were marketed in Europe through the Silk Road, a trading route between China and Europe. Early global commerce routes flourished through land and water until the 14th century, trading everything from silk to spices, but it was until the end of the 15th century, during the Age of Discovery, that trade really took off.

Moreover, the flow of knowledge and trade has occurred from the beginning of time in some form or another, from prehistoric trade routes through the establishment of international bodies. In this period, European explorers connected the East and West and found the Americas, which led to the availability of staple goods like tomatoes, potatoes, coffee, and chocolate in Europe. The world was introduced to international trade by these early examples, but the Industrial Revolution is considered by historians to mark the official start of globalisation as we understand it today.

Besides, the Industrial Revolution saw the developed countries of the World like Britain produce textile, iron, and manufactured products that were in demand all over the world because of the development of steamships and railroads that accelerated trade. Many nations aspired to create international organisations and eliminate long-standing trade obstacles in order to promote free trade after the World Wars. The obstacles allowing for the free movement of goods, services, and capital have been further decreased by economic policy and technology today (Scholte, 2000; Momoh, 2015).

Today, globalisation is the continual process of developing procedures, taking advantage of possibilities, and resolving problems associated with international economic activity. Examples include the expansion of capitalism, an uptick in market activity and exports, and the development of international economic regulations. Along with it, there is also the exchange of cultural values, customs, and concepts. The development of K-Pop (Korean pop music) is one example of this. Additionally, the exchange of data and information across digital platforms has accelerated and enhanced how we communicate with individuals around the world. The popular social media sites Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube are a few examples.

Moreover, the expansion of international financial systems and the exchange of currency throughout the world. Examples include the global stock market, which is dependent on the whole economy and where the performance of one market affects others. Also, the growth and influence of multinational institutions that take decisions about rules and regulations on a global scale. These organisations include the United Nations and World Health Organisation among others. Moreso, the rising trend towards viewing the Earth (and its maintenance) as a single entity for which we must all bear responsibility is also significant aspect of globalisation. One instance is the COP26 meeting, where nations from all around the world joined forces to combat climate change as a single global team.

Moreover, globalisation affects our lives in a wide range of ways, despite the prevalent misconception that it is only an economic or financial notion. As a result of geographical globalisation, we are able to travel freely across nations and exchange ideas and cultures all over the world. Moreover, the global arrangement of many nations and areas is always evolving. Examples include the exchange of visas between a few nations, which allows citizens to readily travel, work, and reside elsewhere. However, one of the negative impacts of globalization as it relates to geographical globalization is the spread of diseases.

Over the years, there have been a number of significant pandemics throughout human history, including those brought on by smallpox, cholera, plague, dengue, AIDS, influenza, severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS), West Nile virus, and tuberculosis. Influenza virus pandemics are occasional yet unpredictably occurring events that can have detrimental consequences affecting societies all over the world. Today, the term "pandemic" is often used to refer to diseases that spread over vast geographic regions, such as the outbreak of cholera of the 19th century, the influenza pandemic of 1918, and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Trans-regional and worldwide pandemics were distinguished in a recent assessment of the history of influenza pandemics (Taubenberger et al 2009).

On the whole, since the outbreak of the Covid-19 virus in China in December 2019, geographical globalization that allows for free movement of persons across international

boundaries assisted the easily spread of the virus to other parts of the world. For instance, within the first one hundred days, effect of the covid-19 pandemic was already felt across the world (Amzat et al, 2020). Besides, Africa countries were not exceptedfrom the spread of the Covid-19 virus despite the aftermath of measures like restrictions on the movement of persons across national boundaries and other safety measures put in place the Centre for Disease Control (CDC) of various countries and the World Health Organisation (WHO). It is against this background; this study seeks to examine the influence of globalisationon the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic and the situation in Africa.

Conceptual Issues: Globalisation and Covid-19 Pandemic

The term “globalization” is one of the ubiquitous concepts in social science literature. Theubiquityin the definition of the term has made it a contestable concept between and among academics and researchers. Scholte (2000) corroborated this assertion by stating that despite articles on the subject matter of globalisation, the investigations of globalisation tend to remain analytically fuzzy, empirically weak, historically and culturally inept, normatively superficial, and politically unsophisticated.

