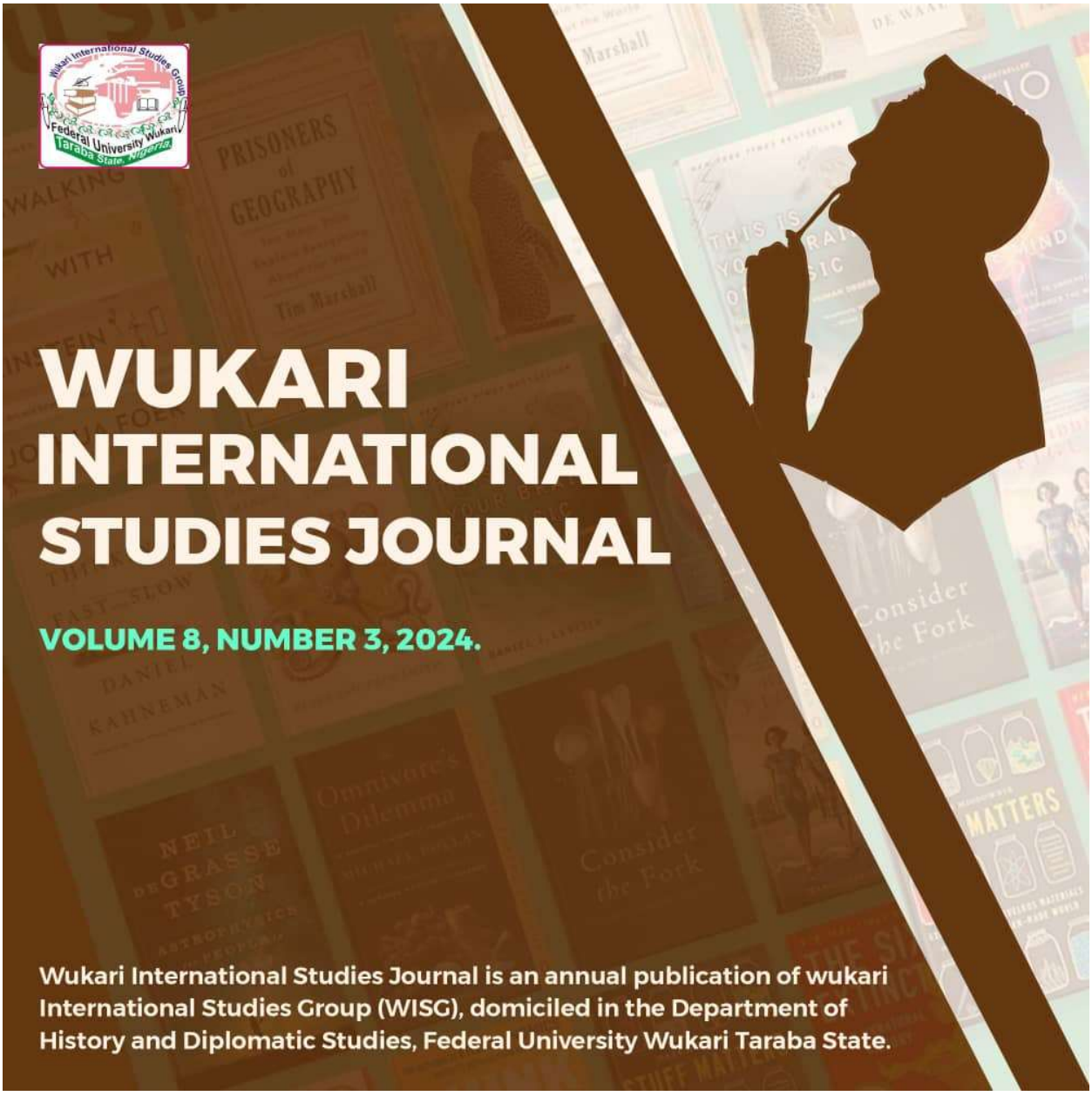
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THE ROLE OF INFORMANTS IN THE ACCENTUATION OF ARMED BANDITRY IN NORTH-WESTERN NIGERIA: A CASE STUDY OF ZAMFARA STATE

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KEYWORDS
Armed Banditry, Bandits, Informants, Zamfara State

ABSTRACT
The north-western region of Nigeria has been hit by an unprecedented wave of insecurity such as kidnapping for ransom, cattle rustling and armed banditry which has led to maiming, killings, displacements of people and disruption of socio-economic activities due to the havoc wreaked by armed bandits in the region. These events have created a climate of uncertainty that has become a cause for concern for the government and the citizenry.Government at the local, state and federal levels have been making efforts to tackle the menace of armed banditry in the north-western region since it assumed a national dimension. However, some criminally-minded individuals in the region are crippling the efforts by providing information and other logistics to the armed bandits. This development is a threat to national security and the effort to combat armed banditry in the north-western region and Zamfara State in particular. Eventhough a lot has been written on armed banditry in north-western Nigeria,most of the literature do not analyse and explore the role of the bandits informants in the accentuation of armed banditry in north-western Nigeria, with specific reference to Zamfara State. This formed a serious academic gap in the studies of armed banditry in north-western Nigeria and Nigeria at large.This paper therefore, assess the role of informants in the accentuation of armed banditry in north-western Nigeria with specific reference to Zamfara State.The study revealshow the activities of informants is posing a serious challenge in the ongoing fight against armed banditry in the north-western region and Zamfara State in particular, and called for the support of all stakeholders to win the war. The activities of the informants are largely responsible for the lingering security challenges in Zamfara State. Thus, the paperrecommends that severe punsihments should be meted out to informants and the punishment should be publicized by media to serve as deterrent to others. There should be concerted effort by

all stakeholders to enlighten the citizens on the consequences ofproviding information to criminals to earned living and its consequences in the society.

1.1 Introduction

The Nigeria state has indeed witnessed a lot of security challenges and threats particularly in the northern part of the country that badly seems to challenge and overwhelmed its security system and sovereignty in recent decades. These security threats are said to be largely driven by neglectful leadership that characterized the nation at all levels. Prominent amongst these security threats engulfing the nation include; Boko Haram insurgency in the north-eastern part of the country, ethno-religous crises, communal clashes and farmers-herders clashes in the north-central part of the country, kidnapping, cattle rustling and armed banditry in the north-western part of the country, oil theft and pipeline vandalism in the Niger-Delta, secessionist threats in south-western and south-eastern part of the country.

North-western region of Nigeria has been hit by an unprecedented wave of security challenges such as kidnapping for ransom, cattle rustling and armed banditry which has led to maiming, killings, displacements of peopleand disruption of socio-economic activities due to the havoc wreaked by armed bandits in the region. These events have created a climate of uncertainty that has become a cause for concern for the government and the citizenry. Okoli and Ugwu (2019) observed that the menace of rural banditry in north-western Nigeria has asymmetrically threatened the region to a dangerous degree. They argued that banditry has attained a level that now rivaled Boko Haram insurgency in terms of lethality and humanitarian consequences; and assuming a state they describe as "complex emergency", surpassing the Boko Haram attacks. The tragedy of the situation is that the criminality obtains an organic socio-existential context that makes it not only burgeoning in scope but also pervasive in its pattern of operation. It has badly spread to most of the states of the north-western region, with ripples effects in the north-central region. Apart from the attendant loss of lives and the destruction of properties, the crisis has engendered frosty inter-group relations in the affected areas.

Of the seven states in the north-western region, Kaduna, Katsina and Zamfara have been identified as the hot spots, hosting the most dangerous act of banditry. The activities of the bandits which have become a major source of security threats and challenge particularly in the rural areas of these states, has remained a menace to the rural dwellers; subjecting most rural communities in the region to frequent attacks, killings, destruction of properties, looting, cattle rustling and kidnapping. Incessant bandits' attacks have caused a great deal of havoc in the rural areas of these states that has paralyzed life and economic activities in the region. Important rural economic activities like farming which is the major means of livelihood in the region, has been badly crippled by the activities of bandits in no small measure, with the fear of hunger occasioned by imminent famine dangerously rising in the region. However, it is important to note that the incidences of armed banditry are not limited to north-western region. It has also spread and became prevalent in some parts of north-central region, in states like Niger, Nasarawa, Benue and Plateau which are equally regarded as flash points.

Armed banditry is one of the major threats undermining the peace and security of Zamfara State. It is usually accompanied with killings, wanton destruction of properties, looting, assaults, kidnapping and cattle rustling. Zamfara State in the last decade has been bedeviled by the rising incidents of cattle rustling and armed banditry. Armed banditry has become a major problem in Zamfara state. The outcome of this criminality which is bloody has always claimed thousands of lives with properties worth billions of naira destroyed in the process.

Government at the local, state and federal levels have been making efforts to tackle the menace of armed banditry in the north-west since it assumed a national dimension. The federal government in its efforts to address the menace of armed banditry came up with different measures such as deployment of security forces to dangerous flash points, placing of ban on all forms of gold mining in Zamfara State amongst others. The state governments in the north-west region while complementing the efforts put in place by the federal government, also led several negotiations and dialogues with the bandit groups with the view to getting them to lay down their arms and embrace a peaceful path, the local governments engages the service of local hunters and vigilante groups to complement the state governments. However, some criminally-minded individuals in the state are crippling the efforts by providing information and

other logistics to the armed bandits. This development is a threat to national security and the effort to combat banditry in north-western region and Zamfara State in particular. Eventhough a lot has been written on armed banditry in north-western Nigeria,most of the literature do not analyse and explore the role of the bandits informants in the accentuation of armed banditry in north-western Nigeria, with specific reference to Zamfara State. This formed a serious academic gap in the studies of armed banditry in north-western Nigeria and Nigeria at large.It is against this background that this study seeks to make siginificant contribution to scholarship by lookingat the role of informants in he accentuation of armed banditry in north-western Nigeria, with specific reference to Zamfara State.

1.2 Methodology

The method used in the gathering of data is mainly secondary source of data collection. This research is a topical issue; the secondary method of sourcing was adequate, this include gathering materials or information from textbooks, journals, Internet material, seminars, debates and seminars publications, newspapers etc.

1.3 Literature Review

1.3.1 Conceptual Review

There is no escaping the fact that the concept of banditry has been changing over time, space and circumstances. For instance, a bandit in the 19th century Europe and Americas was a freedom fighter whose aim was partly to ensure the emancipation of the downtrodden from the grip of the upper class or colonized by the colonizer (Rufai 2018 cited Warto 1994). Furthermore, bandits like Chucho el Roto, HerachioBernel and Santanon were often celebrated as heroes of Mexican independence. Therefore, Mexicans have warm regards and respect for those social workers termed bandits, while on the contrary, the state often considered them as nuisance and outlaws that need to be eradicated (Rufai 2018 cited Michael, 1987:8). In essence, bandits before the twentieth century were seen as heroes not as outlaws in some pre-industrial peasants' societies.

However, activities of armed banditry have been perceived by different societies in different ways. In his study of social banditry in the rural areas of Rembang by the end of the 19th Century and at the beginning of the 20th Century, Warto (2011) explained that social banditry was an act of crime committed by the residents of a village or the people in the low economic and social stratum in order to fulfill their basic needs. Such acts of crime are usually driven by structural pressures and injustices which alienate the people from accessing the natural resources that support their lives.

Warto's work is contradicting because he claims that Rembang has limited natural resources which was one of the reasons that pushed the people of Rembang into banditry but on the other hand he claims that Rembang has abundant natural resources in its forests. The abundant resources of the forests in Rembang region did not always give contribution to overcome the condition of being underdeveloped. That was the irony the people of Rembang faced when the thick forests of high value which became the source of living for some of the urban people started to come under the preoccupation of the foreign country in a way that prevent the people access to exploit the forests (Warto, 2011).

From the historical perspectives, armed banditry is not something novel or worthwhile to West Africa. Its origin, trajectory and development are as old as the sub-region itself dating back to inter-tribal periods characterized by conflicts and wars over scarce economic resources and territorial expansion for political influence. Most parts of Africa for instance, experienced these forms of conflicts during the slave trading, colonial, and post-colonial periods. Even though there have been remarkable changes in the nature and pattern of rural banditry and other forms of conflicts in West Africa, yet socio-economic and political reasons remain significant in explaining the prevalence of the phenomenon in the sub-region. However, this explains why the struggle for political independence and the subsequent establishment of the post-colonial states in West Africa were considered as some of the major events which shaped and changed the pattern of rural banditry in the sub-region. The socio-economic and political realities and conditions of the West Africa could be used to explain the intensity, prevalence, and the dynamics of rural banditry as evident in different parts the African sub region (Abdullahi, 2019). In essence, socio-economic and political conditions such as poverty, inequality, unemployment, religious crises, ethnic crises, communal clashes, election violence, sit-tight-syndrome, political instability, bad governance, corruption, injustice among others partly contribute to the prevalence of the menace of banditry in the West Africa region.

Armed banditry in Nigeria has a long history dating back to as far as the pre-colonial period. In his study of armed banditry in Borgu, Akinwumi

noted that, in pre-colonial Borgu in Kwara state, Nigeria, 'BakinJaki', one of the notorious raiders in the nineteenth century, had a gang made up of about 400 robbers on foot and 60 horsemen. When they attacked, they did so to loot the traders of their goods. They even captured the traders who they later sold into slavery. The weapons of attack are the horses, spears, bows and poisoned arrows. This affected the main source of Borgu's economy, the caravan trade, and consequently led to the fall of many of the Borgu pre-colonial states (Shalangwa 2013 cited Akinwumi 1994).

However, the phenomenon of armed banditry, which recently gained currency in Nigeria's public discourse, is direct fallout of persistent violence in rural communities within the last ten years, producing deadly outcomes. There had always been massive loss of lives, forced displacement of locals and devastation of properties and farm produce of monumental proportions in States like Benue, Kaduna, Plateau, Zamfara, Taraba, Enugu and others across the southern Nigeria. Although rural banditry is usually reflected in criminal activities, like cattle rustling, kidnapping, armed robbery, drug abuse, arson, rape and other forms of violence, the gruesome massacre of farmers in agrarian communities by suspected herdsmen and reprisal attacks from surviving victims have assumed a national security dimension (Iwuamadi and Uche, 2018).

In understanding the trajectory of armed banditry in Nigeria's North West region, it would require a close and careful examination of the historical dimensions of the crime as well as the conflict dynamics resulting from the interplay of farmer-herder relations as it pertains to access to land resources. While ecological condition and climate-induced pressures have increased tendencies for conflicts in the agro-pastoral sector, the phenomenon also has linkages to banditry and governance challenges. Factors that encourages banditry in the region such as cattle rustling, illicit artisanal gold mining, proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW), youth unemployment, inequality and poverty, indicates a serious failure in governance and security capabilities across the States.The situation is further worsened by poor regulation of forest areas in the region, some of which are located in under-policed border areas between Nigeria and neighboring countries. The porosity of these borders aid cross-border criminality and banditry as has been seen with the Boko Haram insurgency.Data obtained from WANEP National Early Warning System (NEWS) indicates that armed banditry recorded a death toll of over 1058 people in Zamfara, Kaduna, Katsina, Sokoto and Niger States between January and December, 2019, (WANEP, 2020).

A serious humanitarian crisis is said to be emerging in Nigeria's northwest with the ongoing activities of the bandits in six states, namely; Zamfara, Katsina, Sokoto, Kaduna, Niger and Kebbi. The attacks which are mostly deadly include; shooting and killing, cattle rustling, kidnapping, rape, wiping of villages, and looting of valuables, with the numbers of fatalities and refugees on the rise. The act of banditry in the region has saw careless killing of civilians, depleting population, and the disruption of agricultural livelihoods of affected communities (ACAPS, 2020). With an estimated 1,100 people killed in 2018 in the six states, over 2,200 were killed in 2019, and more than 1,600 fatalities were recorded between January – June 2020 (ACAPS 2020 cited Council on Foreign Relations 2020).

In spite of the potentials of the north-west, the zone has since the return of democracy has been hard-pressed by devastating effect of rural banditry which has claims hundreds of lives and properties. It began as localized disputes between headers and farmers over access to land and water resources. Poor handling of the security problem has largely contributed to its transformation into a deadly conflict posing major threat to national and regional security and integration. The pattern and intensity of rural banditry in the Northwest are connected to socio-economic, environmental, and political forces which shape the development of the geo-political zone (Abdullahi, 2019).

ZamfaraState has remained the epicenter of armed banditry hosting the highest number and frequency of killings and carnage associated with the criminal act of banditry in the Northwest. From 2011 to date, over 4000 lives were reported to have been lost to the activities of the bandits, with about five hundred and thirty-five (535) people (reported cases) were kidnapped and over 15,000 cattle and other livestock were rustled by bandits in Zamfara state. In addition, no fewer than 36 communities along Dansadau, Zurmi, Shinkafi, Bakura, Maradun, BirninMagaji, Anka, Gusau, Bukkuyum and Tsafe towns were overran, with their inhabitants displaced to various neighbouring states and Niger Republic (Nadama 2019 cited FMOIAC 2018).

According to Rufai (2018), the problem of cattle rustling and rural armed banditry were under rated at its inception about a decade ago in Zamfara state. Most of the security operatives showed little concern about the existential threat of the problem posed by the activities of the bandits, until it became a serious nightmare in 2014. The common

man in Zamfara now relied on the vigilante group who are ill-equipped for security, due to the failure of the state to protect their lives and properties. He further observed that rural banditry and cattle rustling in Zamfara state are quite different from other state, because of the active involvement of the vigilante groups in the conflict. In some states, according to him, the vigilante contributed meaningfully in checking the menace of banditry while in Zamfara, some of the vigilante members compromised the fight against banditry by taking advantage of their involvement as security outfits in witch-hunting their old foes, thereby complicating the war against banditry in the state. Moreover, with the increase in the spate of the conflict in 2014, the vigilante group was divided on how to approach the menace. While some were of the view that the bandits should be violently fought, others advocated for a peaceful approach. This divided opinion amongst the vigilante groups led to the emergence of a parallel vigilante groups in the state: the militant and non- militant wings. This division and violent approach to the bandits further aggravated the conflict to a dangerous degree. This has led to bad outcomes like extra judicial killings and an egregious circle of reprisal attacks and counter attacks amongst factions of the vigilante groups which has complicated the conflicts in the state.

The failure of government at the local and state levels has created the enabling environment for the emergence of a complex informal security sector in Zamfara leading to competing and rivaled armed and criminal groups operating freely in the state under the guise of vigilantism. The groups are said to lack proper security training and are accused of criminal acts ranging from violent robbery, unlawful confiscation of properties of both bandits and their victims, and human rights abuses (Suleiman, 2019).

1.4 State Response in Addressing the Menace of Armed Banditry in Nigeria

Government at the local, state and federal levels have been making efforts to tackle the menace of banditry in the north-west since it assumed a national dimension. The Federal Government in its efforts to address the menace of armed banditry came up with different measures such as deployment of security forces to dangerous flash points, placing of ban on all forms of gold mining in Zamfara state amongst others. The state governments in the northwest region while complementing the efforts put in place by the federal government, also led several negotiations and dialogues with the bandit groups with the view to getting them to lay down their arms and embrace a peaceful path, the local governments engages the service of local hunters and vigilante groups to complement the state governments. Despite all these efforts put in place at all level of government in tackling the problem of banditry, rural banditry has continued unabated.

Government efforts at all levels are said to be inadequate and have only served to emboldened the bandits the more .The situation was also further aggravated by the total failure of an amnesty programme and peace deal inaugurated by the governors of Katsina and Zamfara states (ACAPS, 2020). The Federal Government also moved against illegal mining believed to have contributed to the banditry by suspending all mining activities in the Zamfara state and in the northwestern zone at large. There were allegations of bandits being sponsored by illegal mining cabals to divert government attention away, by creating insecurity in the region for the purpose of exploiting the rich mineral resources in the state (Okoli, 2019).

Between January and April 2019, a number of operations were carried out by various security operatives in Northwestern Nigeria including Operation Harbin Kunama, Operation DiranMikiya and Operation Puff Adder, with both the state and federal government spending billions of naira in funding these security operatives (Suleiman, 2019). The most surprising aspect of the Federal Government's military response towards mitigating banditry in Northwestern Nigeria is that while some of the attacks were ward off successfully while others were blocked, still, the bandits' attacks in Zamfara, Sokoto, Katsina and Kaduna continue. This phenomenon raised several questions on the effectiveness of the responses. Many villages, farmlands and settlements remained deserted even with the presence of military operations in the region. Other measures taken included the ban on the use of motorbikes in the Northwestern states as it was discovered to be used by bandits for their criminal operations (Sambo and Sule, 2021).

In an attempt to stop the continues violent attacks by bandits, following Federal Government failures in ending the criminality of banditry, the state governments of Katsina, Sokoto, and Zamfara initiated direct negotiations with some of the criminal groups. Part of the negotiations, was granting the criminal groups amnesties and other incentives to denounce violence. So far, these agreements have failed for a number of reasons: First, the criminal groups are divided and have no substantive leaders to reach for dialogue, so it was difficult to achieve a common negotiation, as the groups are fragmented. Moreover, agreements made with one group are not binding on others. Second, the dialogues excluded the local

communities that bear the brunt of violence and expect the state to provide compensation, justice, and protection as a condition for lasting peace. The collapsed of the negotiations have led to renewed attacks by the criminal groups, while the farmers and vigilantes acting on their behalf have also remained completely unaccountable. Beyond these negotiations is the problem of lack of political will by the government to enforce the agreements reached (Ojewale, 2021).

In September 2019, the Katsina State Government initiated a dialogue with the bandits with the State Governor himself visiting the village harboring the forest where the bandits have made their hideouts. These dialogue sessions with the bandits led to an amnesty programme for the bandits by the state government which brought relative peace and security for about three months after which there was resurgence in December, 2019 which resulted to daily attacks in Dutsinma LGA during that month. Following protest against the rising insecurity in Katsina, the state capital on 16th July 2020, the federal government sent to Katsina top national security officials including Inspector General of Police (IGP), National Security Adviser (NSA), Chief of Defense Intelligence, Director General National Intelligence Agency (NIA) and Director Department of State Services (DSS) to discuss with the State Government and other relevant stakeholders on how to map out strategies on the way forward in providing solution to the problem of banditry in the state (Ladan and Matawalli, 2020).

State governments also in their efforts to counter attacks by bandit groups empowered vigilante groups to protect communities, a practice that proved to be largely counterproductive. The Zamfara State Government provides allowances to the vigilantes and also participates in the appointment of leaders for the groups. The sum of ₦2,250.000 is usually given to the vigilante asmonthly allowance by the state for the 14 local government areas. However, in 2018, the State Government donated 18 Toyota Hilux Jeeps and 1,700 motorcycles to the vigilante groups for their logistics and operations. The monthly allowance were partly meant to fuel and maintain the vehicles and purchase working tools, such as uniforms, raincoats, sticks, flashlights, whistles, knives, machetes and locally made guns (Rufai, 2018).

1.5 The Role of Informants in the Accentuation of Armed Banditry in North-Western Nigeria

Nigeria is presently faced with several security challenges and experts say that informants who collaborate with these criminal gangs continue to hinder success in the fight against terrorism. According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), there are four types of informants: a member of the public, a victim of a crime, a member of an organized criminal group, and police officers themselves. In Nigeria currently, the word informant is used to depict collaborators of criminal gangs especially the terrorist group, Boko Haram in the north east and criminal gangs locally referred to as bandits in the northwest. Recently, the Commissioner of Police in Katsina State, SanusiBuba in an interview with Daily Trust described these informants as not only those who provide criminal gangs with information but also other essential commodities like motorbikes, fuel, food stuff, recharge cards, and many others. CP Buba said dealing with such people has been difficult and continues to undermine the fight against banditry in the northwest. Alleging that most informants reside in communities where criminal atrocities are committed, the CP said information from previously arrested suspects reveal that most, if not all the information available to bandits and terrorists before they invade villages to abduct people, are predicated on information they secure from people living within the communities (Sadiq, 2021).

Nwannah (2021) cited in (Ezirim, Haruna, Humbe and Paul, 2023) argued thatinformants are the most dangerous people in banditry, as they live within. Therefore, the incessant war against bandits and its persistence in Zamfara state and its beyond is not unconnected with the role of their informants within the society in which they operate. It has been alleged that bandits operate and acts base on the information's they gathered from and within the society, most especially on the issues kidnapping, rustling, retaliations and other related militia operations. It is evident in the series of arrest by the security operatives within and outside the state of both the bandits and their informants. Several measures were put in place to curtail the conflict, ranging from community effort by establishing Yan-Sakai, to the use of police and civil-defense and lastly, the military; using land army and air force. Yet the result was not encouraging as it was not able to contain armed banditry in the state.

Premium Times reports thatthe Zamfara State Government says over 2,000 suspected informants of bandits have been arrested since it cut telecommunication services ban and the military launched an offensive in the state.The state's Commissioner for Information, Ibrahim Dosara, stated this at a press conference in Kaduna on Thursday. The official said the suspects have provided vital information on their activities and how they were allegedly supported by highly placed individuals. "The government has set up a situation

room where complaints are being received to ensure prompt action," Mr Dosara said (Premium Times, 2021).

However, the bandits-informants mostly engaged with the bandits through supply of women for sex, information suppliers like, "vigilante plans to attack bandits at their hide out" movement of vigilante and security forces, conspired with bandits against their community information and other alliances such as (witchcraft alliance), information supplier to bandits on troops' movement and identifying persons to be kidnapped for ransom in, selling bandits stole properties, transporting stole animals (goats and sheep), given rented houses for hiding weapons and its suppliers, supplying fueled and other logistics to bandits like 'arms and ammunition', conspired against their community and provide the bandits with information on wealthy targets, buying items to bandits such as food, cloths, and other logistics, sex hawking, among other dubious act by the informants.Furthermore, when bandits are informed on raids by the security agents or the vigilante, the (bandits) will device a means to repel the attacks, prepare for it, hide or run, depend on the gravity of the informed raids. However, the bandits informants generate money to the bandits by selling their rustle cows, goats, sheep's, camels, etc., they are also for buying them necessities like foods, cloths, and women at their hideouts, these undermined security efforts in the fights against banditry seriously(Ezirim, Haruna, Humbe and Paul, 2023).

Another perspective includes the traditional rulers and citizens' complicities. Some highly placed traditional rulers were deposed due to their involvement in armed banditry, with some of the prominent local rulers often playing the important role of intelligence gathering for the armed bandits. A recent report claims that some unpatriotic persons, including highly placed traditional rulers in the areas, were identified as helping the bandits with intelligence to perpetrate their nefarious actions or to compromise military operations. The case of two prominent individuals from Zamfara and Kaduna who attempted to smuggle weapons into the north-west using their connections in the Sahel region through porous Nigerian borders. In addition to these prominent Nigerians, many middlemen and vendors were also involved in the weapons transfer to forests inhabited by armed bandits. In addition, it was reported that weapons suppliers receive more cash than field fighters. Moreover, the role of informants cannot be jettisoned. There were several instances of informants being arrested who disguised as community members so that they could assist the armed bandits with necessary information (Aina, Ojo and Oyewole, 2023)

A study conducted by Umar (2022) titled "The Role of Operation Sharan Daji in Combating Rural Banditry in Northern Senatorial Zone of Zamfara State (2015-2019) reveals how residents of the affected communities and security personnel play the role of informants. The residents of the area did not help matters too as data gotten from the field reveals that sabotage from the people in form of withholding information from the security personnel and compromising the security personnel by giving out information on their operation to the bandits is another major challenged faced by Operation Sharan Daji. One of the security personnel said the bandits persuade the locals not to give sensitive information to them and out of fear of reprisal they withhold it from us. Another security personnel that participated in the operation said as a result of informant from the people, the bandits use to ambush us and they have specialized in laying ambush. He went further to say that the bandits know them but they don't know the bandits and this has led to many casualties including him who sustained an injury in the operation. Giving out information to the bandits by some of the greedy security personnel is another reason why the menace of the rural banditry persisted. Two of the interviewees who are security personnel said some security personnel use to give military uniform and information to the bandits.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

For the purpose of this study, the queer ladder theory will be adopted. The queer ladder theory was influenced by an American Sociologist, Daniel Bell (1919- 2011), who coined the idea of "queer ladder" in an attempt to explain the functional significance of organized crime as a desperate tactic for socio-economic empowerment and social climbing. This analytical construct has since fertilized into a popular theoretical framework widely used in contemporary crime studies (Amah, Assi and Edeke, 2016). The queer ladder theory argues that organized crime is an instrumental behaviour, it is a means to end and it is an instrument of social climbing, fame and socio-economic advancement. It is also a means to accumulate wealth and build power. (Mallory, 2007 cited in Amah, Assi and Edeke, 2016). Often ascribed to this theory is the notion that organized crime thrives in contexts where the government's capacity to dictate, sanction and deter crime is poor; where public corruption is endemic; and where prospects for legitimate livelihood opportunities are slim (Nwoye, 2000; Lyman, 2007;

Okoli & Orinya, 2013 cited in Ezirim, Haruna, Humbe and Paul, 2023).

The Queer Ladder theory assumes that organized crime thrives in context where the government's capacity to dictate and sanction abnormality and crime is poor, where public corruption is endemic and where legitimate livelihood opportunities are slim (Nwoye, 2000; Lyman,2007 cited in Amah, Assi and Edeke, 2016).

The theory enables us to situate the prevalence of informants activities in Zamfara State. In this regard, it is noted that the prevalent of the acitivies of the informants is driven by the quest for material aggrandizement at the detriment of the development and well being of the people. This has been worsen by bad governance and worsening socio-economic conditions of the people in the state. The adoption of this theory for this study is informed by its analytical utility in providing insights into the foundations of organized crime in developing nations.

1.7 Discussion of Findings

From the foregoing presentation and analysis of relevant data on the subject under investigation, the following findings or deductions can be drawn:

The study reveals that informants pose a serious threat to the security of the people of ZamfaraState and their activities complicate the fight against banditry in the State.

The study reveals that residents of the affected areas, traditional rulers, security personnel and highly place individuals are among those identified as bandits informants.

The study reveals that informants in Zamfara State, Nigeria supply information on security raids, attacks or counter attacks, women for sex, hard drugs, food items, fuel, sale of stolen properties, arms and ammunitions supply, information revealing wealthy targets.

The study reveals that government at the local, state and federal levels have been making efforts to tackle the menace banditry in the northwest since it assumed a national dimension. The Federal Government in its efforts to address the menace of rural banditry came up with different measures such as deployment of security forces to dangerous flash points, placing of ban on all forms of gold mining in Zamfara state amongst others. The state governments in the northwest region while complementing the efforts put in place by the federal government, also led several negotiations and dialogues with the bandit groups with the view to getting them to lay down their arms and embrace a peaceful path, the local governments engages the service of local hunters and vigilante groups to complement the state governments. Despite all these efforts put in place at all level of government in tackling the problem of banditry, rural banditry has continued unabated due to the activities of bandits-informants that are complicating ongoing efforts to combat banditary in Zamfara State, Nigeria.

1.8 Conclusion and Recommendations

The study brings to light how the activities of informants is posing a serious challenge in the ongoing fight against banditry in the northwestern region and Zamfara State in particular and called for the support of all stakeholders to win the war. The activities of the informants are largely responsible for the lingering security challenges in Zamfara State. Thus, the paper recommends that severe punsihments should be meted out toinformants and the punishment should be publicized by media to serve as deterrent to others. There should be concerted effort by all stakeholders to enlighten the citizens on the consequences ofproviding information to criminals to earned living and its consequences in the society.

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IMPLICATIONS OF XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS ON NIGERIANS AND NIGERIA-SOUTH AFRICA DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS: A REVIEW OF RE-CURRENT ISSUES

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ABSTRACT
This study identifies factors that influence the rise in Xenophobia attacks in South Africa and how that affect diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South Africa on the global stage. Using frustration-aggression theory as its theoretical framework. Using secondary sources of data collection in our quest to adequately reflect the issues involved in this study, interdisciplinary approach to historical research was adopted using content analysis. Finding of this study revealed that massive evacuation of foreign businesses from South Africa have increase the level of poverty and unemployment in South Africa. It also found that competition over jobs and government housing is perhaps the most frequently cited explanation for South African xenophobia, the evidence is mixed. This study conclude that Nigeria and South Africa diplomatic ties has been negatively affected by the xenophobic attacks. The consequential effect cut across economic, political and socio-cultural diplomatic relations between both countries. The study offers some practical steps to tackle the menace which include: South African government should enhance her diplomatic relations with Nigeria and other African countries whose citizens have fall victims of xenophobic attacks in their countries, a pragmatic measures should be taken to eradicate discrimination in South Africa.

Introduction

South Africa is a major benefactor to other African states, over time she made concerted efforts to position the region as a critical global actor among the community of states globally. Primarily, it orchestrated decolonization of the African continent and eradication of racial discrimination, domination, emancipation, development and freedom. However, Africa commitment to the development and unity of Africa has been unprecedented. If the world is not loudly praising and applauding Africa despite her glowing and ground-breaking contributions to African peace, security and prosperity, it is not for lack of credible track record of achievements and capacity (Idehen and Osaghae, 2015).

African countries and South Africa enjoy a very interesting and robust relationship. During the era

of white minority rule with its dehumanizing apartheid policy, African countries were at the fore-front for the dismantling of the apartheid regime and contributed immensely toward the eventual realization of black majority rule in South Africa. The friendly relationship between African countries and South Africa became even more pronounced with the restoration of black rule in South Africa and the election of Nelson Mandela as the first black president of the Republic of South Africa (Sapphire, Jide and Oluwatimileyin, 2020).

The long cordial relationship enjoyed by South Africa and other African countries in socio-economic and political partnerships might be compromised with the recent unfortunate uprising. Several stakeholders ranging from civil society groups, student unions and members of the African government have raised the alarm on the possibility of imposing stringent policies on the business and economic interests of South Africa situated in Africa. The African government has also called on the African Union to caution the host country on the criminal attacks that have claimed the lives of innocent Africans. Although, there have been promises from the South African government to investigate and bring the culprits to justice, the cold war between the two countries could be noticed through the statements and counter statements of their representatives on foreign mission (Eze and Agena, 2017).

Considerable attempts may have been made at researching on some variables or factors affecting Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relation, but little or none has focused on the effect of recent xenophobic attacks on diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South Africa. Also, given the wide ranging effects of xenophobic attacks in South Africa and its corresponding social and destructive emotional effects on non-nationals and citizens of other African countries residing in South Africa, it is appropriate and should be a welcome development to investigate the effect xenophobic attacks in South Africa on the diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South Africa. Based on the aforementioned background, this study is driven objectively at assessing the political, economic and socio-cultural impacts of Xenophobia attacks on Nigerian citizens living in South Africa on the overall diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South-Africa. Besides the study will try to identify factors that influence the rise in Xenophobia attacks in South Africa and how that will affect diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South Africa on the global stage. The study will therefore rely on documentary research method with secondary source of data adopted. In view of this, it is vital for an empirical research to be carried out on the factors that influence Xenophobia attacks of Nigerians residing in South Africa and its corresponding implications on Nigeria- South Africa diplomatic ties. Moreover, there is a scarcity of studies regarding the implications of Xenophobia attacks in South Africa on Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations, especially between the periods of 1999 to 2015.

The significance of this study lies in the fact that African citizens in South Africa are being harassed, abused, discriminated and dehumanized by the local population as well as the authorities. There is therefore, overwhelming need for studies to be carried regarding xenophobia in order to identify the causes, impact of Xenophobia outburst on Africans/Nigerians living in South Africa as well as provide policy makers information to with solutions on how to tackle the menace of Xenophobia. Theoretically, the study will seek to fill the wide gap in existing literature with similar lines of research. This implies that the study will extend beyond where other researchers have empirically gone. This study will also serve as a reference material to fellow researchers and academicians who have interest in conducting research in similar cases under study.

South Africa's domestic environment has been hostile to non-nationals, particularly, undocumented migrants and as such, there is an implicit culture of impunity, which encourages mob justice in most communities. Incontrovertibly and indubitably, this unfriendly disposition towards non-nationals has subsequently established South Africa as one of Africa's most dangerous countries to live in. Hence, Africans and foreign business owners are usually attacked during Xenophobia attacks. At these hazardous and perilous moments in South Africa, Xenophobia attacks have inevitably caused a lot of fears and worries, negative feelings in the minds of people living within and outside the country. In fact, pathetically and emotionally, it has drastically discouraged Africans and many other foreign investors to come to South Africa. The growing level of Xenophobia attacks on Africans residing in South Africa has subsequently put strain in the diplomatic relationship between other African countries and South Africa. This Xenophobia outrage witnessed attacks being made on African's property in Johannesburg on the 3rd of September, 2015. More than eighty people were arrested by the police, while five foreigners were confirmed dead. A number of foreign-owned companies (mainly by Africans) were destroyed in the riot (Onke, 2019). Violent residents carried out attacks on companies belonging to foreigners, burning Africans captured at sight, and this resulted in some Africans demanding that South African firms such as;

Shoprite, MTN and PEP in Africa be boycotted (Neil, 2019).

Despite the country having vibrant, brilliant policies and a framework that can handle criminal offences or perpetrators of various attacks these virtues have not been effectively transformed into reducing Xenophobia attacks on Africans in South Africa. One major problem that arises out of this ineffectiveness is a strenuous relationship between Africa-South Africa partnerships over years. Beyond this strenuous relationship is lack of mutual diplomatic and tactful reciprocity on the part of the South Africa government and the country's non-state actors for the strategic role Africa played in the struggle against apartheid. It is therefore pertinent to assess the pitfalls or effects of Xenophobia attacks on South Africa's economic state of affairs; and imperative to explore the possible implications of xenophobia on diplomatic relations between Africa and South Africa.

In September 2019, tensions between Nigeria and South Africa escalated when a series of Xenophobic attacks were carried out against Nigerians, among other foreign nationals, living in some parts of South Africa. The Nigerian community in the country, which is estimated to be about 800, 000 expressed deep concerns about the safety and security of their lives and property. Following the development, Nigerian leaders called for decisive actions by South African government to stem the tide of attacks and demanded compensation for those affected. There were also calls for a boycott of South African businesses operating in Nigeria, which further strained relations (BBC, 2019).

Overtime, both countries move towards deescalating the tensions, with talks held at the highest levels to address the underlying issues. The Nigerian government also evacuated hundreds of its citizens from South Africa, while the South African government made efforts to reassure the affected communities, as well as to provide support and assistance. The incident highlighted both the deep-seated issues affecting the relationship between Nigeria and South Africa and the need for more sustained efforts towards promoting cooperation, unity, and mutual respect (The Guardian, 2019).

Considerable attempts may have been made at researching on some variables or factors affecting Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relation, but little or none has focused on the effect of recent xenophobic attacks on diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South Africa. Also, given the wide ranging effects of xenophobic attacks in South Africa and its corresponding social and destructive emotional effects on non-nationals and citizens of other African countries residing in South Africa, it is appropriate and should be a welcome development to investigate the effect xenophobic attacks in South Africa on the diplomatic relations between Nigeria and South Africa.

Scholars have not been shy in advancing explanations to the increase and intermittent violence and hostility towards African immigrants that is apparent in South Africa. An extensive literature, points to the fact that scholarly attention is paid to the root causes of hostility and violence towards out groups in South Africa. Therefore, scholars such as Cruch, and Ramachundran (2014) noted that attacks on migrants and refugees are act of criminality. Cox (2009), Kettell, (2002) Fuller, (2008), Hadland (2008), Bobb, (2008) posit that competition for available resources are causes of violence regimes against migrants.

Duponchel (2013), among others attributes violence and hostility on migrants as aftermath of apartheid regimes melted on the aborigines by the white settlers, which they claimed affected their pace of human and structural development. Mbembe (2015) on a separate note observed a change of xenophobia to Afrobia actions since it is targeted at African migrants alone. Nwachukwu, (1976), Ali-Balogu (1986) Okoye (1986), Banjo and Omidiran (2000), Akindele (2007), Onouha, (2008), Maimela (2013), among others placed emphasis on African especially Nigerian contributions against apartheid regime in South-Africa, and to further strength cooperation among African States as against the post-apartheid regime of xenophobia that is negating African union. It is on this premise that this study takes a departure from the above and to further address the following gap in literature: whether xenophobia affects migrants entrepreneurship business in South Africa, and if xenophobic attacks on Nigerians in South Africa has reduced the number of migrants to south Africa and as well as ascertain whether xenophobia has diminished Nigerian –South Africa Relations.

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to explore the implication of Xenophobia attacks on Nigeria-South Africa diplomatic relations. The specific objectives are:

i. To examining the cause of Xenophobia attacks on Nigerians resident in South African.

ii. To investigate the nature of Xenophobia attacks on Nigerian residents in South Africa.

iii. To assess the implications of Xenophobia attacks on Nigerian -South Africa diplomatic relations.

iv. To proffer solution on how to address Xenophobia attacks on Nigerians in South Africa and how to improve the diplomatic relation.

Concept of Xenophobia

Xenophobia may be defined as the fear or dislike of that which is alien or different. The term xenophobia is used to describe the dislike for immigrants or people who are different from oneself. As such, the term xenophobia is an outburst of discriminatory ideas, societal stereotyping and prejudices that is most times disguised with the phenomenon of nationalism.

Misago et al (2009) asserts that although it cannot be argued that the manifestation of nationalism that is aggressive in nature is an aspect of xenophobia. Most times the expression of xenophobia is associated with violence. Xenophobia can also be seen as reactions generated as a result of anomic situations in the societies of modern societies (Hickel, 2014). It can therefore be deduced that xenophobic dispositions are social as well as psychological anomies that seek to erode the principles of tolerance, understanding and accommodation in the society and replace them with separation or fragmentation thereby creating social divisions. Isike and Isike (2012) agree with this proposition, highlighting that the psychological disgruntlements are in most cases ventilated as eruption of nationalistic expression and upon this that empathy emanates from the collectivity view of "we against them". Xenophobia can also be defined at a serious aversion to the culture, politics of immigrants. According to Jackson (2014) xenophobia is the phobia that an individual or group develops as a result of threat of losing its identity, culture and imagined superiority. Bordeau (2010) defines xenophobia as the fear of an outsider or newcomer. The Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance of the UN, sees xenophobia as rejecting visitors (United Nations General Assembly, 1994:29). This fear and rejection are expressed in discriminatory behaviour and often results in violence (Mogekwu, 2005).

According to Yakushlo (2009), xenophobia is an affective and behavioral distortion towards foreigners, and people seen as aliens. Reynolds and Vine (1987) maintain that it is clearly a psychological state of mind which makes one fear or become hostile to visitors. They believe xenophobia is an anxiety disorder which manifests when one comes in contact with people of different historical descent, it is perceived as the discord and hatred of strange things or foreigners. According to Sarah (2018), it involves the perceptions of an in-group against an out-group as they suspect the activities of the out-group. The "out-group" in this context are other nationals or citizens of other nations. Igwe (2005) sees it as a primitive group syndrome, expressing itself in the dislike of and even hostility towards outsiders and encouraging an attitude of suspicion and exclusion in the place of trust and inclusion. Xenophobia is specific and possibly more dangerous when it is targeted at a particular alien group, as a case in Europe against the Jews and other minorities in the era of anti-Semitism. This alien group was given derogatory and classificatory names and labels (Karlsson, 2018).

Furthermore, xenophobia has bearings in ethnocentric and nationalistic ideology, due to the fact that they believe one's nation is superior to that of anyone else (Licata and Klein 2002). This however, elevates the desire to eliminate the individuals in the "out group" so that they don't influence, change or corrupt the nation, identity, ethnicity and ideology of the nationals. Radkiewicz (2003) captures it as an ethnocentric syndrome which exercises violent, reluctant and hostile attitudes towards other countries‟ nationals with the belief of national superiority by the indigenes of that country.

Concept of Diplomacy

Diplomacy is one of the concepts that are best conceptualized through a consideration of its usage rather than attempting to arrest or capture a precise, fixed or authoritative meaning. Diplomacy is derived from the Greek word diploma denoting a folded document that contains the official handwriting and the idea of credentials confirming the claims of the bearer (Onuoba, 2008). There is like of consensus among experts on the exact meaning of diplomacy.

Diplomacy has however acquired other meanings apart from the above. It is regarded as the management of international relations through the application of intelligence and skill by the representatives of states and other subjects of international relation for the purpose of achieving desired goals through peaceful means. It is also

atimes defined as the official activity of a given state organs of external relations in pursuing through peaceful means, the objective and task of its foreign policy in protecting its rights and interests as well as those of its citizen's abroad (Armstrong, 2014).

Wright (2014) defined diplomacy as "The employment of tact, shrewdness, and skill in any negotiation or transaction" and in the more special sense used international relations as the art of negotiation, in order to achieve the maximum of group objective with minimum of costs, within a system of politics in which war is a possibility". In addition, diplomacy is almost equivalent to foreign policy and implies devotion by its practitioners to the national interest of their respective states. It is therefore, contrasted with international relations which implies that it is an end superior to the national interests of the state.

From the different definitions of diplomacy by these authorities, it is therefore believed that diplomacy is concerned with the management of relations between independent states and between these states and other actors. Diplomacy is often thought of as being concerned with peaceful activity, although it may occur within war or armed conflict or be used in the orchestration of particular acts of violence. Thus diplomacy should be seen rather to be undertaken by officials from a wide range of domestic ministries or agencies with their foreign counterparts, reflecting its technical content, between officials from international organizations such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United Nations (UN) Secretariat or involve foreign corporations and a host of government transnational and with or through-Non Governmental Organizations and private individuals.

Genesis of Xenophobia in South Africa

South Africa has been faced with rapid influx of both legal and illegal foreign immigrants entering and living in the country. It has been on record that, more than 2.2 million immigrants were residing in South Africa from the 53 African States (Molatlhwa, 2012). In 2011, the South African statistical records showed that Zimbabwe had the largest immigrants in South Africa, followed by Mozambique among other foreign nationals (Molatlhwa, 2012). Similarly, South Africa is one of the countries in Africa where foreigners or immigrants love to visit and perhaps stay due to its industrialized setup and conducive atmosphere (Dyson, 2015). The country is one of the most industrialized countries, if not the first of its kind in Africa. In fact, the buoyant nature of the South African economic has attracted people from all walks of life to migrate into the country (Adeogun & Faluyi, 2018). Since the nineteenth century when gold was discovered in Witwatersrand in South Africa, the country has started employing foreign nationals (Adam & Moodley, 2013; Adeogun & Faluyi, 2018).

This has made the country to have experienced an influx of foreign immigrants from different parts of the world and mostly from African countries. The black immigrants were employed to the mining as industries even during the apartheid era in South Africa. Since then, the native of South Africa, particularly, the black South Africans mostly referred to the foreign immigrants as a threat in their land (Fayomi et al., 2015). Hence, the industrialized nature and comfortable environment in South Africa, attract the influx of migrants to the country. These particular attributes made foreigners from all walks of life to troop in for the purpose of seeking refuge from economic crises, poverty, unfavorable government policies and wars in their various native lands (Solomon &Kosaka, 2013). In fact, the refugees and asylum seekers prefer to reside in South Africa. According to the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR ROSA, 2015), over 310,000 refugees and asylum seekers are in South Africa in July, 2014. Meaning that in 2015 upward, the number of refugees will have increased beyond, while 60,000 to 80,000 asylum seekers come into the country yearly. This made the population rate of South Africa to be increased daily. Noticing this increase in the population of South Africa, the South Africans assumed most foreigners or immigrants in their country particularly the black Africans illegally entered the country. This perception as noted by Gumede (2015) was the primary cause that triggers other factors in the xenophobic or Afrophobic or negrophobic attacks in South Africa. The incidence of discrimination in South Africa could be traced back to its apartheid experience which had inculcated some element of racism in South Africans (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010). Evidence had shown that illicit discrimination meted on foreigners or immigrants in South Africa had not just started but dated back to 1994. The South Africans reportedly threw some foreigners out from moving trains, simply because they believe that foreigners were those taking their jobs and bringing diseases to South Africa (Misago, 2015). Nonetheless, the 1994 transition from apartheid rule into a democratic system of government in South Africa betrayed all expectations as the xenophobic attacks increased. The South Africa's Xenophobia was described by Nyamnjoh (2006), as an effect of globalization. He stressedfurther that, "globalization exacerbated insecurities occasioned

by borderless flow of capital, goods and information in a large scale. This brought about an obsession with citizenship belonging and the re-actualization of boundaries through xenophobia" (Nyamnjoh, 2006). Similarly, Sichone (2008) equally corroborated Nyamnjoh's view that, the South Africa's xenophobia is: One among several possible forms of reaction generated by anomic situations in the societies of modern states. The new South Africa is a good candidate for a society in condition of anomie … and we should therefore not be surprised to find unusual levels of moral confusion among the citizenry (Sichone, 2008).

The perception of the South Africans toward xenophobia was that, the immigrants who entered the country legally were depriving them of employment (job and services), while the illegal immigrants in South Africa constituted to the level of corruption among the security agents (Crush & McDonald, 2001). It is because of this that South Africans developed hatred, hostility and intolerance toward foreigners residing in South Africa. Hence, the actions of South Africans toward immigrants can be linked to what Crush and McDonald viewed as "their experiences of apartheid which culminated in their suffering, discrimination, and denial and any attempt by foreigners to compete with them on benefits accruable to local nationals after apartheid would be resisted" (Crush & McDonald, 2001). The anti-immigration attack on foreign nationals living in South Africa started on May 2008 in Alexandra township of Johannesburg (Tafira, 2018). The attacks which was launched on the foreigners claimed the lives of about 64 immigrants, while thousands were displaced, many sustained severe injuries (Tafira, 2018).

Manifestation of Xenophobia Attack on Nigerians in South Africa

The ugly trend of xenophobic violence in South Africa which has often been targeted at Africans is not a new phenomenon in the country. However, the renewed recent attacks have generated serious tensions within and beyond the African continent. The manifestation of xenophobia attacks on Africans can be traced to 1995; youths in the Alexandra township of Johannesburg destroyed and looted the homes of undocumented migrants and subsequently marched the migrants to the police station where they requested that the foreigners be immediately deported to their home countries. The violent xenophobic attacks continued on migrants in 2008 when South Africans targeted immigrants from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi and other African countries, which resulted in attacks and looting of immigrants' homes and businesses, and killing more than twenty foreign nationals in just one week. By the time the violence subsided a total of sixty foreign citizens were killed and thousands displaced from their homes and businesses (Burchard, 2015).

The first manifestation of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians can be traced to August 2000, when seven Africans, among whom two Nigerians, were killed in the Cape flats in the district of Cape Town. Since then attacks on Nigerians have become norms for South Africans. In 2014, about sixty Nigerians were killed during attacks on Africans in South Africa. In 2016, twenty Nigerians were reportedly killed. They xenophobic attack was taken to greater heights with extra-judicial killings and police brutality which targeted Nigerians. In 2016, a 34-year-old Nigerian, Tochukwu Nnamdi, was extra-judicially murdered by the police. On 18th February 2017, Nigerians in South Africans were attacked, leading to looting and burning of their business premises.

In a similar vein, on the same day, February 18, 2017, Nigerians living in Pretoria West were attacked by South Africans. The President of the Nigerian Union in South Africa, Mr Ikechukwu Ayene, confirmed the attacks. During the attack, five buildings occupied by Nigerian businessmen, a church belonging to Nigerians, and a garage with 28 cars under repair were looted and burnt by South Africans, leading to the injuries sustained by a Nigerian pastor. One common feature of the attack on Nigerian was that their shops and businesses were looted before being set ablaze (Salau, 2017). As on 27th February 2017, a total of one hundred and sixteen Nigerians were reported to have been killed in South Africa owing to xenophobic attacks. Apart from the loss of innocent lives, Nigerians lost businesses and properties worth millions of dollars because of the ugly trend of xenophobic violence in South Africa (Wakili and Salau, 2017).

Factors Contributing to Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa

According to Adewale (2017), there are several precipitating factors that have encouraged the perpetration of xenophobic killings in South Africa:

First, is the generally feeling of insecurity on the part of South Africans that foreigners are taking over the jobs that should ordinarily be reserved for them. Hence, the only logical way for them to show their grievance and antagonism is to launch attacks on such foreigners with the thinking that they would be protecting and jealously guarding what is solely theirs.

Secondly, law enforcement agents in South Africa, most especially the police, appear to be slow in responding to distress call by victims whenever they are in danger. It is for this reason that many observers believe that police officers often take sides to the advantage of South Africans. This should not be. Law enforcement agents are expected to perform their duties without any bias, fear or favour.

Thirdly, is the dwindling economic fortunes of South Africa over the years under the ruling African National Congress. The main effect of that dimension is that many South Africans themselves are in dire need of employment as the economic situation bites harder.

Fourthly, is the poor knowledge of history by the aggressive youths. It is not a funny thing when younger generations have no or very poor knowledge of the past. They seem not to appreciate the vital role played by Nigeria and other African countries in the struggle for the liberation of many South Africa countries from the shackles of apartheid.

On the other hand, Oluwu (2008) identified universal contributory factors that could lead to xenophobic attacks. For this study, global movement, the legacy of apartheid, unemployment, poverty, crime, competition for public resource and business opportunities; and political instability will be examined as main factors contributing towards xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

Effects of Xenophobic Attacks

The above-mentioned xenophobic attacks affect the victims, their families, the community, and the country at large. This section will focus on the physical, psychological, social, economic, and political effects of xenophobic attacks in relation to the victims, their families, the community, and the country at large.

Physical Effects

Vromans, Schweitzer, Knoetze and Kagee (2011) illustrate that xenophobic attacks go hand in hand with physical harm and, in extreme cases, loss of life. In addition, during xenophobic attacks, refugee entrepreneurs are beaten, and their shops are looted and burned, causing them to flee to places of safety, back to their countries of origin or to alternative places of safety (Mensah and Benedict, 2016). An example of this is the well-documented attack of Ernesto Nhamuave; a refugee entrepreneur who was set alight by petrol-filled tyre called the 'necklace' during xenophobic attacks; resulting in his gruesome death (Hickel, 2014). The physical impact of xenophobic attack usually results in psychological effects which are normally difficult to deal with by those affected.

Psychological Effects

Refugees and foreigners affected by xenophobic attacks often feel lonely and hopeless in the sense that they long for a place that they can identify with and call 'home'. Feelings of belonging are important to foreigners because the same could not be achieved in their countries of origin (Vromans et al., 2011). The authors' further state that those affected by xenophobic attacks often feel depressed, numb, fearful, distressed, and humiliated; and some suffer chronic anxiety resulting from their inability to live and do what they want free from threat (Vromans et al., 2011). Hölscher (2014) adds that often those affected by xenophobic attacks feel powerless and unable to express their feelings on account of not being citizens.

In a study conducted by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2006), it was noted that those affected by xenophobic attacks were reluctant to report such incidents to authorities for prosecution due to their lack of confidence and belief in protection by the state. Furthermore, those who have experienced attacks live in fear of deportation, arrest and the potential negative effects of xenophobia which may complicate their asylum status, application and/or renewal (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2016). Furthermore, in the study conducted by Gopal (2013) foreign national school going children who either witnessed, or experienced xenophobic attacks, displayed psychiatric problems including posttraumatic-stress disorder, depression, and anxiety. The exposure to violence also affected their school performance negatively. It was reported that when xenophobic attacks occur, children often bear the pain and suffering caused by emotional distress and psychological harm (Rasila and Musitha, 2015).

Another psychological effect of xenophobic attack is fear. Fear grips those refugees and foreigners affected by xenophobia, as a result, they often flee their dwellings to seek shelter in police stations, churches, municipal halls, or sports facilities (Hayem, 2013:78). Those affected by the attacks often find themselves running away from

violence and at times their families had to bear the brunt of the adverse effects (Oyelana, 2016).

Social effects

Vrsanska et al. (2017) observed that those affected by xenophobic attacks demonstrate anxiety, depression and suicidal tendencies, which makes it difficult to lead a normal social life. It is further reported that foreigners and refugees in European countries usually tend to experience isolation and loneliness, thus making them easy targets for recruitment by radical groups for terrorist activities; who are able to provide material support, a sense of belonging and a meaning to life (Vrsanska et al., 2017). Xenophobic attacks not only render foreigners and refugees socially excluded, but also increase their economic barriers by reducing their ability to pursue economic activities in the host country (Gopal, 2013).