Similar to this, Sklair (1999) argues that researchers have confused the terms "globalisation" and "internationalisation" when using the term in the social science literature. Sklair (1999) argued that because a sizable number of researchers have failed to demonstrate an unambiguous distinction between the two notions, some scholars appear to use the terms "globalisation" and "internationalisation" interchangeably. In addition, Sklair (1999) argued that the hyphen in the phrase "inter-national" serves to separate (inadequate) understandings of the term "global."

Also, Albrow (1990:8) have argued that globalisation consists of "...all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society." Here globalization is defined as the process that unite the various parts of the world into a single global entity. However, Wallerstein (1974) posits that globalisation represents the renaissance of a capitalist world economy united by the international division of labour." In the context of Wallerstein (1974) understanding of globalization is that it implies the expansion of the capitalist world economy order through the instrumentality of the international division of labour among the two dominant classes of the bourgeoises and proletariats.

According to Bairoch et al. (1996:3), globalisation is the "...process whereby the production processes and financial systems of countries are becoming increasingly interconnected by a number of transactions that are cross-border in order to create a global division of labour in which the creation of national wealth becomes increasingly dependent on financial institutions in other countries, and the pinnacle of financial integration when such dependence exceeds its geographical limit."Cox (1994), states that "the characteristics of the trend of globalisation include the internationalisation of production, the new international division of labour, new migrations coming from the global South to the global North, a new competitive environment that promotes these processes, and the internationalisation of the state...making states into agencies of the globalising world." (Cited in Scholte, 1999:15).

Giddens (1990:64) described globalisation as the strengthening of international social linkages connecting remote regions in a way that shapes local events and vice versa. Oman (1996:5) describes "globalisation" as the expansion, or more specifically the faster expansion, of commercial activity beyond national and continental political boundaries. It manifests itself in the expansion of trade and investment as well as the migration of people and frequently material and intangible products and services, including ownership rights. It can be and frequently is made easier by less restrictions placed on mobility by the government and/or by advancements in technology, particularly in the areas of communications and transportation. It is driven by the individual economic actors (firms, banks, and individuals) who often act in the pursuit of profit and are frequently compelled by the demands of the marketplace. Thus, the phenomena of globalisationis a microeconomic process, an act of economic promotion, and a centrifugal process.

The argument made by Dicken (1992:1) is that "...globalisation is 'qualitatively distinct'

from internationalisation... It exemplifies "a more sophisticated and intricate kind of internationalisation, which entails some degree of practical integration between globally dispersed economic activity. Similarly, Dicken (1992:87) reiterates his assertion that "the extent of integration and interdependence is between national economies."However, Kanter (1995), states that "the universe has transformed into an international shopping centre in which goods and information are accessible anywhere at the same time."

The critical point, made byAppadurai (1990: 308) on globalisation, is that "both sides of the coin of global cultural process today are products of the infinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference on a stage characterised by radical disjunctures between different kinds of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjunctures."According to Featherstone (1995:6-7), "the process of globalisation concurrently implies two visions of culture. The first graphic depicts the expansion of a certain civilization to its outermost point, the globe. A dominant culture ultimately encompasses the entire planet after incorporating and integrating other civilizations. The second picture makes reference to the blending of civilizations. Things that were formerly kept separately are now brought together and juxtaposed.

According to Spich (1995:7), "Globalisation is a creation of the world's political economy that indicates and maintains basically that all economic activity, whether local, regional, or national, should be conducted within a perspective and mindset that is constantly international and globally in its scope." According to Walck et al. (1995:3), "globalisation is an input in the form of verbal and conceptual ideas, practises, and ideologies that certain individuals enforce on other people for economic and political gain." Rather than being an output of the "real" processes of markets and technologies.