Economic effects

Xenophobic attacks have an effect on refugee entrepreneurs and the economy at large. In terms of the effects on business, Tshishonga (2015) reports that previous outbreaks of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals forced them to either go into hiding or leave their businesses unattended. In some cases, those who were unable to go into hiding were reduced to spectators as they watched their hard-earned properties being looted and burned (Adeleke et al., 2008). Their years of entrepreneurial endeavour were thus destroyed in a matter of hours or days (Mensah and Benedict, 2016). In most cases, they are left to fend for themselves with no assistance from the government; to the extent that re-establishing their businesses became a mammoth task leaving some with no option but to return to their countries of origin (Oyelana, 2016).

Those who did not leave after the attacks were left with no choice but to rely on non-government organizations and relatives for food, shelter, and other necessities of life (Gopal, 2013). As a result, this increased their economic barriers by reducing their ability to pursue economic efforts to better their livelihoods in the host country (Gopal, 2013). Their efforts to sustain their means of survival, such as owning businesses, were thwarted when their businesses were destroyed, and employment opportunities were reduced with little to no prospect of re-establishment (Rukema and Khan, 2013). This not only affects refugee entrepreneurs, but also has an adverse effect on the economy at large.

Ultimately, some refugee entrepreneurs who found it difficult to re-establish themselves after their businesses were looted, opted to go in partnership with fellow countrymen and co-own businesses due to a lack of finances to purchase stock, or to operate businesses independently (Patel and Essa, 2015). Mokoena (2015) states that most refugee entrepreneurs contribute to South Africa's value-added tax (VAT) through their bulk purchase of goods from major South African wholesalers. Fatoki (2016) add that refugee entrepreneurs contribute positively to the local economy as they rent shops or trading spaces for periods ranging between two and five years from South African nationals, thereby contributing towards poverty alleviation and economic sustainability. Consequently, xenophobic attacks result in lower VAT collections, less income for property owners who, under normal circumstances, generate income from rental property, and impair poverty alleviation and economic development prospects.

The economic development and stability of the country depends on the unity and harmony of all people, including foreigners and refugees (Oyelana, 2016). South Africa, as a member of the African Union and SADC, is obliged to foster the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) established, encourage greater regional co-operation and integration (Solomon and Kosaka, 2013). Xenophobic attacks diminish co-operation and impair the good working relationships that refugee entrepreneurs might have established with South Africans, thus rendering their efforts, investment, and hard work futile (Tshishonga, 2015). For a third world country such as South Africa, xenophobic attacks are detrimental to economic development. This is because the country relies heavily on co-operation and good political standing with other countries (Ilevbare and Adedanya, 2008).

Political effects

Most African nations did not take the attacks against their countrymen in South Africa lightly. As illustrated by Mabera (2017), the Rwandan President, Paul Kagame, and Ethiopian Prime Minister, Hailemariam Desalegn, spoke out strongly against the attacks. The Somali Prime Minister, Mr. Farah Shirdon made a special appeal to the South African government to protect the Somali business community and other citizens during the attacks as a matter of urgency (Rukema and Khan, 2013).

In addition, South African diplomatic relations with Nigeria came under strain when Nigeria recalled its diplomats from Pretoria in 2015 (Adebisi, 2017). This was after the Nigerian House of Representative's Ad-Hoc Committee led by Femi Gbajabiamila reprimanded South African leaders for the attacks on their nationals (Adebisi, 2017). In addition to recalling of Nigeria diplomats and being reprimanded by Nigerian leaders, a radical student movement called the National Association of Nigerian Students attacked the MTN offices in Abuja-Nigeria in 2015 (Afrika, 2017). MTN is a South African telecommunications business that has been trading in Nigeria for some years.

There is a fear that xenophobic attacks might have adverse consequences on the country and may result in isolation from the African business sector and consequently, the rest of the world (Mudzanani, 2016). This might have tremendous effects on the South African community and country at large.

Theoretical Framework

In order to provide a theoretical explanation on diplomatic implication of xenophobia on Nigeria–South Africa Relations, the Frustration-Aggression theory is employed for this study. Although, the concept of theory is subjected to different definitions and explanations, however, a theory is lens through which we see the world around us empirically (Onuoha, 2008).

It is set of empirically related generalization and a cause effect logical explanation of a phenomenon and predication of its subsequent development, the highest level of generalization in a scientific discipline, containing all the essential elements of the explanation at the particular stage of knowledge and embodying within the law, principles and hypotheses that clarify issues at corresponding levels of analysis (Isaak in Obasi (1994), Igwe, 2007). Furthermore, Leege and Francis (1974) defined theory as a collection of interrelated law like statements, or hypotheses, which are intended to explain some political phenomenon or event.

The Frustration-Aggression (F-A) Hypothesis, commonly called the Frustration-Aggression (F-A) Theory, is a seminal theory in Psychology which has been used several times in other fields of study to explain aggressive human behaviour. Central to the Frustration-Aggression theory is the tenet that there is a causal relationship between frustration and aggression. This conviction of a nexus between frustration and aggression was first held by a group of Yale University psychologists – John Dollard, Leonard W. Doob, Neal E. Miller, Orval H. Mowrer and, Robert R Sears in their co-authored monograph: *Frustration and Aggression* (1939). The theory was later revised by Neal E. Miller (1941) and Leonard Berkowitz (1969). Frustration to the Yale group is "an interference with the occurrence of an instigated goal-response at its proper time in the behavior sequence" (Dollard *et al*., 1939:7). In other words, it is a situation where the attainment of a desired goal of a person or group of people is hindered. Succinctly, aggression is a "sequence of behavior, the goal-response to which is the injury of the person toward whom it is directed" (Dollard *et al*., 1939:9).

According to Dollard and his colleagues, "the occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrariwise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression" (Dollard *et al*., 1939:1). Neal E. Miller two years later reformulated the original assumption to "frustration produces instigations to a number of different types of response, one of which is instigation to some form of aggression" (Miller, 1941:338). Berkowitz (1965) on his part pointed out that frustration does not immediately trigger aggression in a person or group of people but, creates a "readiness for aggressive acts" (Shaffer, 2005).

Central to the theory is the assumption that all aggression has its root cause in the frustration of more actors" goal achievement. In other words, conflict can be the product of the unfulfilled personal or group goals and the frustration that this brings. Put differently, when there is a gap between the level of value expectation and the level of value attainment, due to lack of capability to establish a congruence between both levels, tension builds up due to the pressure of an unfulfilled aspiration or an unsatisfied urge or need. Thus, Afinotan & Ojakorotu (2009:193-193) posited that: When not arrested in time, leads to frustration. Frustration, when it builds up, leads to the rising up of suppressed emotions of anger, which is often directed against the party considered to be the source of deprivation of satisfaction. This strong emotion finally finds an outlet through aggressive and invariably violent disposition towards the environment.

Relevance of Theory to the Study

Every theory has its relevance in explaining sociopolitical phenomena in human society. For this purpose, effort is made to outline the relevance of

Frustration-Aggression theory towards explain the causes, nature and effects of xenophobic attacks on Nigerian citizens resident in South Africa, and how such violent outbreak have affected the diplomatic relations between both countries. The relevance of Frustration-Aggression theory to the subject under investigation can be outlined as follows:

i. As a theory, Frustration-Aggression best explain the relationship between the variables under study. The theory serves as a lens through which we can empirically establish why and how frustration has resulted in aggressive xenophobic attacks of Nigerians and other African nationals residing in South Africa. The theory also assists us understand the nature of South African citizens' frustration, which is mostly attributed with the dominance of non-nationals of South Africa over the economy of the country by taking over investments and job opportunities in South Africa.

ii. Frustration-Aggression theory is of immense relevant to this study as it will assist the researcher to understand the rationale behind the strain diplomatic relationship between and Nigeria and South Africa.

iii. Frustration-Aggression theory will serve as measuring tool for the researcher to be able to assess the level to which xenophobic attack affect diplomatic relations between the two countries from political, economic and sociocultural point of view. This by implication will help the researcher identify areas of damages in the relations between the two countries and how such may likely affect their economy.

iv. The Frustration-Aggression applies to the situation facing Nigeria and South Africa diplomatic relations. The Frustration-Aggression Theory makes us understand that the spike in anti-foreigner violence is as a result of the frustration of unemployed and impoverished locals in South Africa. Since the goal of being gainfully employed to meet basic human needs and lead a decent life has been hampered over time, the locals have taken out their frustration aggressively on African immigrants including Nigerians, whom they claim are getting the jobs that are in short supply in resource-endowed South Africa.

v. Owing to the competition that exists over limited resources in South Africa, the nationals perceive non-nationals especially Nigerians, as enemy. Nevertheless, both nations do not view their relationship from the mutual standpoint and is equally not interested in participating in super ordinate goals which cannot be achieved without the input of each state. South Africans are not hostile in nature, but the issue of xenophobia that is reoccurring amongst them, is traceable to the conflict that exists between them and foreigners.

Weakness of the Theory

The frustration-aggression theory is a psychological theory that suggests that frustration leads to aggression. However, this theory has some weaknesses, including over-emphasis on frustration as the sole cause of aggression, reductionist approach, and failure to consider individual differences, ignoring the role of positive emotions, and limited scope. Frustration-aggression theory should be considered as only one among many possible explanations for aggressive behavior.

Methodology

The qualitative approach to the research methodology was used in this study. In order to probe, scrutinize, explore, and analyze the study's facts, secondary data is included in this study. As a result, the information was gathered from pertinent publications, newspaper articles, reports from international organizations, and research articles. In this study, the collected data is analyzed to determine why the applicability of our current and most popular methods for analyzing the relationship between democracy and development, look into why, despite all attempts to change the continent, Africa has not advanced, and make suggestions for policies to improve our democracy's focus on development.

The study ensured the validity of the instruments by making sure that the contents of the instruments are consistent with the objectives of the study. Also, efforts were made to ensure that all aspects considered relevant to the study are adequately covered. Therefore, in order to ensure this study possesses high validity, external criterion method was adopted and was achieved by checking how correct the findings of a particular instrument is by comparing the results with existing knowledge as well as the findings of the study. These methods described above were carefully employed so as to ensure that the study is highly reliable and valid.

Finally, in order to ensure that the instruments are reliable which will in turn enable a dependable and objective deduction, inferences and conclusions, internal consistency method was effectively adopted. This was achieved by crosschecking information alongside other sources of data collection and by ensuring that the facts and figures collected from other sources mentioned earlier are accurate and would remain the same if the collection is repeated over time.

Analyses of the Implications of Xenophobic Attacks on Nigerians and Nigeria-South Africa Diplomatic Relations

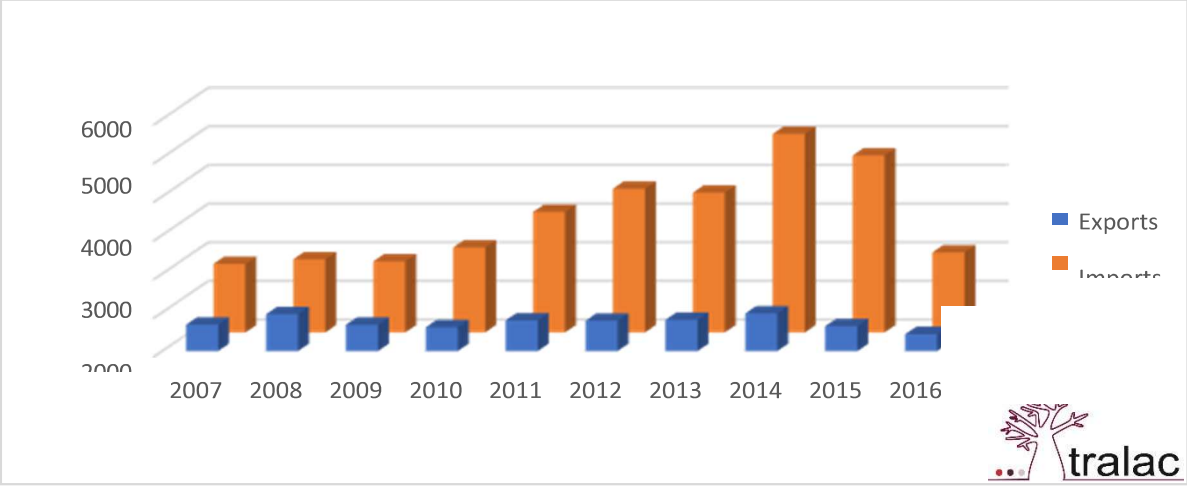
This section presents and discusses the result of data analysis. It starts with the analysis of data using descriptive statistics such as graphs, table and chart, followed by the presentation of the results. Discussions of research findings will dwell on outlining the key findings of the study in order to answer the research questions.

Bilateral Trade Agreements between Nigeria and South Africa

The relative importance of Nigeria in terms of trade on the continent cannot be overemphasized, as the large market of Nigeria (population of 190 million), provides trade and investment opportunities for countries such as South Africa, which is aiming to expand its footprint into the continent beyond Southern Africa. Therefore, closer cooperation on bilateral and regional issues is key. Concerns around xenophobia in South Africa also raised questions on how this will affect will affect the countries' bilateral relations. Since its establishment, eight sessions had been held, and 34 agreements and Memorandum of Understanding had been signed.

Nonetheless, the continental free trade area (CFTA), which enjoys political support amongst the African Union (AU) member states, provides an opportunity for the two countries strengthen their relations, both politically and economically, which ultimately can be a conduit to strengthening Africa's voice on global matters. South Africa has over the review period 2007-2016 maintained a trade deficit with Nigeria, mainly attributed to the large imports of crude oil, which have consistently accounted for 99% of South Africa's imports from Nigeria. Exports however, despite being low are relatively diverse. In 2016, South Africa exported goods worth just above US$ 438 million compared to over US$2 billion in imports from Nigeria. From a global perspective, Nigeria is ranked 32nd amongst South Africa's export destinations accounting for less than 1% of South Africa's total exports. In terms of imports, Nigeria, is ranked 10th import supplier to the South African market. However, when considering the African market, the Nigeria is ranked 12th export destination for South Africa's goods and is ranked 1st most important import source from Africa.

Figure 1: South Africa's bilateral trade with Nigeria (2007 – 2016)



Source: UN ITC Trade Map database

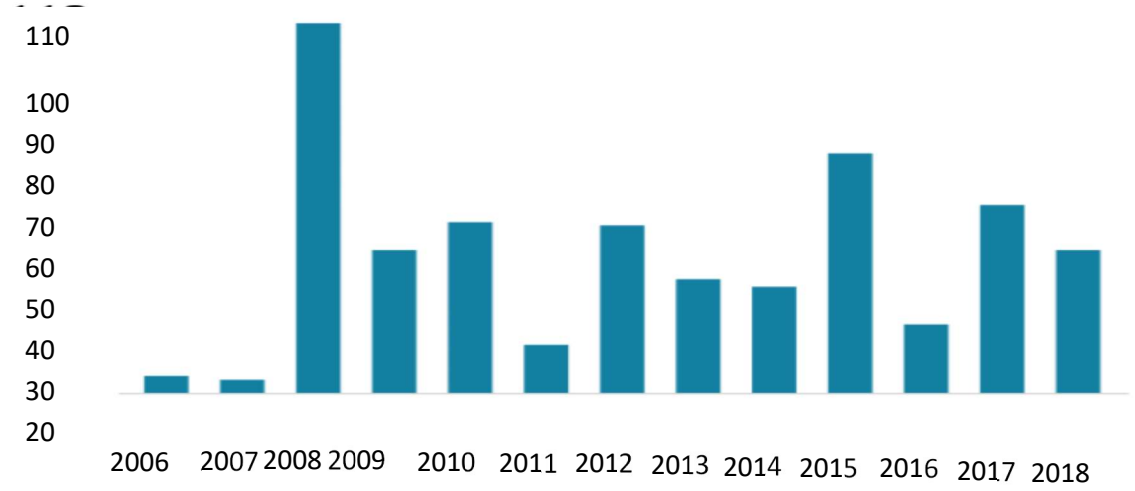
The above composition of products reveals that South Africa mainly imports oil (primary based) which accounts for the US$ 2 billion (99%), while the exports are relatively diversified and comprising mainly value-added manufactured goods. The typical trade relationship between South Africa and Nigeria is that of developed country versus developing country trade relationship where South Africa (developed) and Nigeria (developing). Important to note however that is the Nigerian market itself is huge and has limited supply capacity beyond oil, to the extent that any existing capacity is absorbed by the domestic market and trade with other West African countries. In this regard, without a clear strategy to boost production and trade in non-oil products there is limited scope in the short to medium term for Nigeria to consider South Africa as a market of choice for its goods and services. Beyond crude oil, South Africa imports an additional US$ 9 million from Nigeria which includes fertilizers, Rubber products, coffee & tea as well as aluminum products. South Africa's fast growing (high value) exports to Nigeria include, edible fruits Ships & boats, as well as plastic products.

Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa

According to MO Ibrahim Foundation (2019), South Africa was the country receiving the largest share of African migrants (6.1%), followed by Côte d'Ivoire (5.8%) and Uganda (4.4%). While South Africa was the preferred destination for most migrants from the continent, xenophobic violence has become a constant threat to the lives and livelihoods of many migrants. In recent years, there has been an escalation of xenophobic movements with anti-immigrant protests and foreign nationals being attacked, displaced and having their shops looted. According to the Migrant Acceptance Index, South Africa is the third most hostile country in Africa for migrants after Egypt and Tanzania.

South Africans have the most negative attitudes towards immigration of all Global South countries surveyed. As many as 30% want borders completely closed (the same as India), while 78% support closed borders and strict limits on entry (compared to only 55% in India). A survey on the attitudes towards refugee protection in South Africa shows the strong opposition to the country taking in more refugees (57% opposed/11% supportive), using taxpayer money to support refugees (46% opposed/16% supportive), and granting permanent residence to long-term refugees (44% opposed/18% supportive). There was also strong support for repatriating refugees when they are no longer at risk (56% supportive/14% opposed) and mandatory HIV testing for all refugees (41% supportive/ 29% opposed). Around one-third of South Africans said they would take various actions against migrants in their neighbourhood, with 15% prepared to force migrants to leave the area and 11% to use violence to achieve his end (Jonathan Crush, 2020).

Figure 2: Threats, Attacks and Killings against Foreigners in South Africa



Source: Xenowatch, African Centre for Migration & Society – Extracted from BBC News South Africa (2019)

According to UNHCR (2015), the statistics in 2013 reported that in 2011 there were 154 reported incidents of Xenophobic attacks, 99 deaths, 100 serious injuries and 1000 people displaced. In 2012,

238 incidents were reported, 120 deaths, 154 serious injuries and 7, 500 were displaced. In 2013, 250 attacks, 88 deaths, 170 serious injuries and 7, 000 displaced. The Xenophobic attacks in South Africa in May 2008 cost the lives of 62 individuals, wounded 670, dozens raped and over 100, 000 are displaced. The frequency of attacks on migrants' businesses disclosed that the numbers of the attacks are persistently increasing since pre-2005 as indicated in the table below.

The xenophobic attacks in South Africa had turned the image of the country globally as a renegade and violent country that has no respect or regard for human rights. The country is perceived as is losing its diplomatic prowess and its cordial relationship with many African countries including the giant one such as Nigeria. Foreign investments and hosting of international cultural, economic and political events are becoming difficult for the country because it is stereotype as violent, insecure, hostile and a country that is not safer for the visitors and foreigners. By implication, South Africa may lose billions of dollars in tourism and foreign investment in the years to come and it will lose its image among its African peers which by extension, will create disunity among the African Union members. In the case of Nigeria, the recent retaliatory attacks on some South African outlets such as MTN communication offices, DSTV, Shoprite and Stanbic IBTC will affect the country's external revenue turnover in billions of dollars.

The effects of Xenophobia on other African countries that have migrants in South Africa are relatively on the loss of economic ventures and lives of the nationals that are staying there. According to UNHCR (2019), the statistics in 2016 reported that in 2015 there were 154 reported incidents of Xenophobic attacks, 99 deaths, 100 serious injuries and 1000 people displaced. In 2016, 238 incidents were reported, 120 deaths, 154 serious injuries and 7, 500 were displaced. In 2013, 250 attacks, 88 deaths, 170 serious injuries and 7, 000 displaced. The Xenophobic attacks in South Africa in May 2008 cost the lives of 62 individuals, wounded 670, dozens raped and over 100, 000 are displaced. The frequency of attacks on migrants' businesses disclosed that the numbers of the attacks are persistently increasing since 2015 as indicated in the table below.

Table 1: Frequency of Xenophobic Attacks on Migrants' Businesses from 2015 to 2019

Year	Number of Attacks
2015	19
2016	17
2017	46
2018	32
2019	36

Source: UNHCR (2019)

In addition, the xenophobic violence and assaults from 2015 to 2019 revealed a menacing number of deaths and other injuries as presented in table 2. From 2015 to 2019, there were a total number of 529 incidences of xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals residing in South Africa with 2019 recording 42 incidents alone. The deaths recorded between 2015 to 2019 amount to 309 as a result of xenophobic violence in South Africa while physical assaults of foreign nationals in South Africa amount to 901. Xenophobic attacks on foreigners in South Africa equally rendered more than 100,000 internally displaced from their various homes between 2015 between 2019, whole around 2,193 stores were looted within that same period.

Table 2: Xenophobic Attacks incidents and Types of Victimization from 2015-2019

Victimization	Total (2015-2019)	2019 Alone
Total number of incidents	529	42
Deaths	309	12

Physical Assaults	901	29
Displaced	100,000+	1,145
Shops Looted	2,193	139
Threats to Safety for Property	257	23

Source: UNHCR (2019)

South Africa is back in the news yet again for all the wrong reasons. At least 12 people were killed and hundreds arrested after mobs attacked foreign-owned shops in Johannesburg and Pretoria last week. The attacks drew condemnation from across the African continent and resulted in reprisal attacks abroad. Nigeria began evacuating some of its citizens, recalled its high commissioner, and boycotted the World Economic Forum on Africa summit in Cape Town.

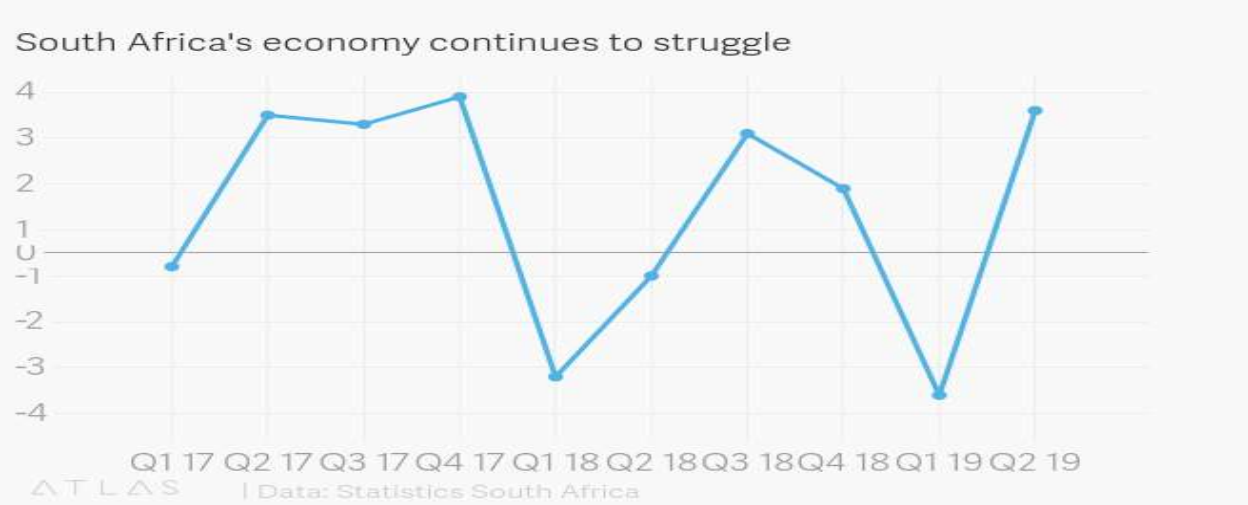
The latest wave of xenophobic attacks is undergirded by the belief that foreigners—mainly migrants from other African countries—are to blame for South Africa's social and economic woes. And while a significant number of the population hold anti-immigrant views, data shows the country faces bigger challenges than hosting foreign nationals.

Causes of Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa

South African politicians have consistently complained about the influx of foreign citizens, with some claiming they were burdening sectors including the national healthcare system. Yet data from the government agency Statistics South Africa showed there were 2.1 million international migrants in South Africa out of a population of 51.7 million in 2011. (Population figures have since jumped to 55.7 million) The government has also cracked down on migrants coming into the country, potentially reducing their numbers over the years. For instance, between January 2012 and December 2016, the Department of Home Affairs deported close to 370,000 people majority of them from neighboring Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Lesotho.

Weak Economic Growth

Following a sharp shrink in the first quarter of 2019, South Africa's economy dodged a recession after growing by 3.1% in the second quarter. Despite the rebound, it's hardly time to pop the champagne. As Africa's second-biggest economy, the country boasts good infrastructure, well-developed financial systems, and strong mining and manufacturing industries. Yet growth has been undermined by structural impediments including corruption, weak investment levels, and shortage of high-end skills. Some economists also expect the economy to slow in the third quarter, even as president Cyril Ramaphosa faces mounting pressure to reverse the state of the ailing economy and improve competitiveness (South Africa statistics 2020).

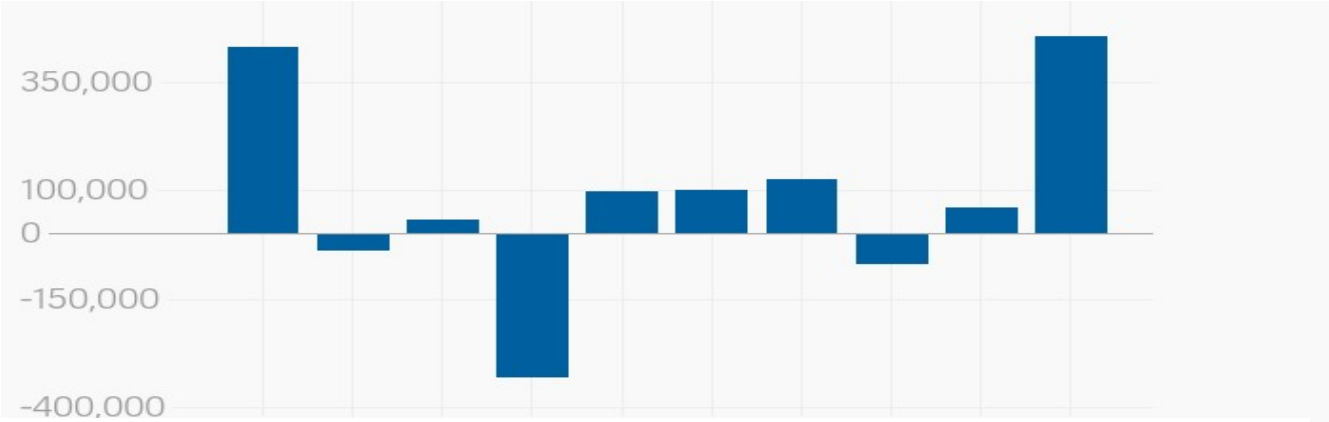


Source: South Africa Statistics 2020

High unemployment Levels

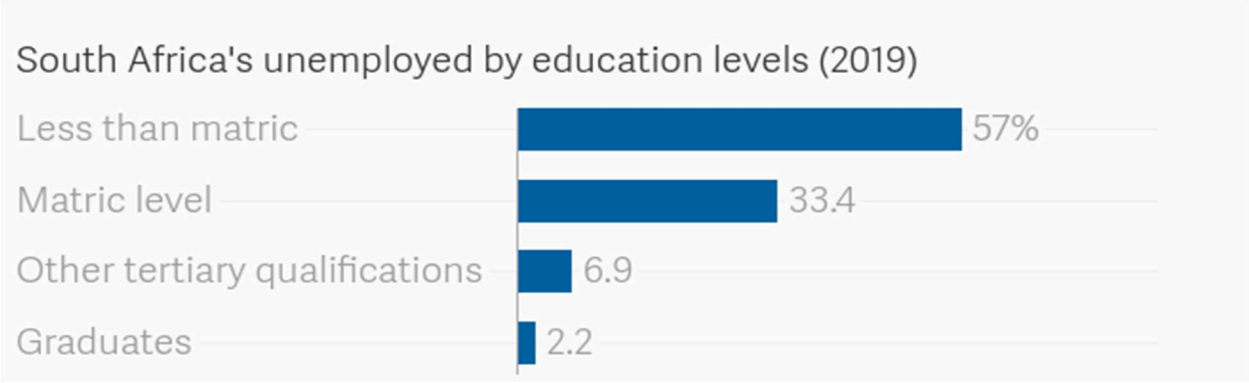
Many locals blame immigrants for taking their jobs and driving unemployment levels. Yet joblessness is so pervasive across South Africa that president Ramaphosa recently called it a "deep and serious crisis." As of July 2019, national unemployment rates stood at 29% impacting an estimated 6.7 million people. Some 56.4% of 15-24 year-olds and 35.6% of the 25-34 year-olds remain jobless with 71% of those in unemployment spending a period of a year or longer looking for work.

Figure 4: Changes in Unemployment Level in South Africa



Source: South Africa Statistics 2020

Poor education levels and weak labor policies have been blamed for the low growth in jobs, while some have pointed to the need to up skill workers in the face of growing technological innovation. Critical to note here is that while South Africans have access to social safety nets and basic services, most foreigners have to fend for themselves without any support.



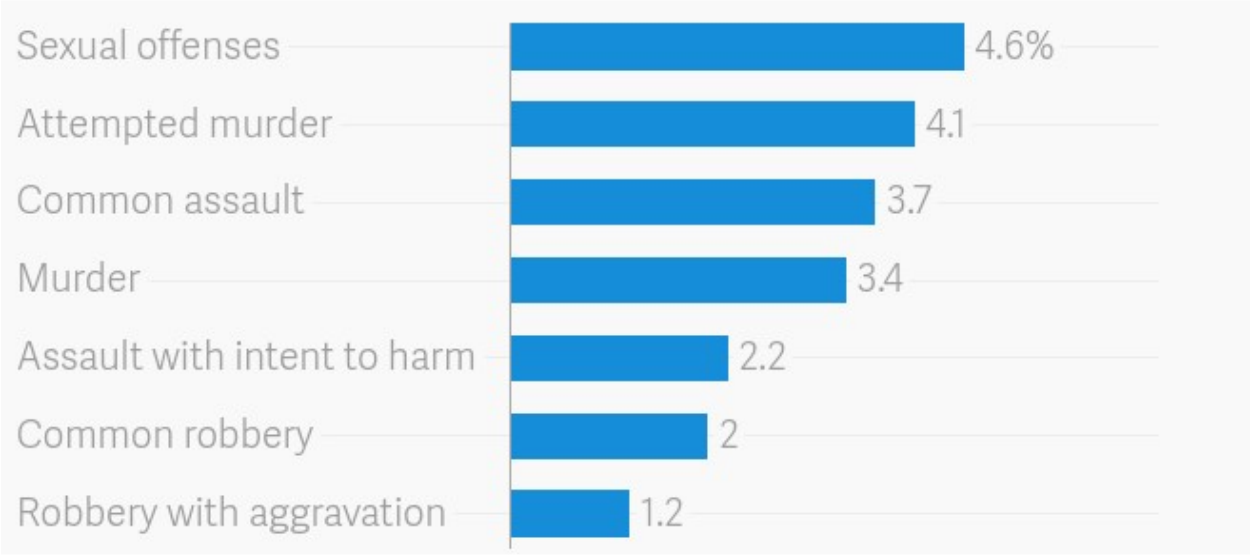
Source: South Africa Statistics 2020

Foreigners and Crime

Foreign nationals, particularly undocumented immigrants, have become scapegoats for crime in South Africa's major urban cities with both politicians and police pointing fingers at them. The country for sure has a serious crime problem with over 21,000 people killed in the year that ended on March 2019. Besides murder rates, sexual offenses, assault, and robberies have all been rising amidst growing concern about violence against women.

Despite that, experts have noted that it isn't possible to conclude foreigners commit most of these violent crimes because the police don't publicly release data on the nationalities of those they arrest and in many cases have no idea who the perpetrators are.

Figure: 6 South Africa's Crime Continues to Grow (Apr. 18 – Mar. 19)

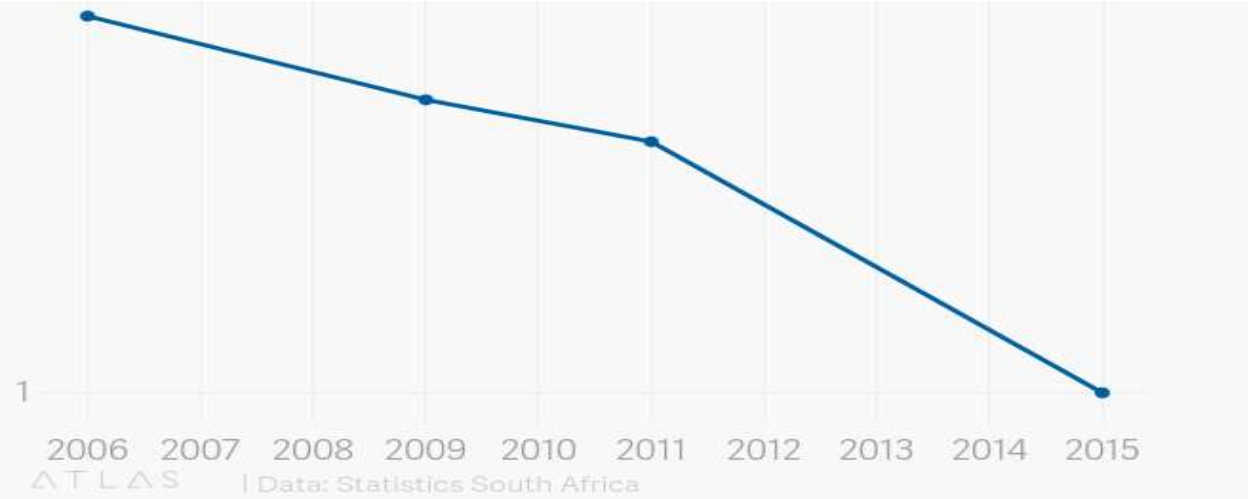


Source: South Africa Statistics (2020)

4.4.4 Persistent Inequality

South Africa continues to have one of the highest inequality rates in the world. The legacy of apartheid's exclusion, skewed land ownership, limited access to capital, and ailing economic growth have perpetuated the levels of disparity across the country. Inequality in wealth is even higher: according to the World Bank, the richest 10% of the population held around 71% of net wealth in 2015, while the bottom 60% held 7% of the net wealth.

Figure: 7 South Africa's Gini Coefficient' Show Growing Inequality



The Implication of Xenophobia on Nigeria-South Africa Relations

Nigeria has borne the brunt of most of the xenophobic attacks and extra-judicial killings in South Africa. According to the Senior Special Assistant to the President on Foreign Affairs and Diaspora, Mrs. Abike Dabiri-Erewa, no fewer than 117 Nigerians were extra-judicially killed in South Africa between 2016 and 2018 for one flimsy reason or the other (Vanguard, 2018). These egregious killings of Nigerians in South Africa has in several ways had some implications on Nigeria-South Africa relations. The implications could be diplomatic, economic, and social and psychology.

Diplomatic Implications

Impact Since the 2008 anti-foreigner violence, Nigeria and South Africa have been working towards patching their diplomatic relation. In 2013, Nigeria and South Africa signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to reinforce diplomatic ties and forestall future xenophobic attacks (Babalola, 2017). Nevertheless, the attacks on Nigerians have continued. In April 2015 during the Jonathan administration, Nigeria's Acting High Commissioner to South Africa, Martin Cobham, and the Consul-General, Uche Ajulu-Okeke, were 'invited' for consultation (and not 'recalled' as it was falsely reported by some media houses) following the xenophobic attacks in Durban and Johannesburg (Channels Television, 2015). Though, Nigeria, by taking such action, did not sever her relations with South Africa, such diplomatic move was seen by South Africa's Ministry of International Relations and Cooperation as an "unfortunate and regrettable step" (Brock and Dludla, 2015).

Xenophobic attacks in South Africa will have many repercussions on its relationship with Nigeria and other African countries. Xenophobic attacks have already created a diplomatic rift between Nigeria and South Africa after the 2015 attacks. The recent 2019 attacks also led to the dismissal of South Africa's Ambassador to Nigeria and closure of South African businesses for many days in Nigeria.

The Xenophobic attacks against Nigerians in South Africa will lead to a hostile foreign policy between the two countries and this will heighten their regional rivalry and hegemony in the continent. The xenophobic attacks in South Africa have smeared the reputation and be smacked the image of South Africa globally. It has created a wider chasm and the regional cooperation between Nigeria and South Africa which are considered as the regional powers that should have cooperate in pursuing the African global agenda beyond the continent (Tella (2019). The attacks in September 2019 have already invited for retaliation as observed by this study in which some frustrated and aggressive Nigerians in major cities such as Abuja, Lagos, Kano and Bauchi made attempts at attacking Shoprite and MTN offices which had been prevented by the timely intervention of the Nigerian security.

Furthermore, the attacks had infuriated the Nigerian government to take drastic diplomatic actions against South Africa. Such actions might

ginger or motivate other African countries to follow suit which will affect the South African economy and regional hegemony. The wider implication of the xenophobic attacks is that the much after sought African unity which is expected to be advance by Nigeria and South Africa will face a setback.

The quest for a permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council which can be realized if the two giants of Nigeria and South Africa decided to present one of them at the continental level can be thwarted if the diplomacy between the two is spoilt by Xenophobic attacks.

Economic Implications

In 2015, poverty was reported to have increased by 57.2%, subsequently declining in 2016 by 45.5% (Statistics South Africa, 2020). Poor people are blamed for orchestrating all acts of xenophobic attacks. It was however, asserted that poverty does not justify violence, pointing to the absence of a rational argument in the xenophobic attacks that gripped South Africa in recent years.

Whereas poor South Africans are said to be fighting for the economic space, their acts of violence ironically perpetrate economic stagnation and deterioration. There is a connection between unemployment among the youth and adult the rate of immigrants in South Africa. Statistics from Tradingeconomics.com (2020) that unemployment in South Africa has increased from 24.30% in the fourth quarter of 2015 to 26.40% in the first quarter of 2017.

Unemployment rate in South Africa averaged 25.27% over the period 2017-2019, reaching high of 31.20% in the first quarter of 2003 and a low of 21.50% in the fourth quarter of 2008 (Tradingeconomics.com, 2020). By comparison, only 14.68% of international migrants are unemployed. Furthermore, Wilkinson (2015) also shows that 32.65% of international migrants are employed in the informal sector in South Africa compared to 16.57% of "non-migrants" and 17.97% of "domestic migrants". These statistical patterns reveal that there may be a connection between being foreign national and performing well in informal business sector, with the result that locals may feel aggrieved that they have not been equally or more successful.

Despite the fact that poverty does not justify violence, poor people tend to vent their frustrations through violence. According Statistic South Africa (2020) almost 12 million South African citizens live in poverty. However, Statistics South Africa (2020) reported that the number of people living in poverty in South Africa increased from 12.6 million in 2016 to 15.8 million in 2018, dropping to 10.2 million in 2019.

The spate of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians living in South Africa and the looting of their shops and stores led to some what a reprisal attack on a South African-owned company doing business in Nigeria. On February 23, 2017, the telecommunications giant, MTN, head office in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja, was not only looted by some protesters but, office equipment was vandalized. Apart from MTN, there are over 100 South African companies (prior to 1999 there were only 4) operating in Nigeria's telecommunications, manufacturing, aviation, construction, banking, hospitality, entertainment and, oil and gas industry – Power Giant, Eskom Nigeria, South African Airways, South African Breweries (SAB miller), Stanbic IBTC Bank, MultiChoice Africa (operating DStv/GOtv), Umgeni Water and Shoprite to mention a few, which can become easy targets of reprisal attacks in the future if anti-foreigner violence against Nigerians in South Africa continues (DIRCO, 2010; Copley, 2017; Ismail and Sakariyau, 2017; Mbamalu, 2017; Unah, 2017).

Furthermore, African economic interest might suffer a global setback because the likes of NEPAD and other continental organizations cannot get the needed support to function. Additionally, the quest for adjustment in trade imbalance under the World Trade Organization (WTO) and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) by Africa can be affected because the continent lacks the internal cohesion to drive forward for external interest. Thus, attacks on Nigerians in South Africa have the potential of affecting the political economy of Africa in the globe. This has been postulated theoretically by Waltz that the system can be transferred to the level which can be translated as the domestic components of the African politics can be what is transferable at the international scene and if there is a serious rift between the two major contending powers of Nigeria and South Africa, such domestic elements that can be shifted to international stage can be nothing more than rivalry, jealousy, conflict and competition which can weaken the entire continent in its quest for growth and development globally.

Social and Psychological Implications

Xenophobic attacks in post-apartheid South Africa have over the years sowed the seed of fear in the minds of Nigerians. A number of them in South Africa no longer socialize freely with the locals as

fellow African brothers and sisters with a shared history, values, norms etc., for fear of being attacked if not killed. As for the living Nigerian victims of anti-foreigner violence, it would not come as a surprise to discover that some of them are now suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Back home in Nigeria, many Nigerians are having a rethink of travelling down to South Africa for tourism, shopping, business, first degree/postgraduate studies etc. after listening/reading on print and electronic media the horrendous news on the killings of Nigerians residing in South Africa.

Discussion of Major Findings

Having presents, interpret and analyze data on the xenophobic attacks on Nigerians residing in South Africa and its diplomatic implication on Nigeria-South Africa relations from 2015-2019, the study made the following findings:

One major finding of this study revealed that them exist a strong diplomatic tie between Nigeria and South Africa dated back to apartheid period when Nigeria played a key role in setting South Africa towards the pathway to liberation. From that period until the recent outbreak of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa, Nigeria and South Africa have over time maintained peaceful diplomatic relations. This study finding revealed that Nigeria and South Africa diplomatic ties has been negatively affected by the xenophobic attacks Nigerian citizens residing in South Africa. The consequential effect cut across economic, political and socio-cultural diplomatic relations between both countries.

From the findings of this study, it was revealed that South Africa economy performance experienced a drastic fall between 2015-2019 as a result of the incessant attacks, killings, looting, assault and victimization of foreign nationals residing in South Africa, Nigerians inclusive. The finding established that many Nigerian citizens and other foreign nationals with huge capital investments in South Africa were forced to move out their businesses as destructions of properties is on the increase by the native South Africans. It was revealed that this massive evacuation of foreign businesses from South Africa have increase the level of poverty and unemployment in South Africa,

This study finding revealed that competition over jobs and government housing is perhaps the most frequently cited explanation for South African xenophobia, the evidence is mixed. In contrast, the theory of mobilization by one's social and community networks, which is largely neglected in existing studies, finds considerable support in these data. Both political participation and attendance at community meetings are associated with elevated xenophobia.

Conclusion

This study empirically assessed the diplomatic implications of xenophobic attacks on Nigeria and South Africa relations from 2015-2019. Findings of this study fulfilled the objectives of the study and justifies the research assumptions that there is a significant correlation between xenophobic attack in South Africa and Nigeria-South Africa poor diplomatic relations in recent time. The study effectively utilized frustration-aggression theory as its theoretical framework of analysis to establish why South Africans are incessantly attacking foreign nationals in their countries. The consequential aftermath of the xenophobic attacks was equally expressed from an empirical point of view. This study therefore concludes that if South African government are really interested in enhancing her diplomatic relations with Nigeria and other African countries whose citizens have fall victims of xenophobic attacks in their countries, a pragmatic measure should be taken to eradicate discrimination in South Africa.

Recommendations

i. The issues and factors of migration that include increased unemployment, poverty and greed must be top in re-tooling the new Nigeria-South Africa partnership. Both countries must promote and sustain protection mechanisms for human rights and conducive environments for decent work by migrant workers and their families whether documented (economic) migrants or undocumented migrants.

ii. Equally, Nigeria has also provided a robust and unrestricted market for South African businesses like MTN and Multi-choice. Therefore, Nigeria must also forge strategic business alliance in South Africa to balance the unhealthy business equation. Furthermore, beyond the existing skewed bilateral and economic relations in favor of South African businesses in Nigeria, there is an urgent need for both countries to initiate a liberalized migration regime and a robust migration management capacity towards enhancing and strengthening the strategic role of Nigerians in the diasporas as development partner and factoring their

contributions to the overall Africa development agenda for sustainable peace and security.

iii. The two countries in my view are not exploiting their leadership and governance roles in sustaining the African dream and indeed the drive for poverty eradication through the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Indeed, South Africa and Nigeria, representing the two leading economies in Africa, must play leading roles in driving a sustainable green revolution that would provide food security thereby contributing significantly to overcoming hunger and social tensions that have fueled African emigrations. It is imperative for the government under the leadership of President Muhammadu Buhari to escalate and mainstream key external relations that are mutually beneficial in ties with South Africa, while respecting all treaties and obligations on persons and related matters.

iv. Crucially, sustained job creation particularly for youths at home and positive image-building abroad would enhance the respectability of Nigerians in the Diasporas and indeed address the negative way the world sees us as a people and a nation. Furthermore, our government at home must understand the relationship between poverty, irregular migration and the overall issues of xenophobia, which is not new in South Africa.

v. Nigeria's relevance within the global system depends on relative strength and control at the domestic level and our continued relevance within the Africa continent and indeed the changing world. Against this backdrop, Nigeria's international communication and reputational image-building mechanisms must be hinged on diplomatic caution and decency to safeguard our nationals wherever they are in the globe, beyond the xenophobic realities in South Africa. In addition, the African union (AU) has to be alive to its continental responsibilities for the emancipation of Africans from the clutches of poverty, walking the talk of development for its people across the continent.

vi. The challenge of xenophobic attacks again is wake up call for the Nigerian government to organize its affairs by improving living conditions at home, as well as strengthening its foreign policy objectives. Interestingly, South African state security institutions such as the police and immigration services show no sympathy to black settlers from other African countries; the xenophobia appears institutionalized and as such systemic. Therefore, Nigeria's international diplomacy should not dwell much on the criticism of the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa, but rather much attention should be placed on understanding the dynamics of international politics, which is a game of selective morality, outrageous paradox and double standard. Hence, concrete efforts should be made at home to culture an enabling environment that would create jobs and livelihoods for the common people in Nigeria. In addition, Nigeria must re-evaluate her diplomatic institutions to engage the South African government.

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EFFECT OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN PROMOTING INSECURITY AND PROPAGANDA IN NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS
Social media, Facebook, X, WhatsApp, Insecurity

ABSTRACT
The Social Media platform is one of the means of disseminating information which is seen as the fastest way of spreading information globally. It has reengineered social interaction among peers, businesses, governments and so on. However, the miss-use of social media among handlers to advance their motives has no doubt, increase the level of global insecurity. Thus, this study examines the effect of Social Media in Promoting Insecurity and Propaganda using Facebook, X and WhatsApp as a case study. The study specifically looks at the extent in which Facebook and X integrate Nigerian into global security awareness and otherwise. The study utilizes secondary data sourced through books, academic journals, online sources among other documents. The study is anchored on the theory of uses and gratifications theory which emphasized how people use media to fulfill their various needs. The findings of the study revealed among others that even though neither Facebook, X nor WhatsApp can be regarded as the root cause of national insecurity in Nigeria, but they contributed a lot to the national insecurity witnessing in some parts of Nigeria due to it misused by the handlers. It was also discovered that the regulation of social media in Nigeria for security purpose is very poor, which is a matter of concern to the citizens. The study recommends among others that individuals (citizens) should stop spreading, and promoting offensive, abusive, fake news (information), which advances social hatred, and terrorism attack rumors on social media platforms.

Introduction

In essence, social media utilizes cutting-edge mass communication tools to disseminate information on a global scale. In developing countries such as Nigeria, social media has become an essential tool, making it the most extensively used technological advancement of the 21st century. In no measure, social media has the capacity to disseminate both favorable and unfavorable messages (Trottier & Fuchs, 2014). This may not be unconnected with the fact that social media is widely used by many individuals and organizations worldwide to disseminate their messages, including political factions, religious groups, individuals, and terrorists. The impact of

social media on face-to-face encounters among various individuals is unquestionably detrimental. As a modern means of interaction, online social media platforms enable worldwide communities to access information and insights on global security and insecurity, thanks to their openness and connection. The increasing use of social media platforms contributes to the dissemination of false information in modern culture. There is no denying social media's unquestionable power. For instance, every second, 600,000 people post tweets, while Facebook members upload around 300 million photos every day. Telegram has a user base of 500 million, whilst the most prominent YouTube channels have over 14 billion monthly views (Ani & Onyebukwa, 2016). Moreover, these websites have not only promoted violence, but also disseminated misinformation and fostered political discord, exacerbating an already precarious political environment. Each year, an increasing amount of evidence surfaces indicating that over 80 nations conduct coordinated campaigns of disinformation on social media. Several of these projects are shaped by profit-driven enterprises and organizations with formal support (Tomas & Husted, 2020). As such, we argue that social media has become an essential component of the everyday lives of young people in Nigeria. By implication, dissemination of false information may quickly occur and manifest in several fields, but it only takes a few narratives to undermine the credibility of evidence. Many professions encounter this unsettling but essential reality as they strive to prevent crimes. A propagandist may use the vast network of connections on social media to disseminate a range of deceptive assertions, allegations, and conspiracies, and thereafter observe which ones get endorsement. In modern asymmetric warfare, malicious actors, whether state actors, parastatal organizations, non-state actors, or outsiders, have the autonomy to choose the timing, location, and frequency of their strikes (Tomas & Husted, 2020). This undoubtedly has implication on national security.

The prevalence, velocity, and growing complexity of disinformation pose significant challenges to efforts aimed at combating national instability and crimes by successive governments in the country. It wasobserved that social media has fundamentally transformed the manner in which governments, corporations, and people engage in communication and exchange with each other. As demonstrated in Nigeria's northern and southeast, social media platforms aid in the spread of social and national insecurity. Separatist organizations have organized protests in the southeastern region of the nation, while insurgent groups in the northern region have been conducting propaganda operations. Social media users disseminate this propaganda, which may include erroneous information, and these factions use many forms of online media to disseminate their message. Social media has brought about a transformation in the way wars unfold in the world's most fragile nations. Disinformation campaigns, election manipulation, and online recruitment by violent extremist groups all provide digital threats that impede efforts to avoid or reduce violent conflict. These threats worsen the amplification of conflict drivers, the creation of spoiler chances, and the intensification of polarization. This study looks at how social media sites like Facebook, WhatsApp, and among other social media sites contribute to the spread of uneasiness and anxiety, using secondary data which was sourced through books, academic journals, and internet sources among other documents.

Literature Review: General Perspectives on Social Media

Basically, social media platforms facilitate users to interact with a wide-ranging and worldwide audience. They serve as mechanisms through which various groups are educated, culture, information, and ideas are disseminated. Solomon (2012) defines social media as a technical term that specifically refers to the techniques by which individuals engage in socially mediated communication to exchange messages instantly or over long distances. Social media platforms have become the main way to quickly and effectively reach a large, diverse, and unknown audience in today's time. This categorization includes several media forms such as the internet, radio, and television.

Social media refers to several mass communication channels, including X, Facebook, YouTube, as well as television, newspapers, and radio (Trottier & Fuchs, 2014). Similarly, Tomas and Husted (2020), argued that social media platforms enable the worldwide distribution of knowledge via modern methods of communication. Despite their reputation for regressive governance, some Arab and North African nations had upheavals advocating for human rights and democracy during the Arab Spring (Richard, Aborisade, Abolaji, &Obileye, 2017). This incidence serves as a clear example of the recent impact of social media on society ideals. According to Nsudu and Onwe (2017), social media allows users to create their own content and also helps them engage with others. However, we see social media as a broad platform that accommodates its users unhindered, and without any form of discriminations**.** Consequently, the introduction of social media has

completely changed how individuals interact, communicate, and plan social events. These platforms collect data to strengthen basic understanding, therefore enabling better emergency response by government, organizations, and institutions (Richard, Aborisade, Abolaji, & Obileye 2017). During times of crisis, users have the option to live-stream their location and other pertinent details. This allows anyone from any place to quickly start a conversation and provide help, direction, and support. Regarding the incorporation of professional services into operations, the response team encounters substantial obstacles presented by the general public's proactive use of social media platforms, journalists, and routes for communicating with other victims and media during a crisis (Bruce & Lindsay, 2011). This can be accord to fluidity nature of social media itself.

Social media platforms such as YouTube, X, and Facebook, among other social media sites, had substantial influence during the Arab Spring of 2011. As such, social media has a consequential impact on the evidence and media coverage of the incident (Tomas & Husted, 2020). Twitter, now X microblogging platform in particular, underwent a pivotal moment in 2006. An outstanding characteristic of this network is the stringent and influential limit of 140 characters for tweets. Another method of downloading a post is to use an integrated search tool, such as an API (Application Programming Interface) or a designated hashtag. X became the dominant social media network in 2013, with over 150 million members and 500 million daily messages. By doing a historical analysis of past "Occupy Wall Street" events, one may see the impact of X on the following responses. The global spread of both physical and online demonstrations took place in about two months (Bruce & Lindsay, 2011). By using X platform, it was possible to track the identity, location, and other crucial details of activists.

On his own view, McGuire (2015) established that social media serve as comprehensive platform for mass communication, including many types of written, broadcast, and spoken information that may effectively reach a substantial audience. This category encompasses several types of media, such as radio, television, motion pictures, the internet, print magazines, and various other mediums. Social media is a vital aspect of modern life, regardless of where one is located (such as Britain, America, etc.). The media serve a dual role in both describing and influencing a culture, a concept known as "mediated" according to sociologists. A multitude of media platforms, such as magazines, television, and billboards, constantly bombard communities and people with messages. These communications not only market things, but also emphasize interests, goals, and dispositions. Given that a large portion of people rely only on social media for news, any kind of media bias, whether it be democratic or not, might have significant ramifications. The people's faith in the media has an impact on both the democratic agenda-setter and the subjects that are discussed in public forums. This is because citizens are better equipped to participate in democratic processes when they get information about their rights and responsibilities via social media.

It has been established that defining social media is a tough task, as Trottier and Fuchs (2014) argue, because of its intricate nature. Social media platforms enable communication among a vast number of users by using a diverse range of network apps and technologies, which in turn leads to the emergence of various problems. This may not be unconnected because of its intrinsically social nature. Social media platforms enhance cognitive processes by consolidating individual and communal concepts, similar to other computer technologies. Online platforms that enable users to select and share material are often known as "social media." The major objective of social media is to enable social discourse and events by encouraging the establishment of online social virtual communities. Currently, there is a wide array of social media platforms, such as Instagram, Wikipedia, Google+, Yahoo Messenger, WhatsApp, Facebook, and X, among others. Currently, social media apps and technologies are significantly influencing the cultural, political, economic, and social aspects of human activities. Furthermore, it has been shown that the tools often extend fabricated lies and inaccurate information. Millions of Nigerians and those residing overseas now consider social media to be an indispensable aspect of modern existence. But a lot of people also utilize these platforms to spread false information. Examples of this phenomenon include groups like Boko Haram, the Fulani herdsmen/bandits, and the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB). Furthermore, social media in Nigeria has the propensity to undermine stability and jeopardize national security. Other social media sites like X and WhatsApp are frequently brought up in discussions concerning Facebook (Cann, 2011). From the perspectives of theory of uses and gratifications to furnish which its main thrust lies on how people utilize media to satisfy a variety of requirements. Aside from the desire to establish one's own identity, these desires include the need for (para-social) connections, entertainment, and diversion. The importance of privacy concerns may be lessened by the temptation of quick satisfaction in all three domains on social networking sites such as Facebook and X. Social media platforms are

therefore a collection of online venues that facilitate user engagement and cohesion through the provision of various internet-based services (Chukwuere & Onyebukwa 2017). They noted that new media platforms like Facebook, X, and WhatsApp have reinforced social and political relationships. By implication, insurgent groups frequently employ specialized websites and servers to disseminate their propaganda through social media (Nsudu & Onwe 2017). More often than not, aside fundraising, recruitment, and training, they employ the media for a variety of cybercrime operations. Extreme insecurity results from the site's active support of both domestic and international terrorist organizations. Strategic and operational objectives are often achieved by terrorist organizations on a global scale through the utilization of diverse social media platforms. By disseminating misinformation, they elevate their own visibility through the media. Nigerians must perpetually be on guard for their lives and property due to the escalating level of insecurity within the nation. The proliferation of social media platforms reinforces this feeling of insecurity. Social freedom and the absence of cyberspace regulation, according to Nsudu and Onwe (2017), prohibit the general public from readily monitoring or restricting social media. As a result of social media's implicit freedom of expression, anyone can create anything and publish it online at any time. On social media, ordinary citizens also use to spread hate speech and incite violence through fabricated news articles and posts, in addition to terrorist organizations that are exploiting the platform to compromise national security.