According to Steingard et al. (1995), "globalisation is an ideological construct designed to satisfy capitalism's desire for emerging markets and labour supplies and propelled by the uncritical "sycophancy" of the global academic business community."Harris (1995) asserts that "Globalisation" is often refers to the blending of all human beings on the world and the condensing of both the time and space aspects of human contact. He added that, the severe level of economic servitude and social inequality that have characterised Latin America since the region came under European colonial rule in the sixteenth century have both been made worse by globalisation.

According to Hirst et al. (1996:6), "Globalisation" is a fiction that is appropriate for a society devoid of illusions, but it also robs us of hope. Since both Western democracy and the socialist systems of the former Soviet Union are believed to be dead, the world's markets are dominating and are not threatened by any credible countervailing political initiatives.

On the whole, from the forgoing review, one of the common issue central to the various conceptualization of globalization is that, three views can be deduced from the conceptualization of the concept of globalization. Scholars like Giddens (1990), Dicken (1992), Kanter (1995), Albrow (1990), Spich (1995), Bairoch et al. (1996), Oman (1996) areamong the scholars who are optimistic on the goals of globalisation, while Featherstone (1995), Walck et al. (1995), Harris (1995), Wallerstein (1974), Steingard et al. (1995), Hirst et al. (1996:6) are among the scholars who are pessimistic on the goals of globalization. Though, Appadurai (1990) sees it as two faces of the same coin based on what is at stake politically, economically and socially especially as it relates to the condition of the developing countries especially Africa.

However, the term "pandemic" is derived from the Greek words pan, which means "all," and demos, which means "the people," and is frequently used to describe an epidemic of an infectious illness that affects a whole nation or many continents simultaneously (Honigsbaum, 2009). However, several contemporary medical works have defined the word during the last twenty years. Even authoritative works on pandemics, such as the important 1992 report on emerging illnesses from the Institute of Medicine and thorough histories of medicine, do not include it in their indexes (Morens et al 2009).

Despite the fact that the term "pandemic" has not been defined by many medical written works, there are some key characteristics of a pandemic, such as broad geographic implication, disease movement, novelty, magnitude, high attack rates, rapidity, restricted population immunity, infectiousness, and contagiousness, which, when compared and

contrasted, help us better understand the concept. The pandemic-related issues have had extremely detrimental impacts on people's health, the economy, society, and security in both national and international societies. They have also significantly disrupted politics and society.

The simple and well-known definition of a pandemic as it is stated in the Dictionary of Epidemiology is "an epidemic occurring worldwide, or over a very wide area, crossing international boundaries and usually affecting a large number of people" (Harris, 2000). However, the classical definition makes no mention of virology, population immunity, or the severity of the disease. By Given the broad definition of the term, pandemics can be considered to occur annually in both the temperate southern and northern hemispheres based on this dictionary definition. Seasonal epidemics spread beyond national lines and have a significant human impact. According to Morens et al. (2009), contemporary definitions include "extensive epidemic," spanning a very wide area and typically impacting a considerable part of the population, and "distributed or spreading extensively across a region, country, continent, or globally.

Coronaviruses are a part of the Nidovirales order's family of viruses called the Coronaviridae. The term "coronavirus" refers to the spikes that resemble crowns that are found on the virus's outer surface. Coronaviruses are extremely small (65–125 nm in diameter) and their nucleic materials are single-stranded RNAs that range in size from 26 to 32 kbs. The coronavirus family is divided into four subgroups: alpha (a), beta (b), gamma (c), and (d) delta (Shereen et al 2020).

Besides, acute lung injury (ALI), acute respiratory distress syndrome (ARDS), pulmonary failure, and death are all brought on by the severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus (SARS-CoV), H5N1 influenza A, H1N1 2009, and Middle East respiratory syndrome coronavirus (MERS-CoV). The world previously believed that these viruses only affected animals until the 2002 SARS outbreak in Guangdong, China, which was caused by the SARS-CoV. Another illness is caused by a pathogenic coronavirus called the Middle East respiratory syndrome coronavirus (MERS-CoV), which emerged as an endemic just ten years later in Middle Eastern countries (Shereen et al 2020).