An illustration of this can be seen in the proliferation and variety of unverified news articles and information that have recently surfaced on social media platforms and originated from the corridor connecting southern and northern Nigeria. Like in industrialized countries where they utilize the media to combat terrorism and criminality, the prevention of criminal activities such as human trafficking in Nigeria has been significantly aided by social media platforms such as Facebook (Nsudu & Onwe, 2017). Conversely, the paper asserts that insecurity in Nigeria hinders the progress of society to its fullest potential. This become possible through dissemination of misinformation via social media. Undoubtedly, social media influences how individuals and organizations interact, as well as how they engage with news organizations and platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp. Similar to how they do in the north and southeast of Nigeria, social media platforms are used to foster social and national insecurity**.** By implication, rebel groups in the north have been employing terrorism and propaganda for a considerable period of time, while separatists in the southeast of the country have executed protests using social media. All of these groups utilize social media and other forms of online media to disseminate their objectives, with the general public also lending support to them by sharing and amplifying propaganda (often containing false information). Terrorist organizations employ dedicated servers and websites to disseminate their propaganda through social media platforms (Nsudu & Onwe, 2017). This submission has been established that criminal organizations and terrorists are using social media to disseminate their messages because it is accessible and inexpensive. Indeed, young people are not yet prepared to wholeheartedly accept government control over social media due to the gravity of the cause. Hence, government efforts to regulate social media remains a matter of debates.

Social Media and Insecurity

The concept of security is, without a question, complex. Reason being, security is still a major hurdle for countries and the global community overall. Without a question, issues related to maintaining or resolving global security threats have had a major place in the framework of international politics. Leaders and policymakers throughout the globe, including in Nigeria, have acknowledged that security remains a clear policy barrier to efficient government, and they are working toward this goal. Not only that, but the characteristics of modern global security threats, including terrorism, also impact and explain the growing security concerns in Nigeria today.

As a long-standing member of the international community, Nigeria inherited some of the problems it has with its own internal security (Ani &Onyebukwa, 2016). Terrorism, which emerged as a worldwide phenomenon and was essentially alien to Nigeria, is an example of a security concern in the country. Unfortunately, in the face of persistent threats to the country's survival and cohabitation, Nigeria's national security, which is an essential component of good government, continues to be steadily weakened.

Characteristics and Uses of Social Media

Fundamentally, social media comprises traditional modes of mass communication (e.g., Facebook, YouTube, and X) as well as global mass communication platforms (e.g., radio, newspapers, and television). As Trottier and Fuchs (2014) assert. Without a doubt, social media serve as the conduit by which information is distributed on a global scale via mass communication technologies, as stated by

Tomas and Husted (2020). The Arab Spring serves as an exemplary case study that demonstrates the current impact of international media on societal values. During this period, citizens of several North African and Arab nations instigated a surge of demonstrations in support of democracy and human rights, despite their countries having the exact opposite reputation. Presently, individuals communicate, interact, and organize events in light of social media. During periods of emergency, these platforms facilitate the collection of data to increase the awareness of governing bodies, institutions, and personnel, which ultimately leads to quicker response periods (Richard, Aborisade, Abolaji, &Obileye, 2017). Users are afforded the ability to transmit live-streams of their location, position, and any other pertinent data in the event of an emergency. Consequently, assistance, advice, and assistance can be promptly rendered by individuals located in any part of the globe through the commencement of a dialogue. A number of challenges stemming from the extensive use of social media platforms, mass communication among journalists, and interactions among fellow victims during a catastrophic incident impede the response team's ability to integrate specialized services into operational procedures (Bruce & Lindsay, 2011). Social media sites like Facebook, X, and YouTube gave the Arab Spring movement a lot of support in 2011. As such, social media platforms enable the spread of information and evidence related to the incident (Tomas & Husted, 2020). To locate a particular post for the purpose of downloading, users are provided with the choice to utilize either the site's integrated search function or conduct a hashtag search.

X emerged as a formidable platform in 2013, accumulating in excess of 150 million users and 500 million messages per day. An examination of past "Occupy Wall Street" demonstrations reveals that X significantly influences the manner in which these types of protests are met. In less than two months, live demonstrations and online protests proliferated across the United States and the globe (Bruce & Lindsay, 2011). Utilizing data from X, it was possible to surveil the locations, identities, and other critical information of activists. By utilizing social media platforms to educate themselves on their rights and privileges and to counteract the influence of propaganda, individuals can engage in active citizenship in the democratic process (Flay & Cook, 2010).

The Challenges Associated with Social Media on Security and Propaganda

We argued that since social media is still a relatively new technology, it is too early to forecast its long-term effects, whether positive or negative. In contrast, the extensive use of social media is significantly correlated with an increase in illicit activity and the spread of false information. The proliferation of online harassment, trolls, and hate speech has led to the emergence of hostile user environments on social media platforms (Philips, 2015; Matias, 2016). The prominence of idealized life depictions on social media platforms, such as Instagram, Facebook, and X, has been linked to a decline in people's mental health (Primack et al., 2019). These depictions may lead to feelings of inadequacy and comparison. Individuals' mental health has been adversely affected by this conduct, which has contributed to the toxicity of the online culture.

The implication, however, is that fraudsters are using social media to pilfer the identities of their victims or harm their own reputations. Tens of thousands of people use social media and networking sites every day, posing privacy threats to them. Criminals consider them to be the most desirable targets as a consequence. Personal information should never be voluntarily disclosed online due to privacy concerns. Social engineering could be utilized by criminals to gain access to this information and exploit it for their own gain. The proliferation of social media has rendered users vulnerable to threats to their privacy and security. In addition to cyberstalking, phishing, spam, clickjacking, malware, inference attacks, and cross-site scripting, there are numerous other detrimental online threats. There is a possibility that these threats could proliferate in unprecedented ways. Prolonged users of social media platforms are susceptible to various forms of threats, such as cyberstalking, identity theft, physical assaults, and data exploitation. The onus is typically on the users to address inappropriate content that is published online. Confusion ensues when individuals fail to distinguish between the public and private facets of their online persona. Unfortunately, there are situations in which individuals who inadvertently delete confidential information are unable to reverse the harm it has caused to their personal and professional lives.

The Effects of Social Media in Dissemination of Propaganda on Security among Nigerians

The global fight against terrorism relies heavily on the media, particularly social media platforms like Facebook and X (Ngige et al., 2016). The exact opposite is true; many sorts of terrorism and criminal activity may find a safe haven on social media. Terrorist attacks in recent years have endangered Nigerian citizens and caused irreparable harm, with costs in the billions of Naira. Among the many 21st-century internet breakthroughs, social media has profoundly altered

the nature of international politics, society, and communication. Because social media is both widely used and inexpensive, criminal and terrorist groups are taking use of it to spread their messages (Ngige et al., 2016). Social media is not a new idea in Nigerian society; many public and private organizations, spanning generations, use it every day, and the general public uses it to learn about and comprehend social, political, and economic events. According to Nsudu and Onwe (2017), terrorist groups use social media to plan attacks and organize their escapes both domestically and abroad. It has been shown that Boko Haram, IPOB respectively uses social media to carried out their activities in northern and southeast Nigeria. This assertion corroborates with Nsudu and Onwe (2017) who argued that social media postings, comments, and other types of information help spread propaganda and rally support for terrorist acts throughout the globe.

Conclusion

At this junction, it is worth noting that the misuse of social media platforms has contributed to or intensified national insecurity, particularly in Nigeria, despite the fact that social media does permit the constructive diffusion of information. Though the paper note that, in certain regions of Nigeria, social and national insecurity are not caused by Facebook, X, and WhatsApp. But criminal organizations do utilize social media to get their messages out there and to scare people beyond their target population. The paper identified that, X is believed to be the most influential and effective tool of social media because of its prominent and meticulous features that includes: powerful and influential personalities, mode of tweets, fast response, and large community. There is no doubt that, X plays a significant role in advertising and extending messages of hatred as well terror particularly in Nigeria. Concurringly, the study indicated that Nigeria has very lenient regulations regarding the security of social media. Furthermore, the research backs up what many have long suspected that social media platforms like Facebook and X contribute to the dissemination of misinformation, exacerbate tribal tensions, and even aid terrorists in their assaults in Nigeria. Consequently, it is argued that social media contributes to and exacerbates avoidable public unrest by disseminating misinformation and negative sentiments. In other words, ineffective social media usage is associated with the dissemination of security threats on a national scale. It was made quite clear that the connection was a major factor in the emergence of security concerns in the high-risk areas. When it comes down to it, terrorists and other social media users utilize the site to promote dangerous information and generate unnecessary fear to the society. The paper therefore, acknowledge the need for governments to reevaluate their approach to policing illicit social media usage in their effort to fight insecurity. As such, the time has finally come to have a system that allows social media administrators to identify and penalize users who misuse the platform to spread content that might provoke societal discontent and national insecurity.

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POVERTY AND NATIONAL SECURITY: AN OVERVIEW OF NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

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ABSTRACT
Nigeria is now facing significant internal security difficulties, such as the Niger Delta militancy in the South-South geopolitical zone that includes Bayelsa and Rivers, and the Boko Haram insurgency in the northeastern regions of Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa. Conflicts between farmers and Fulani herders, kidnappings, ethno-religious conflicts, political assassinations, and other incidents pose hazards nationwide. Amidst these perilous circumstances, there is an astounding quantity of individuals experiencing impoverishment, particularly inside the adolescent demographic. It is impossible to overstate the significance of poverty and all of its associated tendencies, dimensions, and points of view when considering national security. Thus, this essay examined the mutually beneficial link that exists in Nigeria between poverty and national security. According to the study, poverty is fundamentally a complex phenomenon caused by ineffective leadership and administration, a reliant and unproductive economy, and a lackluster use of Nigeria's own indigenous technologies. This paper, which employed the secondary method of data collection and analysis, posited that Nigeria's developmental processes which could have resulted in the eradication of poverty and the ensuing implications for national security were unpredictably and rapidly derailed, restricting the contested spaces and opportunities for growth in Nigeria's national security.Poverty and weaknesses in national security evolved to the point that the impoverished people took up weapons against the government as a manner of expressing their dissatisfaction, which has taken many forms, including the insurgencies by Boko Haram and the Niger Delta. The paper recommends among others for transformational leadership as a framework for a better Nigeria based on the trends and events previously mentioned about poverty and national security in Nigeria.

1.1 Introduction

Nigeria, sometimes referred to as the "giant of Africa" and having the largest economy on the continent, is not without its share of underlying issues that have created gaps in its security measures. The ongoing ethnic and religious conflict that arises from the near-unrest of minority communities driven by poverty is one of the most important of these issues. The nation's social and economic development has lagged behind the rapid increase in population during the past 20 years. Approximately 70% of Nigerians are estimated to be living below the poverty line, and the country's per capita income is still lower than it was in 1980. According to the United Nations Human Development Index, Nigeria is ranked 151st out of 174 nations (2000: 183 referenced in Mamman, 2008).

Low capacity utilization, a high rate of inflation, high unemployment, low per capita income, significant domestic debt, and a declining foreign reserve are statistical characteristics of Nigeria's economy (Kolawole, 2004: 4 quoted in Adeyerni, 2008).
Nigeria, the self-proclaimed superpower of Africa, has gone backwards after over fifty years of freedom. Nigeria would have been scrapped if it had been a car, and the scrap dealer would have most likely rejected the metal because to its imperfections. For a state with its resources, every performance metric has shown failure. Despite receiving hundreds of billions in oil cash, Nigeria has regressed since 1976, and the historical record is almost blank (Wilmot, 2007:20).

With the exception of highly industrialized and economically developed nations, poverty is a global problem that affects people everywhere. The whole population of such nations is in no way kept out of poverty by this. This kind of condition is thought to be one of the signs or symptoms of underdevelopment (Wilmot, 2007:8).
The impoverished are kept in a state of social disillusionment and incarceration by the relentless circle of poverty. Its expressions differ from person to person and from nation to nation. This is basically the reason poverty impacts a wide range of human circumstances, making it challenging to come up with a single, well accepted definition of it.

The peaceful coexistence of the people is essentially threatened or always endangered in a country where the majority of the population lives in extreme poverty and lacks access to basic essentials of life (food, clothes, and shelter). It will be the day of confrontations and violent protests. This is due to the fact that someone who is impoverished would not hesitate to violate the law in order to meet their fundamental necessities. Because the achievement of a nation's goals depends in part (if not entirely) on the degree of peace and tranquility throughout the whole society, it is crucial to remember that a nation's peaceful coexistence (security) is essential to its survival (Wilmot, 2007:8).

According to Aluko (1975), poverty is defined as "a lack of control over social phenomena like housing, work, and functional literacy as well as basic consumption needs like food and clothing." Due to a lack of resources to address fundamental requirements, society as a whole and individuals are unable to defend themselves against political, social, and economic injustices. Malnutrition, environmental degradation, infections, unemployment, and other poverty-related causes account for almost eight million deaths worldwide each year. Since 70% of Nigerians are below the poverty line, the country is susceptible to issues associated with poverty (Akeredolu, 2010).

In Nigeria, a number of events have been linked to poverty: the Austerity Measure in the early 1980s, the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the middle of the 1980s, the Minimum Wage Crisis in 1999 and 2000, the Ethno-religious Crisis, the high rate of inflation, armed robbery, and even prostitution.

The primary cause of all these issues is our insatiable urge to satiate our fundamental needs, which include food, clothes, housing, health care, and literacy. Therefore, it appears that engaging in various social vices is the only way to satisfy these fundamental requirements. The saying "a hungry man is an angry man" could readily be used to explain why people were reacting violently to one another or to government policies because they were not having enough resources to meet their fundamental necessities.

Nigeria's national security is under a multifaceted danger from several societal segments, akin to a doomsday plot. At the cost of grand strategy, the conventional approach dominates the Nigerian security landscape. Priority is given to the military and other defense and security institutions, with little regard for the extent to which poverty is viewed as a serious threat to national security. According to Mijah (1998), the majority of nations, particularly the industrialized ones, saw dangers to their national security primarily in the form of hostile international alliances, nuclear demands, and the balance of

weapons. However, since the conclusion of the Cold War, statesmen and foreign policy makers have paid more attention to domestic issues and national security concerns.

The absence of justice, equality, and the rule of law, institutional and widespread corruption in both public and private life, the cyclical nature of poverty, and the absence of fair and accountable governance are a few of these. This is the foundation upon which this article seeks to assess the impact of poverty on national security. The remaining portions of the study are organised as follows: section 2 reviews relevant literature; section 4 focuses on a few chosen Nigerian events; section 5 concludes.

2. Literature review

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 Poverty

Authors have highlighted the challenges in defining poverty mainly due to the fact that the researchers who defined poverty are typically not the impoverished themselves (Iyayi, 2002). For instance, the National Policy on Poverty Eradication, cited byLyayi(2002:5), defines poverty as a "dynamic process of socio-economic and political deprivation, which affects individuals, households, or communities resulting in lack of access to basic necessities of life".Engberg(2002:7) defines poverty as a state of "marginalization and exclusion" that has relational, structural, personal, and psychological components.Enberg (2002) further disputed that the definition of poverty includes a determination of fundamental human needs and is determined by the resources needed to sustain physical well-being.Poverty as defined by Alcock (1997) as "going short materially, socially, and emotionally." Above all, it means spending less on food, eating, and sleeping than someone with an average salary; poverty robs people of the resources to lay the foundation for their future opportunities in life.

World Bank (2000/01) states that "poverty is a marked deficiency in well-being (quoted in Ariyo& Jerome 2005:7)." An individual's income, health, diet, education, possessions, and housing status may all be used to gauge their level of well-being. Hunger, not being able to go to school and not knowing how to read, not being ill and not being able to visit a doctor, and not having a job are more definitions of poverty. According to Ravallion and Bidani (1994), poverty is the result of not being able to manage one's fundamental demands for consuming—that is, when one's level of consumption is insufficient to provide one with enough food, clothes, and shelter.

2.1.2 Security

Security is a broad notion that encompasses all human endeavors. For instance, Akpuru (1999), viewed security as a social system is the absence of threat or dread. Akinyele (2001) defines security as "the limiting of such harm, injury, and death inflicted by military means as well as avoidance of property destruction, death and casualties during a battle." According to Buzan (1991), security is the capacity of a state or society to preserve both its functional integrity and its autonomous identity.

The parameters given above are rather restrictive, only considering security from a traditional standpoint. According to the second meaning, security is related to more than only conflict. The devastation caused by non-military threats like starvation, poverty, and natural calamities is greater than that of military threats. Ebo contended that this limited the concept's breadth since "the traditional approach to security has had an overwhelmingly military bias." As a result, another viewpoint has emerged, the core of which is that "security is development, properly understood" (Ebo 1997:32).

Barney et al. (1991) suggest that a comprehensive understanding of national security should extend beyond military security and the traditional understanding of national defense, which is predicated on territorial defense. They maintained that "national security, properly understood includes not only military security against foreign invasion, but also food security, domestic order, educational security, old age security and national disaster security" (Barney et al., 1991, p. 129).

According to Onuaha (2007), scholars began to rethink security as the Cold War came to an end and new threats to people's survival as well as states appeared. They emphasised concepts like cooperative security, societal security, comprehensive security, collective security, and human security as fundamental ideas in the discourse on security. It is untrue that human security arose suddenly, even if the term "human security" has just acquired analytical relevance. Moreover, human security has not always been necessary. In contrast, the ontological and epistemological tenets that have underpinned traditional security and policy formation have neglected to recognise or include the riskiest aspect of security (Thomas 1999:5).

In this way, conventional security theory—which prioritises the maintenance of state power—marks a paradigm shift from the concept of security as derived from human security to one that sees individuals and their complex social and economic ties as the primary sources of reference. It is based on the notion that everyone's security ought to be the moral goal of all governments and their citizens, not just a shoddy or constrained national security that serves to protect the interests of the powerful class or the government (Nelles, 2003:1).

In its 1994 Human Development Report, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) introduced the concept of "human security" (UNDP 1994:22). In the study, two main aspects of human security are discussed: defending against sudden disruptions to daily routines in homes, businesses, or communities, and protecting against long-term threats such as hunger, disease, and persecution. Therefore, challenges to human security fell under the seven basic categories of security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, communal, and political.
Thus, Thomas (1999:3) defines human security as a condition in which an individual may realise their basic material needs as well as their human dignity, which involves meaningful participation in community life.

According to Hubert (2001:62), national security is not superseded by human security. He claims that a human security viewpoint holds that state security is not an end in and of itself. Instead, it's a way to guarantee people's security. State security and human security are therefore complementary and mutually reinforcing.

Thus, human security as understood here means being free from threats to one's life, safety, and survival, both real and potential, which can come from one's own actions or inactions, as well as from natural disasters like floods, earthquakes, famines, droughts, diseases, and other man-made or unnatural events that cause death, suffering, and material loss. Human security is therefore a key component of national security. However, the focus on human security stems mainly from three fundamental beliefs: the value and sanctity of human life; the universality and dignity of human rights; and the existential necessity of personal safety in a world full of diverse threats.

Therefore, any danger that undermines or restricts a person's right to these three fundamental principles touches on human security, which inevitably touches on national security (Onuala 2007).

Consequently, the unavoidable minimal level of human security involves avoiding and reducing threats to people's rights, lives, and safety. Minimising risks, implementing preventative steps to lessen human vulnerabilities, and taking remedial action when preventive measures fail are only a few of the requirements for human security. Food security, economic security, and national security are further aspects of security. Alongside governmental security demands, people's security needs must be acknowledged (Nsirimovu 2005:184).

Therefore, security is no longer primarily the result of military might; rather, a growing number of individuals believe that security is supported by aspects of society that are socioeconomic, political, educational, scientific, and technical. According to Tedheke (1999), "alternative security doctrine" is predicated on the idea that, in order for security to be adequately in place, national security considerations must take into account factors other than military threats to security, but safety predicated on people's survival and well-being. Tedheke (1998) went on to say that security encompasses more than simply a citizen's well-being. To sustain sustainable development, it must involve enhancing the people's ability through education, training, and retraining.
The biggest danger to Nigeria's continued existence as a nation is our underdeveloped status. The ruling class in Nigeria has failed to educate Nigerians while they are in love with imperial forces due to their collaboration with imperialism. Notwithstanding any conditions associated with the aid, the majority of Nigerian officials believe that foreign expertise and technical support are helpful and, in certain situations, very essential.

2.2 Theoretical frame work

It is also possible to examine the effects of poverty on security from an empirical and theoretical perspective. A substantial corpus of research on the possible impact of poverty on national security has been produced over the past few decades (Collier &Hoeffler, 1998; Elbadawi, 1992; Stewart, 2002). One may argue that impoverished nations are more prone to experience war, and those afflicted by conflict often have lower growth rates and greater rates of poverty. Collier (1999) and Deininger (2003) show that a greater likelihood of conflict escalation was associated with communities' views of poverty in Uganda. According to Collier &Hoeffler (2001), putting health and education spending first may demonstrate a government's commitment to maintaining peace by keeping the populace happy.

Stated differently, a lessening in social tensions might potentially result from increased equitable possibilities for excluded groups to receive education. According to Justino (2004), public spending on social services and educational enrollment increases are therefore excellent ways to lower civil unrest since they have a direct impact on major social conflict drivers, particularly poverty. In theoretical terms, the Reference Group Theory and the Relative Deprivation Theory offer the most convincing frameworks for understanding the likelihood of violent conflicts in nations with greater levels of poverty. Davies (1962) established the Relative Deprivation Theory to explain violence, either individual or collective.

According to the idea, the primary cause of complaints and the catalyst for people to engage in conflict behavior is their relative sense of deprivation. Therefore, the concept of unfulfilled expectations is at the core of both individual and collective complaints. According to Ouit (1970), a person's level of discontent increases with the amount of deprivation they feel in comparison to their expectations. Civil unrest is also more likely to occur and be more severe when discontent among society's members is widespread and intense. Therefore, poverty has been a serious issue for Nigeria over the years, both in absolute and relative terms. Because of this, the poor have a great deal of resentment and complaints towards the political system, partly because the nation's leaders are unable to effectively manage national issues in a way that would enable everyone to live better lives (Umar, 2008). As a result, the populace is unhappy that the system cannot satisfy their desires for an affluent life. This is the reason for the increasing levels of violence and the establishment of potential for insecurity in the North Western States of Nigeria.

3 Methodology

The primary sources of data used in this work were conference papers, government gazettes, textbooks, journal articles, and the internet. For the purpose of examining poverty and national security and identifying any gaps, important policy and scholarly literature on youth involvement, exclusion, and security were evaluated.

4 Incidence of Poverty in Nigeria

As poverty and severe hunger have been publicly reported to be raging in Nigeria, the country's incapacity to feed its expanding population has been further highlighted. The bulk of Nigerians are impoverished, according to Uchechukwu (2006). Nigeria was listed as the 26th most impoverished nation in the 2002 UNDP ranking. In the assessment from that year, Okpe and Abu (2006) rated it 148th out of 173 nations whose living circumstances were evaluated, trailed only by Haiti and Madagascar. In the Human Development Index assessment conducted in 2003, Nigeria was ranked 154th out of 172 nations (Aluko, 2004). According to Kolawele (2006), Nigeria was placed 151st out of 177 nations in the UNDP's 2004 Human Development Index assessment, trailing only Madagascar.

Relative poverty affects 112.519 million Nigerians, a startling number according to Nigerian Insight (2014). Assuming a total population of 163 million, this amount represents 69% of the nation's population. Along with these, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) uses various measures to assess poverty. These include an absolute measure, a dollar per day measure, which places the rate at 61.2%, and a subjective measure, which places the rate at 93.9%. 5.4 percent was the 2004 poverty measurement rate, according to the study, which gives information on income inequality and poverty across the nation. According to Nigerian Insight (2014), it also demonstrates that income inequality increased, rising from 0.429 in 2004 to 0.447 in 2010. In 2010, the North-West and North-East regions of the nation had the greatest rates of poverty, with 77.7% and 76.3%, respectively. This is the report's main finding. The geopolitical zone to the west, however, had the lowest percentage, at 59.1%.

According to Nigerian Insight (2014), Sokoto had the highest poverty rate (86.4%) among the 36 states in the federation, while Niger had the lowest (43.6%). According to the Poverty Profile of 2010, between 2004 and 2010, poverty rates in Nigeria rose overall, with the greatest rates seen in the North-West and North-East geopolitical zones. Although extreme violence in these areas cannot be solely attributed to poverty, it is undoubtedly a component to take into account when attempting to overcome this security dilemma. Nigeria is in a state of (poverty) emergency, according to Soludo (2012), if high rates of poverty persist in the country despite a 7% yearly rise in income, which is primarily derived from the non-oil economy (particularly the agricultural sector). He brought up the South-East's increasing poverty profile as well, saying that it has "shown to be on a high-speed lane in the race to the bottom to catch up with the north."

4.1 Security Situation in Nigeria

Nigeria has had a concerning security situation ever since democracy was restored in 1999. Naturally, traditional crimes have always existed in

any community, particularly in the wake of a civil war. However, more recent experiences with violent extremism, insurgencies, and other types of militancy have added complexity to the picture. At the moment, Boko Haram's violent extremism and the violent militancy in the Niger Delta pose the greatest security dangers to Nigeria, falling under the category of dissatisfaction or separatist agenda (Dambazau, 2014). While the former uses religion as a platform and engages in activities like suicide bombing, coordinated attacks on military and law enforcement facilities, scaring rural communities, and so forth, the latter is resource-based and uses its domain's oil control as a platform, cognizant of the fact that approximately 90% of Nigeria's income is derived from that natural resource.

The terrorists in the Niger Delta employ improvised explosive devices (IEDs) to destroy oil platforms, abduct foreign oil workers, bomb oil facilities, and deface oil pipelines. The Niger Delta's violent militancy has, however, decreased since 2009, when the late President UmaruYar' Adua declared amnesty for the militants in exchange for them laying down their weapons. This has come at a high financial cost, though, as all registered ex-militants receive monthly allowances, have access to skills training, have lucrative contracts as a result of their patronage, and the Niger Delta Development Company was established. This was on top of the 13% of overall oil earnings distributed to the local communities in the area (Dambazau, 2014).

The federal government has made efforts to bring about peace in the Niger Delta, but the issue of insecurity in the area persists. The Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND), a prominent group, planted twin car bombs in 2010 during the celebration of the country's 50th anniversary of independence in Abuja. The bombs injured 17 people and killed 12 people. Henry Okah, the group's leader, was found guilty of terrorism by a South African court (Dambazau, 2014). Indications suggest that the Niger Delta's militancy is not going away, as seen by the 2016 formation of Niger Delta Avengers, a new militant organisation that has vowed to target oil infrastructure. Additionally, cultist violence has been reported on several occasions, particularly in Rivers State. A number of high-ranking individuals and foreign oil workers, as well as members of their families, have been abducted for ransom and large-scale oil theft. Nigeria's political, social, and economic progress has surely been threatened by all of these security issues.

4.2 Poverty and National Security in Nigeria

It goes without saying that poverty and insecurity are related. This is due to the fact that poverty indirectly fuels resentment, hostility, and violence. This enigmatic idea is defined as the 'freedom for death, poverty, suffering, fear, or anything else makes people feel uneasy' (Ogota, 2001), even in the most basic description. On the other hand, it might be argued that chronic poverty will probably drive the bulk of oppressed people to look for relief elsewhere. As a result, a lot of them switch to using violence and other actions that endanger security. The high rate of poverty in Nigeria has had a significant impact on the country's security and, more broadly, on the maintenance of the nation's peace and unity.

Additionally, as poverty tends to restrict people's ability to access resources that will enhance their quality of life, its consequences on national security and development may be explained. This has led to a sustained decline in their economic activity. Along with other economic sectors, the impact is felt most acutely in the agriculture industry. The industry has been severely impacted by Nigerian farmers' lack of access to sufficient cash to invest in this area (to improve soils and increase yields), as well as their lack of current skills, contemporary technology, capacity building, creative techniques, and instruments.

There is a significant danger to food production and security in Nigeria given the country's rapid population expansion in proportion to its declining food output and economy. The strategies that have been advocated by those seeking political advantage to ensure food security and end hunger in Nigeria have remained theoretical. Nigeria's poverty has caused the nation to experience a series of political crises since 1966, which culminated in a civil war in 1967. Other political crises the country has faced include coup d'états, military dictators who are tightly gripping power, faulty elections, and so on. These events have been caused by the belief that nectar is only found on or around the crown.Most of the time is spent fighting (Civil War, stopping Niger-Delta Militants and Boko Haram terrorists' operations, etc.), the majority of the workforce is trained to use weapons, and very little money is utilised to buy weapons. Thus, women and the elderly are left to manage the weak economy. National development in Nigeria is unlikely to occur if the country is kept in a constant condition of poverty and instability.

4.2.1 Gbaramatu Killings

According to documents, the Military Joint Taskforce (JTF) began a significant attack against terrorists on May 15, 2009, against those residing in Gbaramatu Kingdom in Warri South West Council, Delta State. According to the information at hand, the JTF subdues the attackers by employing every tactic and technique known to conventional warfare. These included attacks from the air, land, and water. This massive military operation was justified as being required to allow the armed forces to drive insurgents from the Niger Delta out of the oil-rich region's creeks (This Day, June 7, 2009, p. 8). This source also bemoaned the fact that the military operation in Gbaramatu is thought to be the most catastrophic military assault in the area.

Three helicopter gunships, two warships, fourteen boats, and three thousand soldiers were among the military arsenal stationed for that assault (This Day, June 7, 2009). Human rights organizations said that hundreds of civilians had died and their homes and belongings had been damaged as a result of the strike. The Military Joint Task Force (JTF) said that after weeks of attacks on troops, hijackings of oil boats, and kidnappings of workers around Gbaramatu, which hindered oil production in the area, they could no longer remain silent as defenders of peace, law, and order. (This June 7, 2009, day).

A close examination of the aforementioned circumstances shows that the use of all available WMDs for this operation—air, sea, and land—was akin to declaring a full-scale war against the terrorists in Gbaramatu. According to this study, the Niger Delta people's fight is more of an insurrection against their long-term marginalization. Presumptive militant organizations are attempting to exert pressure on the current administration to take into account the situation of the Niger Delta's residents, who feel wronged by their marginalization and segregation, rather than engaging in a "breaking-away" war (insurrection) (This Day, June 7, 2009).
It is reasonable to question if these military actions or conflict resolution strategies have permanently fixed these issues. The response based on the information at hand is, predictably, negative. Indeed, whenever they had the chance, these acts have encouraged the terrorists to target government oil infrastructure and officials with ever-greater ferocity. It is crucial to remember that if using force were the appropriate course of action to resolve Nigeria's ongoing oil-related problem, it would act as a deterrent to future terrorist insurgencies in the Niger Delta and elsewhere. This tends to strongly reinforce the idea that military occupation and bombing are not the best solutions for managing domestic security.

4.2.2 Jos crisis (2008 and 2010)

Although there hasn't been a significant change from the 2001 crisis, the 2008 Jos Crisis still reflects the scope and intensity of the fight for control over political and therefore economic resources in a decadent and unproductive African state. An election disagreement in this crisis swiftly turned into an ethnic and religious conflict with serious ramifications for people's lives and property. It was the result of a protracted struggle between various ethnic groups and those classified as "indigenous" or "non-indigenous" local residents for control of governmental authority and economic dominance. Over time, both sides exploited appeals to religious sensibilities to inflame public mood and finally escalate the situation to the point where it could no longer be handled. "Non-indigenes" and "indigenes," Christians and Muslims, turned into both of these groups—perpetrators and victims" (Ezeoha, 2011).
The 2010 pogrom, which saw the warring sides massacre a large number of women and children in the villages of Rasat, Zot, Dogo Na Hauwa, and several other places, was the worst of all the atrocities. This horrific and intolerable bloodletting, carried out by cunning acts of retaliation, was so bad that it captured the attention of the whole world. The ownership of Jos has been the main source of contention (Okolie, 2009).
The ensuing impact of Nigerian society's ethnic division and the tensions arising from conflicts within and between various groups tends to erode and produce instability.

As has previously been said, the desire by these groups to claim what they believe is rightfully theirs in the grand scheme of things frequently serves as the catalyst for the growth in the frequency of ethnic conflicts in Nigeria. According to Nnoli (1980), the ethnic community also symbolizes the persistence of social and daily means of communication, as well as material and spiritual cultures, throughout the history of certain peoples. This feature, whose importance and influence should not be disregarded in the study of a society's development, is what enables class activities to be effectively clothed in ethnic attire.

Destructive confrontations have emerged in various regions of the nation as a consequence of some of this. Pogroms and all of their unpleasant consequences have resulted in the catastrophic consequences that are being felt right now. Ethnic militancy has been used as a weapon by some ethnic groups in Nigeria, resulting in the needless

deaths of members of other ethnic groups. To address actual or perceived marginalization, some organizations have resorted to the weapon of severe blackmail accompanied by threats of more severe action. If nothing else, these actions taken separately or in concert have the potential to deflect government attention from more worthwhile projects.

4.2.3 Boko haram Tragedy

Ten years earlier, Boko Haram is believed to have sprung from a detachment of these extreme Islamist youngsters who prayed in the Alhaji Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri. They deemed the city and the Islamic establishment to be completely corrupt and beyond redemption in 2002. On Thursday, the organisation said that it was embarking on a hijra, a retreat that is akin to the Prophet Muhammad's trek from Mecca to Medina. With the goal of creating a separatist society ruled by rigid interpretations of Islam, it moved from Maiduguri to Kanama, a hamlet in Yobe state near the Niger border.

In an effort to create a more ideal society free from the corrupt system, the group's leader, Mohammed Ali, advocated anti-state ideology and urged other Muslims to join them in returning to a life governed by "true" Islamic law (Adagba, 2012). Numerous individuals within the Borno religious community believe that the organization had financial support from Salafist connections in Saudi Arabia after the head completed two hajj journeys during this period. Donations from affluent northern Nigerians were another potential source of money during this time. In 2006, the State Security Services detained a rich northern businessman on suspicion that he had transferred a group of minors to a Mauritanian al-Qaeda training camp.

The businessman claims that his contributions to the organization were an honest attempt to fulfill his duty as a rich Muslim to make charitable contributions, known as zakat (Booth, 1994). Strategically, the cult had mostly limited its terror campaign to the northeastern region of Nigeria until to the bombing of the Nigeria Police Headquarters in Abuja on June 16, 2011. The attack on the Police Headquarters was noteworthy because it occurred immediately after Hafiz Ringim, the Inspector-General of Police at the time, returned from a duty tour in Maiduguri, where the group had just carried out a terror campaign, and he had promised to smoke them out. Following that assault, the cult bombed the United Nations House in Abuja on August 26, a location Shekau indicated.

Numerous explosives that went off on Christmas Day in 2010 in two neighborhoods of Jos, Plateau state, near churches and a market killed a large number of people. It was believed at the time to be a vicious turn to the long-running ethno-political struggle there rather than an attack by Boko Haram. Then, on New Year's Eve 2010, a bomb went off in a well-liked outdoor fish market and restaurant located on the grounds of the Mogadishu barracks, eleven individuals were killed not far from Abuja. The market was very little guarded and is generally visited by civilians, despite being located relatively close to a military barracks (Buzan, 1991). According to reports, Boko Haram struck the national police headquarters in Abuja in June 2011. Following a procession of senior officials past the gates, a car loaded with several bombs forced its way inside the courtyard of Louis Edet House, a block of offices long believed to be safe in Abuja's government zone. The driver is said to have intended to park the vehicle close to the entry stairs as the senior officials entered, but guards led him around the rear of the building, where the device went off (Adagba, 2012).

The This Day newspaper office in Abuja and Kaduna, the Catholic Church at Bayero University Kano, and a livestock market in Yobe have all seen devastating bomb and rifle assaults in recent times. In every onslaught, many were slain. There are too many Boko Haram assaults to list, especially in light of the two most recent strikes in Nyanya Abuja, the attack in Kano Sallah, and the simultaneous attacks in Kaduna by General Buhari and Sheik DahiruBauchi.

4.2.4 Banditry/ Kidnapping

In Nigeria, the issue of banditry is in recent years tends to be a major internal security challenge particularly in the Northern parts of the country. In Zamfara State, banditry has been a menace which has, and still continues to haunt many communities in the state un-abated. The vicious circle of kidnapping, cattle rustling, and arbitrary killing of people by the bandits have been of immense concerned from 2011 to date. The activities of these bandits have to some extent paralyzed the daily routines of the affected communities and by extension the whole State.

Due to forced migration in search of safety, the banditry rate in Zamfara State has resulted in a high rate of fatalities, injuries, and population displacement. The haphazard and disorganised movements have an impact on their social, political, psychological, and financial well-being. The majority of the villagers' religious, political, social, and economic activities were all impacted by these

horrible acts committed by the bandits. People no longer engaged in large-scale agricultural or pastoral activities.

In an effort to enhance national security and socioeconomic advancement, the Nigerian government has taken on the problem of armed banditry in Zamfara State since 2011. For Nigeria as a whole and Zamfara State in particular, this threat has presented significant security issues. The impacted communities in Zamfara State saw detrimental effects on their socio-economic, political, cultural, and psychological domains as a result of this illicit company. This is a result of the numerous deaths and forced emigrations from their homes to safer locales where they hoped to find protection.

The most disturbing trends in spite of the various governments' strategies, and interventions to curb this menace, is that the phenomenon appears ceaseless and attempts at managing the problem through some policy responses are yet to yield desired outcome. The state has introduced policies on Land Use Act with the view to ending farmers-herders crises from which sprouted banditry. Also, Forest Preservation Laws were enacted for the continued preservation of fertile land for cultivations and fodder for animal feeds. In the same vein, there are other intervention measures like the involvement of traditional rulers, religious clerics, community sensitization, engagements of military, police, and paramilitary security outfits. These and other measures were introduced since 2011 to 2019, but they apparently could not end the problem as it still persists in different parts of the state. As it can be observed, banditry still constitutes a major threat to the livelihood of herders who depend largely on animal rearing for survival and the farmers for crop productions. Moreover, the potential of these to create food and animal shortage in all manifestation became a major worry and concern to all affected communities and more fundamentally the Zamfara State Government, the Federal Government and other critical stake-holders in the society. There is also great fear and uncertainty regarding the potential for spread of the bandit activities to other part of the country. All these and other reasons prompted the State to respond to the phenomena through many measures some of these were jointly pursued by Federal and State Governments while some seek the involvement of the critical stake-holders like the religious leaders, traditional rulers, some community-based organizations, and the media. Despite all these, however, it still remains a recurring and therefore disturbing issues against which there is the need to assess the effectiveness of the measures between 2011- 2019 in Zamfara State. Despite these efforts, banditry remains a disturbing threat to security.

5 Conclusion and Recommendations

Nigeria is undoubtedly going through a difficult time marked by extreme poverty and instability, all of which have an impact on national security. The prevalence of criminal activity and insurgencies is high and pervasive, which makes it challenging to recognise the efforts of succeeding governments to safeguard people's lives and property and enhance their quality of life. This may be attributed in large part to governments' abject attempts to combat poverty, which blatantly push individuals to turn to violent agitation as a way to deal with their situation. Thus, the vast population of impoverished individuals in Nigeria represents one of the biggest risks to the country's security.

In Nigeria, therefore, national progress can only be realised via the fight against poverty and instability. The idea of stable national development and lasting prosperity in Nigeria would remain a pipe dream if poverty and insecurity are permitted to rule over communities." behind "a free society cannot save the few who are rich, if it is unable to aid the many who are poor," this is the reason behind this.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this paper, the following recommendations are made:

i. The government of Nigeria must reorganise and reform policies in order to permanently reduce poverty by providing efficient basic infrastructure and services, given the country's rising rate of poverty and related security issues. The poor should be able to afford the expense of them, rather than just having them given.

ii. Additionally, there is a need for increased investment in human development since research indicates that this type of spending boosts productivity among the impoverished and reduces the state's susceptibility to security breaches. This is particularly true of planned education, housing, and social services. In addition, the government must deal with the growing socioeconomic inequality that is contributing to the growing number of impoverished individuals in the population.

iii. Poverty reduction and development strategies need to be implemented with patriotism, with a strategic geographic vision and adequate articulation. Decentralising the policy-making process for matters related to poverty and national security is crucial if a national security ideology is to gain broader acceptance at this point. Opportunities for more community engagement in the creation of security and poverty programmes would arise from decolonizing the policy-making process. Together, these measures will enhance the assessment of contentious regions and prospects for the advancement of Nigeria's domestic security.

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NAVIGATING VIOLENCE AND GENDER EQUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN POLITICAL CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT
Violence and gender equality continue to be pressing concerns in contemporary Nigerian politics, posing significant challenges to the democratic process and the inclusion of marginalized groups, particularly women. In Nigeria, political campaigns and elections are often marred by violence, intimidation, and corruption, eroding the credibility of the democratic process and hindering the full participation of citizens. Women, in particular, face unique challenges in navigating the political landscape, with gender-based violence and discrimination creating barriers to their political participation and leadership. The patriarchal power structures that dominate Nigerian politics further marginalize women, making it difficult for them to access political positions and contribute effectively to decision-making processes. Efforts to address these challenges have been made, including the passage of laws and policies aimed at promoting gender equality and increasing women's representation in politics. However, implementation and enforcement remain major obstacles, as entrenched cultural norms and lack of political will limit the effectiveness of these measures. Additionally, the intersectionality of violence and gender equality with other social issues, such as poverty and lack of access to education, exacerbates the challenges faced by women in Nigerian politics. This study provides a detailed analysis of the issues of violence and gender equality in Nigerian politics in the 21st century, through a historical analysis, this paper will explore the root causes, manifestations, and potential solutions to address these challenges.

Introduction

In the complex landscape of Nigerian politics, two pressing issues continue to shape the country's democratic journey in the 21st century, violence and gender equality. Despite strides towards promoting democracy and inclusivity, political violence remains a persistent challenge, with intimidation, coercion, and physical aggression often employed by parties and candidates to achieve their objectives. Concurrently, gender equality remains a significant concern, as women are vastly underrepresented in positions of power and decision-making, facing discrimination and barriers to political participation. Scott (1986) opines that gender as term generally refers to formalized social identities and practices affecting interactions between men and women in modern and contemporary societies. It is the historical and cultural concept that opposes the idea that differentiate between men and women can be defined in strictly biological terms. The intersection of violence and gender inequality in Nigerian politics exacerbates the challenges faced by women, perpetuating a cycle of exclusion and inequality. Gender inequality is particularly marked in political leadership. According to the Inter-Parliament Union, in June 2017 23.6 percent of all national parliament were women (World Development Indicators 2018). Apparently, this number may look low, but from a historical view it actually represents a huge progress. (Approximately, nine percent of all the national parliamentarians in 1987 were women. By 1995, this number had risen to 11.3% and reached 14.3% in 2002.) Jaquete (1997) avers that "the growing participation and presentation of women in politics is one of the most remarkable developments of the twentieth century" Considering the above analysis, this was a new and a recent development, still women in politics often face intimidation, harassment, and violence from their male counterparts, making it difficult for them to fully participate in political processes. Addressing these issues requires a collaborative effort from policymakers, civil society, and the international community to foster a culture of non-violence, uphold human rights, promote women's participation, and create a more inclusive and equitable political system. Only through collective action and a steadfast commitment to democratic values can Nigeria overcome these obstacles and pave the way for a more just and inclusive political landscape. Navigating violence and gender equality in the contemporary Nigerian political context can be a challenging and complex task. Nigeria, like many other countries, has a long history of gender-based violence and discrimination against women, especially in the political sphere. However, with the increasing awareness and advocacy for gender equality, there have been some positive changes in recent years. One of the key challenges in navigating violence and gender equality in Nigerian politics is the prevalence of patriarchal attitudes and practices that perpetuate gender-based violence and discrimination.

Several scholars, activists, and political figures have given opinions on violence and gender equality in 21st-century Nigerian politics. Here are a few notable individuals who have spoken on these issues: Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, the renowned Nigerian author and feminist has been a vocal advocate for gender equality and has spoken out against violence and discrimination faced by women in Nigerian society. She has highlighted the importance of challenging traditional gender norms and promoting women's rights in politics and beyond. Amina Mohammed, a Nigerian diplomat and former Minister of Environment, Amina Mohammed has been a strong advocate for gender equality and women's empowerment in Nigerian politics. She has emphasized the need for more women in leadership positions and has worked to address issues of violence against women in the country. Olusegun Obasanjo, the former President of Nigeria has spoken out against violence and corruption in Nigerian politics, emphasizing the importance of promoting peace, democracy, and gender equality in the country. He has called for greater inclusion of women in decision-making processes and has advocated for policies that support women's rights and empowerment. Funmi Iyanda, a Nigerian media personality and women's rights activist, Funmi Iyanda has been a vocal advocate for gender equality and has spoken out against violence and discrimination faced by women in Nigerian society. She has used her platform to raise awareness about these issues and to promote women's rights and empowerment. These individuals, among others, have contributed to the ongoing discussions and efforts to promote gender equality and address issues of violence in Nigerian politics. Their voices and advocacy have been instrumental in raising awareness and driving positive change in the country.

Violence and gender equality are two key issues that continue to plague Nigerian politics in the 21st century. Despite efforts to promote democracy and inclusivity, violence remains a common feature of Nigerian politics, with political parties and candidates often resorting to intimidation, coercion, and even physical violence to achieve their goals. Gender equality is another major challenge in Nigerian politics, with women severely underrepresented in positions of power and decision-making. Despite the passage of laws and

policies aimed at promoting gender equality, women continue to face discrimination and barriers to political participation. The intersection of violence and gender equality in Nigerian politics is particularly troubling, as women are often disproportionately affected by political violence and are more likely to be targeted for speaking out or running for office. This creates a chilling effect on women's political participation and perpetuates a cycle of inequality and exclusion. To address these issues, Nigerian policymakers and civil society organizations must work together to promote a culture of non-violence and respect for human rights in politics. This includes holding perpetrators of political violence accountable, promoting women's participation in politics, and creating a more inclusive and equitable political system. Ultimately, achieving gender equality and ending political violence in Nigerian politics will require a concerted effort from all stakeholders, including government officials, political parties, civil society organizations, and the international community. Only through collective action and a commitment to upholding democratic values can Nigeria truly achieve a more just and inclusive political system.

The overview of the concepts mentioned could include the following: Political Violence in Nigeria, this involves an examination of the various forms of political violence that occur in Nigeria, such as election-related violence, inter-ethnic conflicts, and insurgency. It also explores the impact of political violence on democratic processes, governance, and social cohesion in the country. Strategies to Address Political Violence, this section focuses on the different approaches and interventions that can be implemented to address and prevent political violence in Nigerian politics. This may include strengthening institutions, promoting dialogue and reconciliation, enhancing security measures, and fostering a culture of peace and tolerance. Gender Equality in Nigerian Politics, this concept delves into the challenges and barriers faced by women in Nigerian politics, such as discrimination, cultural norms, and lack of access to resources. It also highlights the importance of promoting gender equality and women's participation in decision-making processes to achieve inclusive and representative governance. Women's Political Participation, this section explores the ways in which women can overcome barriers to political participation in Nigeria, including advocating for policy reforms, building networks and alliances, and challenging stereotypes and biases. It also emphasizes the need for targeted interventions to support women in leadership roles. International Perspectives, this concept involves examining how other countries and international organizations have addressed political violence and gender inequality in their own contexts. It may include case studies, best practices, and lessons learned that can be applied to the Nigerian context to promote peaceful and inclusive political processes.

Conceptual Overview

Gender-based violence refers to any form of violence, abuse, or harm that is directed at an individual based on their gender. It is a manifestation of power dynamics rooted in gender inequality and discrimination. Gender-based violence can take many forms, including physical, sexual, emotional, and psychological abuse. Judith Butler (1990) opines that the challenges traditional notions of gender as a binary and fixed category, arguing that gender is performative and constructed through repeated actions and behaviors. Gender refers to the social, cultural, and psychological characteristics and roles associated with being male or female. It is different from biological sex, which is determined by physical characteristics such as chromosomes, hormones, and reproductive organs. Gender is a complex and multifaceted concept that can include aspects of identity, expression, and behavior. It is not limited to just male and female, as some individuals may identify as non-binary, genderqueer, or gender fluid. Gender identity is deeply personal and can vary from person to person. Michael Kimmel (2000) was of the view that gender norms and expectations are socially constructed and perpetuated, highlighting the ways in which masculinity and femininity are performed and enforced in everyday life. Gender can also be understood as a social construct that shapes how individuals are expected to behave, think, and interact based on their perceived gender. These expectations can influence various aspects of life, including relationships, career choices, and access to resources and opportunities. Gender norms and stereotypes can be restrictive and can contribute to inequality and discrimination based on gender. It occurs in various settings, including domestic relationships, workplaces, schools, and communities. Gender-based violence is a pervasive issue in Nigeria, affecting women in various aspects of their lives, including the political sphere. Women in politics are particularly vulnerable to gender-based violence, which can manifest in physical, sexual, and psychological forms, undermining their ability to participate fully in political activities. Examples of gender-based violence include domestic violence, sexual harassment, rape, forced marriage, female genital mutilation, honor killings, and human trafficking. Gender-based violence affects individuals of all genders but disproportionately impacts women and girls. Efforts to address gender-based violence focus on

prevention, support for survivors, and changing societal attitudes and norms that perpetuate such violence. It is essential to promote gender equality, challenge harmful gender stereotypes, and hold perpetrators of gender-based violence accountable to create safer and more inclusive communities for all individuals. Gender is a complex and multifaceted concept that goes beyond biological differences between males and females. It encompasses social, cultural, and psychological dimensions that shape individuals' identities, roles, and experiences in society. Scholars have explored gender from various perspectives, including feminist theory, sociology, anthropology, and psychology.

Violence refers to the intentional use of physical force or power to harm, injure, or damage someone or something. It can manifest in various forms, including physical violence (such as hitting, kicking, or punching), verbal violence (such as threats, insults, or harassment), emotional violence (such as manipulation or coercion), and sexual violence (such as assault or harassment). Violence can have severe and long-lasting effects on individuals, communities, and societies, leading to physical and emotional harm, trauma, and sometimes even death. Addressing and preventing violence require a comprehensive approach that includes education, awareness, support services, legal measures, and advocacy to create safer and more peaceful environments for everyone.

Gender equality refers to the equal rights, opportunities, and treatment of individuals regardless of their gender. It involves ensuring that all people, regardless of their gender, have the same access to resources, opportunities, and decision-making processes. Gender equality is important for creating a fair and just society where everyone has the chance to reach their full potential without discrimination or bias based on their gender. This includes addressing issues such as unequal pay, representation in leadership positions, access to education, healthcare, and other resources. Efforts to promote gender equality aim to create a more inclusive and equitable world for people of all genders. Gender equality is a fundamental human right and a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous, and sustainable world. It is enshrined in international human rights treaties and agreements, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Sustainable Development Goals. Achieving gender equality involves addressing deep-rooted societal norms, stereotypes, and practices that perpetuate gender discrimination and inequality. It requires dismantling systemic barriers that limit the full participation and opportunities of individuals based on their gender. This includes working towards equal pay for equal work, promoting gender diversity and representation in leadership positions, ensuring access to education and healthcare for all genders, and combating gender-based violence and discrimination.

Equality refers to the principle of treating all individuals fairly and impartially, regardless of their differences or characteristics. This includes ensuring that everyone has equal rights, opportunities, and access to resources, regardless of factors such as gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability, or socioeconomic status. Promoting equality involves challenging discrimination, bias, and systemic barriers that prevent certain groups from fully participating in society. It also requires addressing power imbalances and working to create a more inclusive and just society where everyone can thrive. Equality can be achieved through various means, including implementing laws and policies that protect the rights of marginalized groups, promoting diversity and inclusion in workplaces and communities, and raising awareness about the importance of respecting and valuing differences. Ultimately, striving for equality is essential for building a more just and equitable world where all individuals have the opportunity to reach their full potential and live with dignity and respect.

The political context in Nigeria is complex and multifaceted, influenced by various factors such as history, culture, religion, ethnicity, and economic challenges. Nigeria is a diverse country with a large population and multiple ethnic groups, which has contributed to political tensions and competition for power. The Nigerian political system operates as a federal republic with a presidential system of government. The President is both the head of state and government, and there is a bicameral legislature consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The country has faced challenges with corruption, inequality, insecurity, and governance issues over the years. Ethnic and religious divisions have played a significant role in Nigerian politics, with competition for power often reflecting these cleavages. This has at times led to political instability, violence, and electoral disputes. Additionally, there have been concerns about the centralization of power, lack of accountability, and transparency in government institutions. Civil society organizations, the media, and international partners have played important roles in advocating for good governance and democratic principles in Nigeria. The Nigerian political context is characterized by a complex interplay of factors that

continue to shape the country's political landscape and influence its development trajectory. The Nigerian political landscape is complex, with deep-rooted patriarchal norms and structures that often hinder women's political participation. The dominance of male political elites and traditional power dynamics shape the political environment, making it challenging for women to navigate and succeed in politics.

Patriarchy refers to a social system where men hold primary power and dominance in roles of political leadership, moral authority, social privilege, and control of property. In a patriarchal society, men typically hold more power and authority than women, with male-centered norms and values often shaping social structures and institutions. This can result in the marginalization and oppression of women, as well as other gender identities that do not conform to traditional male-dominated norms. Patriarchy can also manifest in various ways, such as through gender-based discrimination, unequal access to resources and opportunities, gender-based violence, and limited representation of women in leadership positions. Efforts to challenge and dismantle patriarchy often involve promoting gender equality, challenging traditional gender roles and stereotypes, and advocating for the empowerment and rights of all genders. Patriarchy is a complex social structure that intersects with other forms of oppression and discrimination, such as racism, classism, and ableism, and addressing it requires collective efforts to create a more just and equitable society for all. Challenging and dismantling patriarchal attitudes and behaviors is a fundamental step towards promoting gender equality and combating violence against women in Nigerian politics. Addressing deep-seated gender norms, stereotypes, and power dynamics is necessary to create a more inclusive and gender-responsive political environment.

Women in Nigerian politics: Representation and Participation

Women's representation and participation in Nigerian politics have been historically low compared to men. Leadership is a very broad notion that has different connotations depending on the field of knowledge. Inglehart and Norris (2003) examines that the concept of political leadership is more restricted, referring specifically to the sphere of institutionalized politics and government. It has to do with people's effective and ongoing participation in the institutional dynamics of representation and deliberation- voting, being voted, holding public office in the full exercise of their political rights. Despite the fact that women make up a significant portion of the population in Nigeria, they are highly underrepresented in political leadership positions. This underrepresentation can be attributed to various social, cultural, and economic barriers that restrict women's participation in politics. Some of the challenges that women in Nigeria face in terms of political representation and participation include: cultural norms and traditional practices that reinforce gender roles and stereotypes, limiting women's involvement in political decision-making processes, limited access to education and resources, which hinders women's ability to compete with men in the political arena, discriminatory laws and policies that disadvantage women in politics, such as limited opportunities for women to run for political office or restrictions on their participation in certain political activities, violence and intimidation against women in politics, which can deter them from seeking or holding political positions, lack of support and mentorship for aspiring female politicians, making it difficult for them to navigate the male-dominated political landscape. Despite these challenges, there have been efforts to increase women's participation in Nigerian politics. For example, the National Gender Policy of Nigeria aims to promote gender equality and empower women in political and decision-making processes. Additionally, there have been campaigns and initiatives to encourage women to run for political office and to advocate for gender-sensitive policies and practices. Increasing women's representation and participation in Nigerian politics is crucial for promoting gender equality, ensuring diverse perspectives in policymaking, and addressing the needs of all members of society. Efforts to address the barriers that women face in politics and to create more inclusive and equitable political systems are essential for advancing women's rights and empowerment in Nigeria.