Literature Review

Since the Covid-19 pandemic first appeared in 2019, there is increasing research on the Covid-19 pandemic. Amzat et al. (2020), for instance, examined the early socio-medical reaction to COVID-19 in Nigeria in the first 100 days following the index case in Lagos, South West-Nigeria. The study demonstrates that the covid-19 pandemic expanded quickly in the first 100 days after the first index case in Nigeria. After the covid-19 epidemic had been present in the nation for 100 days, they asserted that the government had implemented both medical and social measures to stop its spread. From the above review, there is knowledge gap on the influence of globalisationon the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic in Africa.

Ouhsine et al. (2020) investigated how lockdown affected waste production and behaviour related to consumption of commodities in two Moroccan villages. They also looked at Moroccans' attitudes on the covid-19 pandemic pandemic-protective equipment. The results of the study showed that the lockdown enforced by the Moroccan government had an impact on the kinds of items purchased during the lockdown period, with the demand for disinfectants rising while it fell for meat and other processed meals. Their research therefore demonstrates that, compared to the remainder of cleaning solutions, the number of organic fractions in household waste significantly decreased. However, this study identifies knowledge gap on the influence of globalisationon the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic in Africa.

Gupta et al. (2020) investigated how the covid-19 epidemic affected the ecosystem. They contended that the COVID-19 pandemic is a blessing in disguise because lockdown measures, which prevented a large number of industries from operating in a way that would have otherwise produced harmful substances into the environment, have reduced the release of toxic gases like nitrogen dioxide, aerosols, sulphur dioxide, carbon monoxide, and other harmful particulates into the atmosphere, leading to an improvement in the quality of oxygen in the atmosphere.From the investigation, this study identifies knowledge gap on the influence of globalisationon the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic in Africa.

Ajide et al (2020) in their study examined the political economy and multidimensional factors

of COVID-19 in Nigeria from the 27th of February, 2020 to the 26th of May, 2020. The study shows that human-to-human transmission of the coronavirus is lower when compared to other ethnic groups estimated at zero. Abu-Qdais et al (2020) carried out statistical analysis to ascertain the rates and composition of the medical waste generated during the treatment of coronavirus pandemic in King Abdullah University Hospital in Jordan.From the above review, there is knowledge gap on the influence of globalisationon the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic in Africa.

Suthar et al (2020) examined the spread of the coronavirus from Wuhan, China. They assert that the first incident case was recorded on 12 December 2019. They added that the origin of the Coronavirus was traced to animals before human beings.

However, Ololo et al (2020) assert that the covid-19 pandemic has resulted in the loss of lives and has had negative consequences on the economy of nations. They further argued that the covid-19 pandemic has brought untold hardship on the global economy and worst the level of agricultural production as well as responsible for the decline in the price of oil at the international market. From the above analysis, there is knowledge gap on the influence of globalisationon the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic in Africa.

Mahule et al (2020) posit that the Coronavirus can be transmitted through droplet from an infected patient and assert that health care workers especially dentists should ensure they take every precautionary measure in ensuring that they are not infected with the coronavirus disease. Similarly, Akurathi (2020) in his study provide informed discourse into the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic and how to avert anxiety associated with the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic. Akurathi argued that there is a need for the global populace to adopt a positive thinking ability in a bid to boost their immune system. From the above reviews, there is knowledge gap on the influence of globalisationon the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic in Africa.

Yadav et al (2020) in their study of the outbreak prediction of covid-19 in most susceptible countries. They examined the spread of the covid-19 from Wuhan, China to other countries around the world especially European countries that were most affected. Omaka-Amari et al (2020) investigated the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in Nigeria within the first two months. The study shows that the numbers of infected Nigerians with the Covid-19 increased between February and March. Besides, Omaka-Amari et al (2020) also examined the various preventive mechanisms put in place to curb the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic in the country such as the use of hand sanitisers, hand washing, lockdown, wearing of face masks and social distancing. Moreover, they argued that selective lockdown of some states, poor attitude of some Nigerians to covid-19 protocol, social media interference, stigmatization against Covd-19 infected patients, fallacy about covid-19, overstretched health facilities and distrust for the Nigerian Centre for Diseases Control (NCDC). From the above examination of the research conducted by Yadav et al (2020) and Omaka-Amari et al (2020), there is knowledge gap on the influence of globalisationon the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic in Africa.

From the forgoing review of literature, there are individual studies on globalization and covid-19 in the literature. But there is absence of study on the influence of globalisationon the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic in Africa. Hence, this study seeks to make contributions to this research endeavour.

Theoretical Perspective

There are three dominant perspectives to the debate on globalization in the literature. The first perspective holds the view that globalization has enormous opportunities and benefits in terms of economic, political, social, cultural and geographical to human society. Scholars like Giddens (1990), Dicken (1992), Kanter (1995), Albrow (1990), Spich (1995), Bairoch et al. (1996), Oman (1996) holds this view are often referred to as “globalists”.

The second perspectives major arguments centered on the challenges inherent in globalization and challenges it has created for the underdeveloped countries of the world.Scholars like Featherstone (1995), Walck et al. (1995), Harris (1995),Wallerstein (1974), Steingard et al. (1995),Hirst et al. (1996:6) are pessimistic on the goals of globalization.Those who are a member of the anti-globalization movement think that rich countries and corporations may abuse their citizens, the environment, and their employees because of

globalisation. Protests against anything from child work to capitalism and third-country debt are held by anti-globalization activists who contend that the nature of globalisation makes the globe less responsible for its deeds.

Besides, the Proponents of the second perspective are often called the “anti-globalisation” or “anti-globalists”. While the third perspective hold a mix-feelings on the cost-benefits analysis of the impact of globalization on human society. For instance, Appadurai (1990) sees globalisation as two faces of the same coin.

Nevertheless, this study is situated within the perspective of the globalists arguments of globalization which states that the individual state economy has been integrated into the global capitalist system. This has been achieved through the use of Information Communication Technology (ies)(ICT) and the universalization of United States Dollar as a global current for most international transactions. This perspective is important to this study because with the aid of geographical globalization, there is easy movement of persons across national frontiers that has facilitated the spread of the Covid-19 virus from China to other parts of the world particular Africa that has placed the continent under current socio-economic situation today. However, one of the limitations of this perspectives is despite the fact that with the advancement in ICT particularly in the transportation sector that has facilitated the easy movement of persons across national frontiers. There are visa restrictions on the free movement of persons across national boundaries. Nevertheless, this perspective remains relevant to this study, because it is suitable for our understanding of the influence of globalization on the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic that has put the African continent under present socio-economic and political situation.

Globalization, Covid-19 Pandemic and the situation of Africa

Since the 1500s, there have been three influenza pandemics every century, or one every 10 to 50 years. The 20th century saw the "Spanish flu" in 1918–1919, the "Asian flu" in 1957–1958, and the "Hong Kong flu" in 1968–1969, all of which were influenza pandemics. The influenza pandemic of 1918–1919, which caused the deaths of more than 20 million people globally and is recognised as the worst epidemic ever recorded in human history (WHO, 2011). During the H1N1 epidemic in 2009, 178 nations were affected (Rewar et al., 2015). Every pandemic has a detrimental effect on both human life and economic development.

Over the years, the spread of parasites, virus plague, bacteria and diseases to various ecospheres irrespective or brought down once developed countries. In contemporary era of globalization, drug resistant strains of tuberculosis (TB), which affects more than nine million people globally each yearknows no borders. It can spread within a sneeze or a cough on an international flight. Today, because communicable diseases cause one-third of deaths globally. Global health is a concern and a threat to human security (Kegley et al 2011).