Women in 21st-century Nigerian politics have made significant strides in challenging traditional gender norms and increasing their representation and participation in political leadership roles. Increased Representation, in recent years, there has been a gradual increase in the number of women holding political positions in Nigeria. Women have been elected as governors, senators, members of the House of Representatives, and local government councilors, reflecting a growing recognition of the importance of women's voices in decision-making processes. Advocacy for Gender Equality, women in Nigerian politics have been at the forefront of advocating for gender equality and women's rights. They have pushed for legislative reforms to address gender-based violence, promote women's empowerment, and increase women's representation in political leadership positions. Political Activism, women activists and advocates in Nigeria have played a crucial role in

mobilizing support for social justice causes, including women's rights, good governance, and accountability. They have organized protests, campaigns, and advocacy initiatives to push for positive change in the political landscape. Role Models and Inspirations, women leaders in Nigerian politics serve as role models and inspirations for young women and girls, encouraging them to pursue careers in politics and public service. By breaking barriers and challenging stereotypes, these women pave the way for future generations of female leaders. Policy Advocacy, women in Nigerian politics have been instrumental in advocating for policies that address the needs and concerns of women and marginalized groups. They have championed initiatives related to women's health, education, economic empowerment, and gender equality, contributing to the overall development and well-being of society. Collaboration and Networking, women in Nigerian politics have formed networks and alliances to support each other, share resources, and amplify their voices. These networks provide a platform for women to collaborate, strategize, and advocate for common goals and interests. Women in 21st-century Nigerian politics are making significant contributions to shaping the political landscape, advocating for gender equality, and advancing the rights and interests of women and marginalized groups. Their presence and leadership are essential for building a more inclusive, equitable, and democratic society in Nigeria.

Gender-based Violence in the Political Sphere

Gender-based violence in the political sphere refers to any form of violence, harassment, or discrimination that is specifically targeted at individuals in political roles based on their gender. This can include violence or threats of violence, sexual harassment, intimidation, discrimination, or other forms of abuse directed at individuals in political positions, or those seeking to enter the political sphere, simply because of their gender. Gender-based violence in the political sphere can take place in various forms, such as: Sexual harassment, unwanted sexual advances, comments, or behaviors that create a hostile or uncomfortable environment for individuals in the political sphere. Threats and intimidation, individuals may face threats, intimidation, or violence based on their gender in an attempt to silence or deter them from participating in political activities. Discrimination, individuals may face discrimination or obstacles in their political career based on their gender, such as being denied opportunities for advancement or facing unequal treatment compared to their counterparts of a different gender. Online harassment, social media and online platforms are increasingly used to target individuals in the political sphere with abusive and harmful messages based on their gender. Addressing gender-based violence in the political sphere is crucial to ensuring the full participation and representation of all genders in politics. It requires creating safe and inclusive environments, implementing policies and laws to prevent and address gender-based violence, and promoting gender equality in political decision-making processes. By addressing gender-based violence in the political sphere, we can work towards a more equitable and just society where all individuals can participate in politics free from violence and discrimination.

Patriarchal Challenges in Nigerian Politics

In Nigerian politics, patriarchal challenges refer to the barriers and obstacles that women face in accessing leadership positions and participating fully in political processes, due to the dominance and control of men in decision-making roles and structures. Some of the patriarchal challenges faced by women in Nigerian politics are: Limited Representation, women are underrepresented in political offices, with men holding the majority of positions of power and influence. This lack of representation hinders women's ability to contribute to policymaking and decision-making processes. Societal Norms and Stereotypes, traditional and cultural norms often dictate that the role of women is predominantly in the home, rather than in positions of political leadership. Stereotypes and gender-based expectations can undermine women's credibility and capabilities in the political sphere. Limited Access to Resources, women may face challenges in accessing the necessary resources, such as funding, networks, and support systems, to run for political office. This lack of resources can impede their ability to compete effectively in the political arena. Discriminatory Practices, discrimination and bias against women exist in political parties, electoral processes, and institutions, making it difficult for women to navigate the political landscape and advance their political careers. Violence and Harassment, women in Nigerian politics often face threats, intimidation, and violence as a means to deter them from participating or speaking up. This can create a hostile environment that discourages women from actively engaging in political activities. To address patriarchal challenges in Nigerian politics requires concerted efforts to challenge gender norms, promote women's leadership, increase representation, provide support and resources for women in politics, and create a more inclusive and equitable political environment. By recognizing and addressing these challenges, Nigeria can work

towards achieving greater gender equality and empowering women to play a more active role in shaping the political landscape.

Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Participation in Nigerian Politics

Promoting gender equality and increasing women's participation in Nigerian politics is crucial for building a more inclusive and representative democracy. Here are some strategies to achieve this goal: Legal Reforms, enact and enforce laws that promote gender equality and ensure women's rights in politics, such as gender quotas, anti-discrimination laws, and measures to address violence against women in politics. Capacity Building, provide training, mentorship, and support programs for women aspiring to enter politics, including leadership development, public speaking, campaign management, and networking opportunities. Political Party Reforms, It is expedient to encourage political parties to adopt internal policies that promote gender equality, such as gender quotas for candidate selection, women's wings within parties, and support for women candidates in party leadership positions. Public Awareness Campaigns, raise awareness about the importance of women's participation in politics through media campaigns, community outreach, and educational programs to challenge stereotypes and biases against women in leadership roles. Supportive Policies, implement policies that support work-life balance for women in politics, such as childcare services, flexible working arrangements, and maternity leave provisions to enable women to balance their political and personal responsibilities. Engaging men as allies, encourage men to support and advocate for gender equality in politics, challenge harmful gender norms and stereotypes, and promote women's leadership within their own networks and communities. Electoral Reforms, advocating for electoral reforms that promote women's representation, such as proportional representation systems, reserved seats for women, and measures to address barriers to women's political participation. International Partnerships, collaborating with international organizations, donors, and partners to provide technical assistance, funding, and support for initiatives that promote gender equality and women's participation in Nigerian politics. Implementing these strategies and creating an enabling environment for women's political participation, Nigeria can work towards achieving greater gender equality and building a more inclusive and representative democracy.

Role of civil society organizations in advocating for gender equality

Civil society organizations play a crucial role in advocating for gender equality by raising awareness, promoting policy changes, advancing women's rights, and holding governments and institutions accountable. The key ways in which civil society organizations contribute to advancing gender equality include the following:

Advocacy and raising awareness, civil society organizations work to raise awareness about gender issues and challenges, helping to educate the public, policymakers, and other stakeholders. They advocate for gender-responsive policies and programs that promote gender equality and women's rights. Policy research and analysis, civil society organizations conduct research and provide data and analysis on gender-related issues, which helps to inform policies and programs aimed at improving gender equality. They also advocate for the implementation of gender-responsive policies and legislation. Capacity building and empowerment, civil society organizations provide training, resources, and support to empower women and girls to advocate for their rights and take on leadership roles in their communities. They also work to build the capacity of grassroots organizations and individuals to promote gender equality and women's rights. Also, monitoring and evaluation, civil society organizations play a critical role in monitoring and evaluating the progress of gender equality initiatives. They hold governments, institutions, and other stakeholders accountable for their commitments to gender equality and help track progress towards achieving gender equality goals. Partnerships and coalition-building, civil society organizations often collaborate with other stakeholders, including government agencies, international organizations, businesses, and other civil society groups, to advocate for gender equality and women's rights. They work together to develop coordinated strategies to advance gender equality and address common challenges. Civil society organizations serve as important advocates and catalysts for change in promoting gender equality and women's rights. Their work helps to drive positive social change and create more inclusive and equitable societies for all individuals, regardless of their gender.

Overcoming Barriers to Women's Political Participation in Nigeria

Overcoming barriers to women's political participation in Nigeria requires a multi-faceted approach that addresses various challenges and obstacles that women face in entering and thriving

in the political arena. Here are some key strategies to overcome these barriers:

Addressing Cultural and Societal Norms: Challenge traditional gender roles and stereotypes that limit women's participation in politics. Promote gender equality through education, awareness campaigns, and community engagement to change attitudes and perceptions about women's leadership.

Providing Access to Education and Training: Ensure that women have access to quality education and training opportunities that equip them with the skills and knowledge needed to engage in politics effectively. This includes leadership development programs, political literacy training, and mentorship initiatives.

Creating Safe and Inclusive Political Spaces: Address violence and harassment against women in politics by implementing measures to ensure the safety and security of women candidates and politicians. This includes legal protections, support services, and mechanisms for reporting and addressing incidents of violence.

Increasing Economic Empowerment: Address economic barriers that prevent women from participating in politics, such as financial constraints and lack of resources. Provide support for women to access funding, resources, and opportunities to run for office and engage in political activities.

Promoting Women's Leadership: Encourage and support women to take on leadership roles in politics through affirmative action measures, mentorship programs, and networking opportunities. Recognize and celebrate the achievements of women leaders to inspire others to follow in their footsteps.

Advocating for Policy Reforms: Advocate for policy reforms that promote gender equality and women's rights in politics, such as gender quotas, anti-discrimination laws, and measures to address barriers to women's political participation. Engage with policymakers, political parties, and civil society to push for legislative changes that support women's political empowerment.

Building Coalitions and Alliances: Strengthen alliances and partnerships between women's organizations, civil society groups, political parties, and other stakeholders to collectively advocate for women's political participation. By working together, women can amplify their voices and influence decision-making processes.

Monitoring and Evaluation: Establish mechanisms to monitor and evaluate progress towards gender equality in politics, including tracking women's representation in elected positions, assessing the impact of policies and programs, and identifying areas for improvement. Use data and evidence to inform decision-making and drive change. Implementing these strategies and working collaboratively across sectors, Nigeria can overcome barriers to women's political participation and create a more inclusive and representative political landscape that reflects the diversity and voices of all its citizens.

International Perspectives on Addressing Political Violence and Gender Inequality in Nigerian Politics

International perspectives on addressing political violence and gender inequality in Nigerian politics can provide valuable insights and best practices that can be adapted and implemented in the Nigerian context. The following are some key international perspectives and strategies:

Legal Frameworks and Accountability, many countries have implemented legal frameworks and mechanisms to address political violence and promote gender equality in politics. Nigeria can learn from countries that have strong anti-discrimination laws, electoral violence prevention measures, and mechanisms for holding perpetrators of violence accountable. International organizations like the United Nations and regional bodies like the African Union can provide guidance and support in this area. Also, gender quotas and affirmative action, several countries have successfully increased women's representation in politics through the implementation of gender quotas and affirmative action measures. Nigeria can consider adopting similar policies to ensure a more equitable representation of women in decision-making positions. Countries like Rwanda, Sweden, and Norway have made significant progress in this area and can serve as models for Nigeria. Capacity building and training, international organizations and donor agencies often provide support for capacity building and training programs to empower women in politics. These programs can include leadership development, political literacy training, and skills-building initiatives to enhance women's participation and effectiveness in political processes. Nigeria can leverage these resources and partnerships to strengthen women's political leadership.

Civil Society Engagement, civil society organizations play a crucial role in advocating for gender equality and combating political violence.

Nigeria can learn from international examples of successful civil society campaigns and initiatives that have raised awareness, mobilized support, and pushed for policy reforms to address these issues. Building strong partnerships with civil society can amplify efforts to promote women's political participation. In addition, media and Communication Strategies, international experiences show the importance of media and communication strategies in shaping public perceptions and attitudes towards gender equality and political violence. Nigeria can explore innovative approaches to using media platforms, social media campaigns, and public awareness campaigns to challenge stereotypes, promote women's leadership, and condemn violence against women in politics. International Partnerships and Solidarity, Nigeria can benefit from building partnerships and solidarity with other countries and international organizations that are committed to advancing gender equality and women's rights. By participating in regional and global networks, sharing best practices, and learning from the experiences of others, Nigeria can strengthen its efforts to address political violence and gender inequality in politics.

Through these international perspectives and experiences, Nigeria can enhance its strategies for addressing political violence and gender inequality in politics, ultimately creating a more inclusive and representative political system that empowers women to fully participate and contribute to decision-making processes.

Conclusion

To attempt to complement the study of causes of gender inequality in political leadership, Inglehart and Norris (2003) then suggest or propose the existence of cultural barriers, which are linked to the diffusion of certain traditional values concerning the place of women in society and in political community. In the context of 21st-century Nigerian politics, addressing political violence and promoting gender equality are critical issues that require comprehensive strategies and interventions. International perspectives offer valuable insights and best practices that Nigeria can adapt and implement to tackle these challenges effectively. Key strategies include strengthening legal frameworks, implementing gender quotas and affirmative action, providing capacity building and training for women in politics, engaging civil society, utilizing media and communication strategies, and building international partnerships and solidarity. By drawing on these international perspectives and experiences, Nigeria can enhance its efforts to address political violence and gender inequality in politics, creating a more inclusive and representative political system that empowers women to participate fully in decision-making processes.

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FINANCIAL ACCOUNTING RATIOS AS A TOOL FOR THE EVALUATION OF MANAGEMENT OF MILLS COMPANY

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Tool, financial, accounting ratios, management, mills company

ABSTRACT
This study investigated the financial accounting ratios as a tool for the evaluation of management of Mills Company. To achieve this, a sample of audited financial statement from the selected company was used for the computation of relevant ratios, where analysis and the interpretation of the result becomes possible. An extensive empirical and conceptual literature review were carried out based on the variables of the study. Research question was posed for a guide to the computation of the relevant ratios. The population of the study comprised all registered Mills companies within the areas of the study. The sampling techniques used was a two-stage sampling technique which are purposeful and a simple random sampling technique. Primary data collected were from the audited financial statement of the selected mills company which the data were used for the computation of the major ratios. The analysis and interpretation of financial performance of the mills company were carried out. The study revealed that the financial performance and the returns from investment was encouraging, the efficiency with which inventory, receivables and trade payable were managed was good, the selected company was having a poor liquidity control measures and its debt capacity was high but not excessively high beyond control. The study suggests that financial accounting ratios stands as a powerful tool in forecasting the poor and the good performance of a company. Based on the findings, it was recommended amongst others that business managers of mills company should appreciate the important of frequently subjecting their financial statement to ratio analysis to determine the financial health of the company, users of financial statement are highly advised to use financial ratios to analysis their financial statement of a company for a better financial decision.

Introduction

Shareholders and other stakeholders use financial statements to make informed decisions with regards to the operation of an entity. The financial statement contains a large number of figures, but the figures themselves does not necessarily have much meaning to a user of the financial statement. However, the figures can be analyzed and interpreted by calculating financial ratios. Financial ratios can help the users of the financial statement to assess the financial position of the entity and its financial performance. Barry E. & Jamie E. (2013).

Statement of the Problem

Users of the financial statements needs to know more about the figures stated in the financial statement; a profit-making entity needs to know about its financial performance and the returns that it makes on the capital invested. Its need to know the efficiency with which its manage its receivables, inventory and trade payables. Wish to know whether it would have access to cash readily available to meet obligations to make payment as they all due. Wish to know whether its total of its debts is within control and are not excessive. Investors needs to know whether to continue to hold shares or to sell them.

When all this information needed by these users of financial statement are not provided due to the vast figures in the financial statement, the users would be misled. In order not to put them in a confused side, the figures need to be analyzed and interpreted accordingly to the various users. This brought about the study on the financial accounting ratios as a tool for the evaluation of management account (Mills Company).

The purpose of the study

The major purposes of this study are stated below:

1. To make it known to the profit-making entity its financial performance and the returns that it makes on the capital invested.

2. To enable an entity, know the efficiency with which its managed its receivables, inventory and trade payable.

3. To make a company know whether it would have access to cash when needed to meet obligation to make payment as they are due.

4. To help a company know whether its total debt is within control and are not excessive.

5. To help investors to know whether to continue to invest or to sell their shares.

Research Questions

1. To what extent does financial accounting ratio evaluate the financial performance and the returns the company makes on the capital invested.

2. How does financial accounting ratio evaluate and make it known the efficiency with which a company managed its receivables, inventory and trade payable.

3. To what extent does financial accounting ratio evaluate a company access to cash when needed to meet obligation and to make payment when they are due.

4. How does financial accounting ratio analysis help a company to know whether its total debts are within control and not excessive.

5. To what extent does financial accounting ratio interpret to the investors whether to continue to invest or to sell their shares.

Significance of the study

The significant of this study cannot be overemphasized, as it may be useful to the following group of persons: the investors and potential investors, the lenders, the employees, the suppliers, the customers, the government and government agencies, the general public to mention but a few. The findings and the recommendation of this study may be helpful to the financial statement users so that they would see the needs to evaluate and interprets the vase figures in the financial statement to make meaning to the users.

The scope of the study

The study examined the financial accounting ratio as a tool for the evaluation of management of Mills Company. The sub independent variables are profitability ratio, efficiency ratio, liquidity ratio,

solvency ratio and investors ratios while the dependent variable is management of mills company.

Limitation of the Study

The findings of this study may not be generalized beyond the scope of the study area.

Key Notes of Financial Accounting Ratios

1. **Ratio:** This refers to a mathematical concept that shows the relationship that exist between two or more variables.

2. **Financial Ratio**: This is a mathematical concept that shows the relationship between two or more financial data in a financial statement which may be expressed as a percentage or fraction of other figures in a financial statement.

3. **Financial Accounting**: This refers to the process of recording, classifying, analyzing, summarizing, interpreting and communicating of financial information to the users for effective business decisions.

4. **Evaluation**: This refers to the process of analyzing a company's financial statement for decision making purpose.

5. **Management:** This refers to how businesses organized and direct work flow, operations and employees to meet company goals and objectives.

Conceptual review

The available review related to the topic of this study was reviewed by the researcher and discussed under the following sub-headings.

Profitability ratios and evaluation of management of Mills Company

Since business mainly exist with the primary purpose of creating wealth for their owners, profitability ratios, therefore, provides an insight to the degree of success of achieving these primary objectives. They express profit made or earned in relation to other key figures in the financial statement or to some business resource.

(Prince Casmir Idekwulim, 2022). The following are the common examples of profitability ratios:

i. Return on capital employed (ROCE)

Profit making company should try to make a profit that is large enough in relation to the amount of money or capital invested in the business. This measures the overall performance of a business by comparing the capital employed with the amount generated. For a single company, ROCE is computed as thus:

$$ROCE = \frac{profit\ before\ interest\ and\ tax}{share\ capital\ and\ reserves + long\ term\ debt\ capital\ preference} x\ 100$$

To calculate the ROCE for a group of companies, ROCE should therefore be as profit before interest and tax as a proportion of total capital employed, including the non-controlling interest.

ii. Return on shareholder capital (ROSC)

This measures the return on investment that the shareholders of the company have made. This ratio normally uses the values of the shareholders' investment as shown in the financial statement rather than market value of shares. It is computed as thus:

$$ROCE = \frac{profit\ after\ tax\ and\ preference\ dividend}{share\ capital\ and\ reserves} x\ \frac{100}{1}$$

iii. Gross profit margin: This ratio relates the gross profit of a business to the revenue of the business over the same period. It is computed as thus:

$$Gross\ profit\ margin\ = \frac{gross\ profit}{sales/revenue} x \frac{100}{1}$$

iv. Net Profit margin = This ratio relates the net (PBIT) of the business to the revenue of that business. It measures the operational performance of a business. It is computed as thus:

$$Gross\ profit\ margin\ \ \frac{Gross\ Profit}{Sales/Revenue} X \frac{100}{1}$$

v. The assets turnover ratio: this refers to the ratio of sales to capital employed. It measures the amount of sales achieved during the period for each N1 of investment in assets. It is calculated as:

$$Net\ profit\ margin\ \ \frac{Profit\ before\ interest\ and\ tax}{Sales/Revenue} X \frac{100}{1}$$

vii. Return on total asset: this compares the profit for the period with the total asset employed by the entity during the same period. It is measured as:

$$\boldsymbol{Return\ on\ total\ asset} = \frac{\boldsymbol{Profit\ before\ interest\ and\ tax}}{\boldsymbol{Total\ assets}}\ \boldsymbol{x\ 100}$$

Efficiency or working capital ratios

Working capital or efficiency ratios measures the efficiency with which the entity has managed its receivables, inventory and trade payables. The ratios are usually measured in terms of an average number of days. The working capital ratios are a useful measure of whether the entity has too much or too little invested in working capital. Excessive investment in working capital is indicated by a long cash cycle that appears to be getting even longer. When too much is invested in working capital, the return on capital employed and return on shareholder capital would be lower than they should be. Under investment on working capital is an indication of possible liquidity difficulties. When working capital is low in comparison with the industry average, this might indicate that current assets are beings financed to an excessive extent by current liabilities, particularly trade payables and bank overdraft.

Ratios under this category include:

i. Inventory holding period

ii. Trade receivable collection period

iii. Trade payable payment period

iv. Inventory turnover

v. Trade receivable turnover

vi. Trade payable turnover

i. **Inventory holding period**: this ratio is an estimate of the average time that inventory is held before it is used or sold. It is calculated as thus:

$$Inventory\ Holding\ Period = \frac{Av.Inventory}{Cost\ of\ Sale} X\ 365\ days$$

Note: Average inventory = Opening inventory + closing inventory / 2

However, if opening inventory is not given, closing inventory should be used. Inventory being held in a store before being used or dispatched to the customer can be measured in days, month or week.

ii. **Trade Receivable collection period**: This ratio estimates the time that it takes on average to collect the payment from customers after the sales has been made. It could be described as average credit period allowed to customers. It measures the average number of days, or weeks that it takes an organization to collect money from their customers after selling goods to them

on credit. The shorter the period, the better for the business, but it should not be too short as it may affect the business performance negatively through reduction in turnover. It can be calculated as follows:

Trade receivable collection period = Average trade receivables x 365 days

Credit sales

Note: If the proportion of sales on credit is not available then it will be assumed that all sales were on credit

Average trade receivable = Opening trade receivable + closing trade receivable

2

However, if opening trade receivable is not given, then the closing receivable (i.e. SOFP value) should be used as average trade receivables.

iii. **Trade payables payment period**: This ratio measures on the average, how long it takes the business to settle its suppliers after buying goods from them on credit. That is, it measures the average number of days or weeks that the credit suppliers remained unsettled. The longer the period the better for the business but it should not be unreasonably too long. It can be computed as thus:

Trade payables payment period = Average trade payables x 365 days

Credit purchases

Note: If the proportion of purchases on credit is not available, then it will be assumed that all the purchases were on credit.

Average trade payable = Opening trade payable + closing trade payable

2

But if the opening trade payables is not given, then the closing trade payables (i.e. SOFP value) should be used as average trade payables. If opening inventory is not given, then cost of sales should be used as purchases.

However, if opening inventory is available then purchase will be derived as thus:

Purchase = cost of sales + closing inventory – opening inventory

iv. **Inventory Turnover**: This measures how often a business is able to turn its inventory into sales. The higher the number of times, the more efficient the business is in managing inventory. It is measured in times. It is calculated as:

Trade receivable turnover = Cost of sales

Average inventory

v. **Trade Receivables Turnover**: This measures on the average how often the business receives settlement of receivables from its debtors. It measures the rapidity of debt collection. It is measured in times. It is calculated as follows:

Trade receivable turnover = credit sales

Average trade receivables

vi. **Trade payables turnover**: this measures on the average how often the business makes settlement to its creditors. The lower the number of times the better the business but it should not be extremely too low. It can be computed as thus:

Trade payable turnover = Credit purchases

Average trade payables

2.3 Liquidity Ratios and the evaluation of management of Mills Company

Liquidity means having cash or access to cash readily available to meet obligations to make payments as they all due. It is a ratio

used in judging the ability of an enterprise to meet its short-term maturing obligations. Ratios under this category includes

(i) Current ratio (ii) quick ratio or acid test ratio

i. **Current Ratio**: This ratio measures the ability of the business to settle its short-term obligation as at when due using its current assets. That is, the ratio indicates the extent to which assets that will be converted into cash within a year cover claim of short-term payables or creditors. The acceptable norms for current ratio is 2:1, meaning that for a business to be considered liquidity healthy; its current assets should double its current liabilities. It is computed as thus:

current Ratio = Current Assets: 1
Current liabilities

ii. **Quick Ratio or Acid Test Ratio**: This ratio measures the ability of a business to settle its short-term obligations as at when due. Using its liquid or quick assets (i.e. current assets – closing inventory) that is, the ratio shows the extent to which cash and other assets must readily convertible to cash are to meet the demand of short-term creditors or payables. The acceptable norms for quick ratio is 1:1, meaning that for a business to be considered liquidity healthy, its liquid or quick asset. (i.e. current assets less closing inventory) should be equal to its current liabilities. It is calculated as thus:

Acid test ratio or quick ratio = Current Assets – closing inventory; 1

Current liability

iii. **Cash Ratio**: This ratio measures the ability of the business to settle its short-term obligations as at when due using its highly liquid assets (i.e. cash and cash equivalents). A cash ratio of about 0.88 means that the business will be able to settle about 88% of its short-term obligation (current liabilities) as at when due using its cash balance.Cash ratio is calculated as:

Cash Ratio = Cash and cash equivalent: 1
Current liability

Debt ratio or solvency ratio

These ratios are used to assess whether the total debt of the entity are within control and are not excessive. The following ratios are computed under the heading.

i. Gearing ratio (leverage ratios)
ii. Interest cover ratio
iii. Debt/equity ratio

(i) Gearing Ratios – this ratio measures the total long-term debts of a company as a percentage of either

- The equity capital in the company
- The total capital of the company

The equity capital in the company

Debt to equity ratio: this can be computed as:

Long term debt including redeemable preference share x 100
Share capital + reserves
1

Note: A high level of gearing may indicate the following:

- The entity has a high level of debt which means that it might be difficult for the entity to borrow more when it needs to raise new capital.
- High gearing can indicate a risk that the entity will be unable to meet its payment obligations to lenders, when these obligations are due for payment.

The gearing ratio can be used to monitor changes in the amount of debt of a company over time. It can also be used to make comparisons with the gearing levels of other similar companies, to judge whether the company has too much debt or perhaps too little in its capital structure.

ii. **Interest Cover Ratio**: This ratio measures the ability of the company to meet its obligation to pay interest. It measures in times and a cover of about 3 times generally considered safe. It is calculated as thus:

Interest cover = profit before interest and tax / Interest charges in the year

iii. **Debt/Equity Ratios**: This ratio measures the proportion of an entity's asset that is financed with debt. It is calculated as thus:

Debt/Equity Ratio = Long term debt including redeemable pref. shares / Ordinary share capital + Reserves

Investors Ratios

These are ratios concerned with assessing the returns and performance of shares held in a particular business from the perspective of shareholders who are not involved with the management of the business. These ratios are of interest to the investors in shares and bonds and their advisers. They are as follows:

i. Earnings per share (EPS)
ii. Price sharing ratio (P/E Ratio)
iii. Dividend per share (DPS)
iv. Dividend yield
v. Earning yield
vi. Dividend cover
vii. Retention Ratio
viii. Dividend pay-out ratio
ix. Net book value (Net Assets)

i. **Earnings per share (EPS):** EPS is normally viewed as a key measures of an entity's financial performance. It relates the earnings generated by the business and available to ordinary shareholders during a period to the number of ordinary shares in issue. It measures the amount of equity earnings (profit after tax and after preference dividends) attributes to a unit of ordinary shares in issue. The trend in earning per share over time is used to assess the investment potential of a business shares. It is calculated as thus:

Basic EPS = Profit after tax and preference dividend x 100 / Weighted average number of shares in issue during the period

ii. **Price earnings ratio (P/E Ratio):** The price earnings ratio measures how expensive or cheap a share is in relation to its annual earnings. It relates the market value of a business share to its earnings per share. The price earnings ratio reveals the number of times by which the capital value of the business is higher than its current levels of earnings. P/E ratio is a major performance indicator ratio because it measures the level of confidence the market has in the future of the business. The higher the number of times, the greater the confidence. The higher P/E ratio means that investors will pay more to acquire the business shares in the future. It is calculated as thus:

Price earnings ratio = Market value per share(MPS) / Earnings per share (EPS)

iii. **Dividend per share (DPS)**: This measures the amount of current period dividend attributable to a unit of ordinary shares in issue. That is, it shows the actual returns that will be received or was received by ordinary shareholders on a unit of its shares.