According to Gostin et al. (2016), there have been at least six significant outbreaks of pandemic in recent years, such as the Ebola virus disease pandemic, severe acute respiratory syndrome, H5N1 influenza, and H1N1 influenza. The A/2009/H1N1 influenza virus was the cause of the first pandemic of the twenty-first century. Over 18,000 people have died as a result of its global impact (Rewar et al., 2015). According to estimates from the World Bank Ebola claimed the lives of more than 11 000 individuals and cost the global economy more than $2 billion USD (Maurice, 2016). The Zika virus is still present today and poses a hazard to the health of people in 34 countries (Troncoso, 2016).

The SARS-CoV-2 pandemic also known as the Coronavirus disease (COVID-19), is one of pandemic that haveput human life in danger contemporary times. According to the South Morning China Post, the first instance of the new coronavirus strain was recorded in Wuhan, Hubei province, China, on November 17, 2019 (cited in Amzat et al, 2020). Since then, the number of illnesses and fatalities has increased exponentially on a global scale. With symptoms including cough, fever, and, in more severe instances, causes respiratory sickness. When an infected individual coughs or sneezes in public, or when someone touches something and then contacts their eyes, nose, or mouth, the disease is mostly spread by contact.

Today, the spread of the covid-19 pandemicspread faster around the world due to the movement of persons across national frontiers (geographical globalization) aided by the advancement in modern means of transportation. However, the spread of the

covid-19 pandemic has reduced remarkably across the world, however, the impact of the covid-19 pandemic on the global economy remains huge especially in Africa where most economies have not recovered fully of the impact of the pandemic on their economy. In addition, there is rising food prices in many African countries today. There is also expanding current account deficits, and declining foreign reserveswhich are still incredibly vulnerable to capital flow reversalsthat are driving up external vulnerabilities in many African countries. Besides, the exchange rate in significant numbers of African countries hasn't changed since foreign cash has been consistently sold in different windows.

Nevertheless, African economy recovering is slow, because of sluggish investment and decreasing real wages of the labour in many countries in Africa. Moreover, the situation in Africa today is such that despite the total decline in the spread of the covid-19 pandemic inflation has increased in many African countries like Zimbabwe 172.2 percent, Sudan 71.6 percent, Ghana 45.5 percent, Sierra Leone 37.4 percent, Ethiopia 31.4 percent, South Sudan 27.8 percent, Malawi 24.7 percent, Egypt 21.6 percent and Nigeria 20.4 percent just to mention a few (Statista, 2023).

Today, significant numbers of African countries' economies are currently experiencing extreme pressure, which has overstretched their financial, educational, and health systems, to name a few. Moreover, the Covid-19 pandemic is stillhaving negative consequences on African nations at varying rates because to their diverse strengths and weaknesses. For instance, just a third of Africans have access to appropriate hand washing, and the continent has fewer than one doctor for every 1,000 residents. However, country like Nigeria, have gained a plethora of pertinent lessons from addressing prior HIV/AIDS and Ebola outbreaks including community engagement, risk communication, and adopting local and cutting-edge ways to create African approaches to restrict disease spread. While the acute health effects of the Covid-19 epidemic have significantly impacted the African continent, the indirect effects outside of health have already taken a tremendous toll. Food shortages, a lack of medical equipment, loss of income and livelihood, challenges implementing sanitary, an impending debt crisis, as well as associated political and security dangers, are a few of these (United Nations, 2020).

The short- and long-term social and economic effects of the Covid-19 epidemic have been detrimental for Africa. In most African nations, the decline in GDP has caused economies to stagnate and exacerbated longstanding structural imbalances. The majority of people in many African nations depend primarily on the unregulated informal sector of the economy, which offers no protection against unforeseen interruptions. Many formal firms, particularly small ones, are simultaneously running out of reserves to survive. Many African nations are eventually on the verge of a severe financial crisis and recession.

On the aviation and tourism sector in Africa, 6.2 million people rely on the severely disrupted African aviation industry and tourism due to the covid-19 pandemic, which has a major impact on GDP, particularly in Small Island Developing States (SIDS). According to UNCTAD, SIDS are particularly vulnerable to a collapse in the tourism sector because it accounts for around 30% of their GDP. This percentage is more than 50% for the Seychelles. Tourist receipts in Africa decreased by 25%, causing the SIDS' GDP to decline by $7.4 billion, or 7.3%. Besides, Air Mauritius has been placed under charitable management, South African Airways is on the verge of bankruptcy, Ethiopian Airlines has lost an estimated US$550 million andRwandAir has reduced pay for high earners and lowest paid staff by 8 and 65 percent, respectively (United Nations, 2020).

Lastly, the influence of globalisation on the spread of the Covid-19 is one of the factors responsible for the worsening economic situation in Africa aftermath of the covid-19 pandemic because it has significantly impacted on African states capacity. As a result, African states should place more emphasis on how to reduce the impact of future pandemic on their economy and come up with policies and programmes that will help develop the continent.

Conclusion

The influence of geographical globalization remains one of the drivers of the covid-19 pandemic around the world due to the movement of persons across national frontiers. For instance, some infectious diseases live HIV/AIDS, H1N1, H5N1, and SARS epidemics and pandemics served as examples of how quickly infectious disease outbreaks may traverse

borders and endanger economic and regional stability. Beyond the crippling and occasionally deadly effects on people who are immediately impacted, pandemics have a number of detrimental social, economic, and political effects. Though, the COVID-19 pandemic struck while many African states were experiencing favourable prospects particularly on the pace to continue economic growth and development with indicators for the decrease of poverty and advancement in health showing significant progress. For instance, young Africans were early users of new platforms like mobile money technology and innovation were being adopted more broadly throughout the continent.Additionally, there were advancements in economic integration such that by 2040, the African Continental Free commerce Area (AfCFTA), which went into effect in May 2019, was expected to increase intra-African trade by up to 25%.Furthermore, the returns on foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa were among the greatest globally.In 2020, several inclusive elections were scheduled to be held, which is becoming the standard for the majority of African nations. However, significant numbers of African states had significant difficulties at the same period, much as other parts of the world. The 2030 Agenda and Agenda 2063 goals had not yet been fully attained. Progress was further hampered by bad governance, corruption, environmental degradation, human rights abuses, a lack of economic diversification, and humanitarian crisis among other things. The protracted absence of investment in the health systems in most African states and decades of economic retardation, which have fostered resentments and inequalities, enhance Africa's susceptibility to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, if African states does not put in place the right measures to reduce the impact of future pandemic on its economy, it might quickly turn into a humanitarian, social, political, development, and crisis with severely destabilising implications. It is against this background that this study makes the following suggestions.

Recommendations

First, investment in medical research, especially through the Africa Centre for Disease Control is crucial to making sure that Africa gets equitable access to vaccinations and medications that will provide solution to future pandemic and other diseases on the continent. For instance, country like Nigeria, have gained some experiences from addressing pandemic like HIV/AIDS and Ebola outbreaks through community engagement, risk communication, and adopting local and cutting-edge ways to create African approaches to restrict disease spread.

Second, African states should also invest in the agricultural sector to address the growing food shortages and rising food prices in many African countries today. Therefore, the various Ministries of Agriculture must come up with a new strategy that will help in addressing the growing challenges of food insecurity on the continent.

Moreover, African leadership needs to provide opportunities for easy access to loan and other credit facilities to their citizens especially those living in poverty. This is because majority of people in many African nations depend primarily on the unregulated informal sector of the economy, which offers no protection against unforeseen interruptions. Many formal firms, particularly small ones, are simultaneously running out of reserves to survive. This will also help to address the challenges of loss of income and livelihood especially among people living in poverty.

There is alsothe need for African leaders to engage in prudent spending and curb the rising tide of corruption so as to reduce current account deficits, and declining foreign reserveswhich are still incredibly vulnerable to capital flow reversals that are driving up external vulnerabilities in many African countries.

Lastly, the exchange rate in significant numbers of African countries has not changed since foreign cash has been consistently sold in different windows. Therefore, is the need for African leaders to formulate and implement strong economic policies that are backed by political will in addressing this challenge of dwindlingexchange rate.

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