Dividend per share (DPS) = Dividend declared or paid / Number of ordinary shares in issue

iv. **Dividend yield ratio**: Dividend yield ratio relates the cash returns from shares to its current market value. That is, it measures the actual returns on ordinary shareholders investments. Dividend yield ratio can help investors to assess the cash return on their investment in a business.

Dividend yield ratio = Dividend per share / x 100

Current market price per share

v. **Earning yield ratio**:This measures the potential returns an ordinary shareholders investment. That is, it measures the amount of return due to the ordinary shareholders and not necessarily their actual returns. If none of the current profit is retained, then earning yield and dividend yield will be the same.

Earning yield ratio = Earnings per share x 100
Current market price per share 1

vi. **Dividend cover ratio**: This ratio measures the number of times that dividend of the current period is covered by the earnings of the same period.

Dividend cover ratio = Earnings per share or
Dividend per share

Profit after tax and preference dividend
Dividend

Methodology

As part of the methodology for this study, efforts were made by the researcher to gather a comprehensive data of the financial statement and income statement of the company where financial accounting ratios were computed from the summarized statements which could stand as a tool for the evaluation of the company. The computed financial ratios from the summarized data collected are shown below.

Profitability ratios

	2018	**2019**	**2020**
1.	Gross profit margin = Gross profit x 100 / Revenue 1		
	47.70%	49.65%	50.81%
2.	Operating profit margin = PBIT x 100 / Rev 1		
	4.62%	25.57%	25.75%
3.	Net profit margin = PAT x 100 / Rev 1		
	16.52%	15.06%	16.04%
4.	ROCE = PBIT x 100 / LTL + Eq 1		
	36.98%	38.74%	45.87%
5.	ROE = PAT x 100 / Equity 1		
	48.71%	40.71%	38.34%

Liquidity Ratios

1.	Current ratio = Current Asset / Current Liabilities		
	1.1	0.66:1	0.46:1
2.	Quick ratio = Current Asset - Inventory / Current Liabilities		
	0.57	0.37	0.25

Solvency Ratio

1.	Gearing ratio = LTL x 100 / LTL + Equity 1		
	49.03%	43.98%	26.30%
2.	Interest cover ratio = PBIT / Net finance cost		
	206times	7times	10times

Efficiency Ratios

1.	Asset turnover = Rev / Tangible asset		
	1.42times	1.27times	1.35times
2.	Inventory holding period = Inventory x 365days / Cost of sales		
	83days	71days	57days
3.	Receivable collection period = Receivables x 365days / Sales		
	11days	29days	20days
4.	Creditors payment period = payables x 365days / Cost of sales		
	117days	117 days	193days

Result

This section deals with the analysis of the data collected from the published financial statement of

the selected Mills Company. The analysis was based on the purpose for which this research work was being carried out. The analysis and results were to:

* Make it known to the company its financial performance and the returns that it's made from the capital invested.
* Enable the company know the efficiency with which it manages its receivables, inventory and payables.
* Make the company know whether it would have access to cash when needed to meet obligation and to make payment as they are due.
* Make the company know whether its total debt is within control and are not excessive.
* Help investors to know whether to continue to invest or to sell their shares. Therefore,

The financial statement of the selected Mills Company was evaluated using financial ratios. The ratios computed were analyzed below.

- The financial performance of the company was encouraging as revenue generated by the company keeps increasing year by year, therefore, resulting to the increment of the gross profit margin from 47.70% in 2018 to 49.65% and 50.8% in 2019 and 2020 respectively. The operating profit also increased from 4.62 in 2018 to 25.59% and 25.75% in 2019 and 2020 respectively. While in 2019, there is a little drop in net profit margin from 16.52% to 15.06% and later increased to 16.4% the decrease in the net profit margin may result from the company not taken adequate cost control measure, indeed, a little cost control measures were put in place which brought a little increase in the net profit margin from 15.06% to 16.04% in 2020.

  The overall business performance of the company was also encouraging for its returns from the capital invested keeps increase from 36.98% in 2018 to 38.74% and 45.37% in 2029 and 2020 respectively. The return from the shareholders' investment decreased from 48.71% in 2018 to 40.71% and 38.34% in 2019 and 2020 respectively.
- The efficiency with which the company managed its inventory, receivables and payables were sensitive and encouraging. This is because the holding period for its inventory decreases year by year this will help the company to escape the holding period expenditures, the collection period from the customers increased from 11 days in 2018 to 29days and later decrease back to 20days in 2020. All payable periods increase, this would help the company enlarge the volume of sales.
- The company was not liquidity healthy; this is because its current asset less closing inventory was not higher or equal to its current liabilities, its acid test ratio keeps decreasing every year, current ratio was normal in 2018 and later decrease in 2019 and 2020. This might cause by the high interest paid by the company for the capital borrowed.
- Though the company has a poor liquidity and high debt but not excessive and can still be controlled if adequate control measures are being put in place by the company.

Conclusions

In this study, an attempt has been made to analyze the financial statement and the income statement of the selected Mills Company using the financial ratio. The financial ratios analysis was found to be useful in forecasting the poor and good performance of the company. It is necessary and advisable for the other companies to use this tool of analysis to forecast their company's performance. A word of caution to the users of this study not to generalized the result to mean the all-Mills Companies as the studied company did not constitute the required percentage that will lead to the generalization of the result.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, the study made the following recommendations.

- Business managers of Mills companies should appreciate the importance of frequently subjecting their financial

statements to ratio analysis to determine the financial health of the company.

- To enable creditors and investors identify and quantify risk while also quantifying the management ability to handle risks, through the use of financial ratios for analysis.
- Users of financial statement are highly advised to use financial ratio to analyze financial statement of a company for a better financial decision.

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ASSESSING THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDPS) IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT
This study investigates the economic disparities between on-camp and off-camp Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria, a gap under-explored in existing research on terrorism-induced displacement. While acknowledging the established link between terrorism and ID, this study goes further by examining the economic heterogeneity within the displaced population. Through analysis of employment, income, and livelihood strategies, it reveals the unique challenges faced by On-Camp IDPs due to restricted movement and limited access to resources. Conversely, Off-Camp IDPs demonstrate greater economic agency due to their ability to engage with local markets and support networks. Despite these differences, both groups exhibit resilience through informal income generation. This study contributes to the literature by highlighting the economic disparities within the IDP population and the influence of camp settings. The proposed policy recommendations, including targeted camp-based employment initiatives, vocational training, and robust social support systems, address these disparities and promote long-term economic recovery for IDPs. By emphasizing investments in education and infrastructure, this study offers actionable strategies for policymakers and humanitarian organizations to effectively support IDPs' economic self-sufficiency and resilience.

Introduction

The phenomenon of Internal Displacement (ID) has become a pressing global concern, fueled by diverse factors such as natural disasters, ethno-religious disputes, terrorism, and internal conflicts. This trend disproportionately impacts developing nations, with a significant number of IDPs residing in low- and middle-income countries. By 2020, the global tally of displaced individuals reached a staggering 82.4 million, with nearly half classified as IDPs. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) emphasizes the dual threat posed by ID crises: jeopardizing the economic progress of affected nations and jeopardizing the well-being, safety, and livelihoods of IDPs and hosting communities.

Nigeria serves as a poignant example, grappling with substantial internal displacement primarily

driven by terrorism. The emergence of Boko Haram in the early 2000s unleashed a wave of violence targeting civilians, security personnel, and government institutions, concentrated in the northeastern region. The ramifications of this violence transcend borders, creating a regional humanitarian crisis encompassing Cameroon, Chad, and Niger (Campbell, 2014). This protracted conflict, rooted in the Biafran War (1967-1970) and the Boko Haram insurgency, has resulted in significant IDP populations in northeastern Nigeria, facing severe challenges in terms of economic stability, security, and access to necessities.

Despite existing research exploring the causes of ID (including terrorism), a critical knowledge gap remains regarding economic disparities within the displaced population. This study aims to delve deeper, into investigating the economic heterogeneity among IDPs in Nigeria, particularly the disparity between those residing in camps and those residing outside camps in neighbouring towns.

Nigeria's extensive experience with IDPs, primarily due to the ongoing Boko Haram insurgency, necessitates a focused investigation. The group's activities have concentrated displacement in the northeast, impacting neighbours in Nigeria but also neighbouring countries (Campbell, 2014). The protracted conflict has resulted in substantial IDP populations, raising critical questions about the economic disparities within this displaced community.

Therefore, this paper seeks to comprehensively explore the intricate relationship between terrorism, internal displacement, and the resulting economic consequences, with a specific focus on IDPs in Nigeria. It addresses questions regarding the economic challenges faced by IDPs, employing key economic variables like employment, income, occupation, and livelihood strategies. Through a comparative analysis, the paper will shed light on the economic vulnerabilities of on-camp and Off-Camp IDPs, highlighting the disparities in their means of survival and livelihood. Understanding these disparities is crucial for informing effective policy interventions aimed at supporting IDPs and fostering economic recovery in conflict-affected regions.

Statement of the Problem

While the economic hardships faced by Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) have been extensively studied, there is a critical gap in understanding the potential for economic disparities within the displaced population itself.

Existing research explores the negative economic consequences of internal displacement, including limited employment opportunities, reduced income, and disrupted livelihoods. These studies often focus on broad categories of displacement causes such as conflict or natural disasters.They treat the IDP population as a homogenous group, neglecting the possibility of **heterogeneity** in economic experiences.

Conceptual Clarification

Understanding the Economic Implications of Terrorism On On-Camp and Off-Camp IDPs

In the current global context, the intersection of terrorism and its economic repercussions on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) poses a complex and pressing challenge. This conceptual clarification seeks to dissect the multifaceted aspects of terrorism, its economic effects, and the distinctive hurdles encountered by on-camp and Off-Camp IDPs.

Definition of Terrorism: Unravelling Complexity

Terrorism, a term fraught with political, social, and legal implications, eludes a singular definition. Fundamentally, terrorism involves the calculated use of violence and intimidation against civilians to achieve ideological, religious, or political objectives. However, the intricacies inherent in defining terrorism render it a subject of ongoing debate and contention.

Scholars and international bodies, such as the United Nations, have put forward diverse definitions of terrorism. These definitions often underscore the political nature of terrorist acts and their impact on public perception and security. Yet, the challenge lies in distinguishing terrorism from other forms of violence or conflict, such as insurgency or state-sponsored violence, which may blur the lines of intent and legitimacy (United Nations General Assembly, 1994).

Scholars, policymakers, and international organizations have proposed definitions that reflect diverse perspectives. The United Nations General Assembly Resolution 49/60 defines terrorism as "criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes" (UN General Assembly, 1994). Similarly, the Federal

Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives" (FBI, 2005.).

However, such definitions often fall short of capturing the complexity and fluidity of terrorism as a phenomenon. The evolving nature of conflicts, advancements in technology, and shifting geopolitical landscapes continuously reshape the tactics and motivations of terrorist groups, challenging static definitions.

Economic Implications of Terrorism: Revealing the Costs

The economic repercussions of terrorism extend beyond the immediate physical damage to infrastructure and property. While direct costs, like reconstruction and repair expenses, are tangible and quantifiable, indirect costs present equally significant challenges. Loss of productivity, investment, and tourism revenue can have enduring effects on local economies, exacerbating socio-economic disparities and impeding long-term development efforts (Hornbeck and Moretti, 2022)

Furthermore, the magnitude, frequency, and severity of terrorist attacks play a pivotal role in determining their economic impact. Notably, high-profile attacks in urban centres or strategic locations can disrupt supply chains, deter foreign investment, and undermine investor confidence, resulting in protracted economic instability and stagnation.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs): Understanding Vulnerability

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) form a particularly vulnerable demographic profoundly impacted by the economic consequences of terrorism. Unlike refugees, who seek sanctuary beyond international borders, IDPs are forcibly relocated within their own country's confines due to conflict, violence, or persecution. This distinction underscores the distinctive trials and vulnerabilities faced by IDPs, arising from their displaced status and the circumstances prompting it.

IDPs often confront restricted access to fundamental services like healthcare, education, clean water, and sanitation, as a result of displacement. Displacement disrupts their access to established infrastructure and societal support networks, rendering them reliant on humanitarian assistance for necessities. Furthermore, the trauma associated with displacement can exacerbate pre-existing vulnerabilities, including health conditions, disabilities, and socio-economic disparities (UNHCR, 2016).

Moreover, IDPs encounter significant obstacles in securing livelihood opportunities and economic stability. Displacement disrupts their access to employment, land, and assets, undermining their capacity to financially sustain themselves and their families. Discrimination and marginalisation within host communities further exacerbate their economic challenges, limiting their prospects for social and economic integration.

Additionally, IDPs face heightened risks of exploitation, abuse, and violence within displacement contexts. Separation from their homes and communities exposes them to increased vulnerabilities, including gender-based violence, trafficking, and exploitation. Limited access to legal protection and recourse further heightens their susceptibility to rights violations.

On-Camp and Off-Camp IDPs: Disparities in Vulnerability

Within the broader IDP cohort, a distinction arises between on-camp and Off-Camp IDPs, each grappling with distinct economic vulnerabilities and obstacles. On-Camp IDPs reside within formal displacement camps or settlements established by humanitarian agencies, where access to basic services and aid may be more accessible. Nevertheless, these camps frequently face challenges like overcrowding, inadequate infrastructure, and resource limitations, compromising the quality and sufficiency of services provided (NRC, 2014).

Conversely, Off-Camp IDPs seek refuge in urban or rural areas outside formal displacement camps, where they confront different challenges related to integration, livelihood opportunities, and access to essential services. Off-Camp IDPs may struggle to access humanitarian assistance and support due to their dispersed nature and lack of visibility. They may also encounter stigmatisation, discrimination, and marginalisation within host communities, impeding their ability to rebuild their lives and establish sustainable livelihoods.

The economic vulnerabilities of on-camp and Off-Camp IDPs are further compounded by factors such as limited access to education and healthcare, insecure land tenure, and lack of legal recognition and protection. Addressing the disparities in vulnerability between on-camp and Off-Camp IDPs

necessitates bespoke interventions and strategies that acknowledge the specific needs and challenges faced by each group. By recognising and mitigating these disparities, policymakers, humanitarian actors, and development practitioners can strive towards ensuring that all IDPs have equitable access to opportunities, resources, and protection, thereby fostering their resilience and preserving their dignity amidst adversity (IDMC, 2020)."

Literature Review

Terrorism presents itself as a multifaceted and continually evolving global phenomenon. It is characterised by the deliberate utilisation of violence or the threat of violence by non-state actors to instil fear, exert influence over governments, or further political, religious, or ideological objectives (Schmid, 2011). This manifestation takes on diverse forms, ranging from movements driven by nationalism and separatism to extremism rooted in religion and various political ideologies. Within the Nigerian context, the prominent terrorist group Boko Haram occupies a significant position, making an exploration of the economic repercussions of its actions of paramount importance.

Nigeria grapples with an enduring and formidable threat emanating from terrorism, with Boko Haram emerging as a dominant force in this realm. Established in the early 2000s, Boko Haram has orchestrated numerous assaults targeting civilians, security personnel, and government institutions, primarily concentrated in the northeastern region of Nigeria. The consequences of this violence transcend Nigeria's borders, extending its influence to neighbouring nations such as Cameroon, Chad, and Niger, thereby generating a regional humanitarian crisis (Campbell, 2014).

The global implications of terrorism in Nigeria assume considerable significance. They evoke concerns regarding the dissemination of extremist ideologies and underscore the imperative of coordinated international endeavours aimed at countering terrorism. Additionally, terrorism disrupts economic operations, posing threats to both local and international economies.

Numerous investigations have delved into the global economic repercussions of terrorism, offering valuable insights. Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003) found that terrorism negatively affects foreign direct investment (FDI), leading to reduced capital inflows and hampering overall economic growth. Similarly, Blomberg, Hess, and Orphanides (2004) concluded that terrorism correlates with a decline in tourism and FDI, consequently resulting in reduced economic activity.

Within the Nigerian context, studies have explored the economic consequences of Boko Haram's insurgency. Oyefusi, Adegbite, and Esangbedo (2016) discovered that the insurgency had detrimental effects on agricultural activities, causing food scarcity and price increases. In addition, Ibrahim and Yusuf (2015) shed light on how Boko Haram's attacks led to business closures, job losses, and reduced income for affected communities.

A significant study conducted by Isola, Ayopo, Abiola, and Joseph (2019) uncovered a strong connection between economic growth and terrorism in Nigeria. This study identified unemployment, inequality, poverty, and inflation as contributing factors to terrorism.

In a recent work by Alade, I., Aduku, E., & Ameh, C. (2021), it was recommended that despite government efforts, terrorism has had a detrimental impact on economic growth and human capital development in Nigeria. The establishment of a security bank, intended to directly fund security efforts and compensate armed forces members who have lost their lives in service, was proposed as a potential solution.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) constitute one of the most vulnerable groups within conflict zones. These individuals are compelled to leave their homes due to armed conflict, violence, or natural disasters but remain within their country's borders (UNHCR, 1998). They confront significant challenges related to safety, shelter, access to food, water, healthcare, education, and economic livelihoods (IDMC, 2021).

Steele (2018) argued that IDPs are also vulnerable in non-ethnic civil wars due to mechanisms linked to civilians' loyalties, especially where the displaced originate from and when they leave their homes. Resettlement patterns also play a critical role in this vulnerability.

Sabie, Sabie, Dedeoglu, Rohanifar, Hashim, Easterbrook, and Ahmed (2019) highlighted that IDPs often live under resource-constrained conditions similar to those experienced by refugees, and in certain cases, endure even harsher restrictions.

In conflict-affected regions such as northeastern Nigeria, IDPs are exposed to security threats, including attacks by armed groups, resulting in the loss of lives, property, and livelihoods (IOM, 2021). The displacement experience disrupts family structures, severs ties with communities, and exposes individuals to psycho-social stressors, particularly when access to basic services is lacking and discrimination or neglect further compounds their vulnerabilities (United Nations Human Rights, 2011).

IDPs often employ various strategies to cope with economic challenges in conflict-affected areas. These strategies encompass engagement in informal labour markets, seeking assistance from humanitarian agencies, and relying on social networks (Hakamies et al., 2017). However, these mechanisms often prove inadequate for addressing the long-term economic repercussions of displacement.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) persistently confront formidable economic challenges, both within their designated camps and among those who have sought refuge in neighbouring towns. These challenges encompass issues of unemployment, inadequate access to sustenance, clean water, overcrowding, security and substandard sanitation conditions. Furthermore, Off-Camp IDPs, having fled their homes due to terrorism, grapple with the formidable task of reconstructing their lives after enduring the loss of their residences and possessions. Despite concerted efforts by governmental bodies and humanitarian organisations, these challenges endure, with specific vulnerability observed among groups such as women, children, and the elderly. Notably, the realm of empirical research exploring the economic repercussions of terrorism on both Off-Camp and On-Camp IDPs in Nigeria remains substantially limited. Consequently, this underscores the urgent need for a comprehensive examination of these issues to further inform future endeavours and policies.

In Nigeria, numerous IDPs within camps engage in informal activities, such as petty trading or casual labour, as a means of generating income (IOM, 2021). While these endeavours provide temporary survival measures, they may not lead to sustainable livelihoods. Off-Camp IDPs encounter additional hurdles, as they must reconstruct their lives in new communities, frequently without access to resources or economic opportunities (Dadush& Niebuhr, 2016).

In conclusion, this section has presented a comprehensive exploration of the intricate relationship between terrorism, internal displacement, and the ensuing economic consequences. Terrorism, as exemplified by the activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria, triggers far-reaching economic implications, disrupting various sectors and adversely affecting the livelihoods of individuals and communities. Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) emerge as one of the most vulnerable groups in affected zones, grappling with numerous challenges related to safety, shelter, and economic well-being. While their economic coping strategies exhibit resilience, they often fall short of ensuring long-term sustainability. The subsequent sections of this study will delve deeper into the theoretical framework, methodology, findings and analysis of the implications of terrorism on the economic status and means of livelihood of IDPs in Nigeria. It will shed light on the disparities between On-Camp and Off-Camp experiences and assess the effectiveness of government policies in addressing these challenges.

Theoretical Framework

A comprehensive comprehension of the economic ramifications of terrorism necessitates the application of a multifaceted theoretical framework. Economic theories that find relevance in the context of conflict and terrorism accentuate the intricate connection between violence and economic consequences. One such framework is the opportunity cost theory, which posits that individuals engaging in acts of terrorism frequently forego economic prospects, consequently resulting in economic losses (Krueger &Malečková, 2003). This theory underscores that terrorism has the potential to disrupt economic activities, diminish productivity, and impede overall development. However, we challenge the conventional portrayal of terrorists as rational actors solely motivated by economic incentives by delving deeper into the complex socio-political and ideological factors shaping terrorist behaviour.

The critique of the opportunity cost theory within the context of understanding terrorism's economic ramifications highlights its oversimplified portrayal of terrorists as solely motivated by economic incentives, neglecting the intricate socio-political and ideological factors that shape terrorist behaviour. While the theory provides valuable insights into the economic consequences of terrorism, its narrow focus on economic losses fails to capture the multifaceted nature of terrorist motivations and the broader social and political impacts of terrorist activities. By challenging the

assumption of rationality and incorporating insights from various disciplines, a more holistic approach can be adopted to better understand terrorism and its economic implications.

The human capital framework is another pertinent perspective, emphasising the significance of education and the development of skills for economic advancement. Terrorism possesses the capability to disrupt educational systems, leading to a depletion of human capital and obstructing economic progress (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). Moreover, terrorism can deter foreign investments, curtail the tourism sector, and disrupt supply chains, all of which culminate in unfavourable economic consequences (Enders & Sandler, 2006). We, however, argue that this framework often overlooks the psychological and social dimensions of terrorism, which can profoundly influence human capital formation.

The criticism of the human capital framework within the context of understanding terrorism's economic impact underscores its narrow focus on education and skill development, overlooking the broader psychological and social dimensions of terrorism. While the framework acknowledges the disruption of educational systems by terrorism, it fails to account for the psychological distress and social divisions induced by terrorist acts, which can significantly impede human capital formation. Additionally, the framework underestimates the indirect economic consequences of terrorism, such as deterred investments and disrupted supply chains, highlighting the need for a more comprehensive approach to understanding the multifaceted effects of terrorism on human capital and economic progress.

Methodology

This study employed a descriptive research design, which involves systematic data collection, presentation, and analysis of the economic implications of terrorism on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria. The descriptive design allowed for the collection and analysis of existing relationships between phenomena without directly affecting them. Quantitative research methods, including structured and unstructured questionnaires and Key Informant Interviews (KII), were utilised to gather numerical data and examine the scope, range, and frequency of the phenomenon. The study focused on three IDP camps/settlements located in three different Local Government Areas (LGAs), each representing one of the three senatorial districts in Borno State, Nigeria. These areas were selected due to their significant population of IDPs affected by terrorism. The selected IDP camps and LGAs included: MongunoGSS Camp and Hausari community in Monguno LGA, representing Borno North senatorial district; ForiKiskachi Camp and Fori community in Jere LGA, representing Borno Central senatorial district; and MongunoGSS Camp and Bulabulin community in Gwoza LGA, representing Borno South senatorial district. Borno State was chosen for its status as the stronghold of Boko Haram and its hosting of the highest number of IDPs in Nigeria, making it a critical focus for understanding the economic implications of terrorism. The data collected in this study were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 25. Descriptive statistics, including frequency counts, percentages, means, and standard deviations, were employed to analyse the information gathered on the economic implications of terrorism on IDPs in Nigeria. These quantitative methods were used to identify major trends and patterns in the data.

Results and Discussion

Table 1: Distribution of respondents' empowerment before and after displacement

Items		Frequency	Percent
Respondent's employment before displacement	No	286	68.1
	Yes	134	31.9

	Total	420	100.0
Respondent's employment status after displacement	No	364	86.7
	Yes	56	13.3
	Total	420	100.0
Respondents' possession of other resources to support the family after displacement	No	262	62.4
	Yes	158	37.6
	Total	420	100.0

The findings presented in Table 1 shed light on the empowerment status of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) both before and after displacement, with a particular focus on their economic circumstances. The data reveals a stark contrast in employment rates before and after displacement. Before displacement, only 31.9% of respondents were employed, whereas post-displacement, this figure decreased significantly to just 13.3%. This substantial decline in employment opportunities highlights the severe economic challenges faced by IDPs following displacement.

Furthermore, the analysis demonstrates the limited availability of alternative resources to support families among the displaced population. Only 37.6% of respondents reported having access to other resources beyond those provided by the government to support their families' post-displacement. This suggests a significant reliance on external assistance and a lack of self-sufficiency among a substantial portion of the IDP community.

Of notable concern is the finding that a considerable portion of respondents, amounting to 58.2%, were unable to secure employment following displacement. This underscores the adverse impact of displacement on the economic prospects and livelihoods of IDPs, leaving a large proportion of the population without sustainable means of income generation.

Additionally, the data reveals a smaller subset of respondents, comprising 15.2%, who managed to secure alternative means and resources to support their families in post-displacement despite being unemployed before displacement. While this may indicate some resilience and resourcefulness among a minority of IDPs, it also underscores the significant challenges and vulnerabilities faced by those who were already economically marginalised before displacement.

Overall, these findings highlight the profound and detrimental effects of displacement on the economic empowerment of IDPs in Nigeria. The sharp decline in employment opportunities and the limited access to alternative resources underscore the urgent need for comprehensive interventions aimed at addressing the economic vulnerabilities of displaced populations. Efforts to promote sustainable livelihoods, provide vocational training, and facilitate access to economic opportunities are crucial for empowering IDPs and fostering their long-term resilience and recovery.

Economic Impact of Terrorism on On-Camp and Off-Camp IDPs

The study uncovered significant economic challenges faced by On-Camp IDPs due to terrorism. On-Camp IDPs encountered difficulties in generating income and accessing employment opportunities. Economic activities within camp settings were disrupted, and limited access to job resources added to their economic hardships. Many On-Camp IDPs heavily relied on external assistance for their daily needs, which further hindered their ability to engage in income-generating activities.

In contrast, Off-Camp IDPs experienced relatively better economic prospects compared to their On-Camp counterparts. They had more freedom to seek employment opportunities outside the camps, resulting in improved income generation and economic stability. Better access to

resources and support from various organisations allowed Off-Camp IDPs to engage in income-generating activities and establish sustainable livelihoods. This advantage was attributed to their ability to integrate with local communities and access external assistance more effectively.

Table 2: Distribution of Responses to Questions 13-18 "Effect of displacement on income generation and livelihood of IDPs In Nigeria"

Questions	On Camp (N=210)		Off-Camp (N=210)		Total Influence (N=420)	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Does displacement result in loss of daily, weekly and/or monthly income?	3.64	0.55	3.54	0.54	3.59	.55

Note: *S.D. = Standard Deviation*

Table 2 above shows the responses of the respondents to the items on the implication of displacement on income generation and livelihood of IDPs in Nigeria. The mean impact of displacement on income generation and livelihood among On-Camp IDPs ranges from 2.30±0.46 to 3.64±0.55 while it ranges from 2.28±0.51 to 3.54±0.54 among Off-Camp IDPs and the overall impact on all respondent's ranges from 2.35±0.52 to 3.59±0.55.

The findings from Table 2 highlight the profound implications of displacement on income generation and livelihoods among Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria. Both On-Camp and Off-Camp IDPs share a consensus on the adverse effects of displacement, particularly regarding income generation. The mean responses, notably 3.64 for On-Camp and 3.54 for Off-Camp IDPs indicate a substantial perceived loss of income among the displaced population. The relatively narrow standard deviations (0.55 for On-Camp, 0.54 for Off-Camp) suggest a high level of agreement and consistency in reporting the economic challenges faced by IDPs, further bolstering the credibility of the findings.

These results underscore the urgent need to address the economic hardships experienced by IDPs, particularly in terms of income generation and economic self-sufficiency. The combined total influence mean of 3.59 reflects a consensus across all respondents, regardless of their camp status, regarding the negative impact of displacement on livelihoods. However, the findings also reveal a disparity in the economic consequences of displacement between On-Camp and Off-Camp IDPs. On-Camp IDPs appear to face more significant challenges in income generation, indicating a heightened vulnerability among this subgroup.

The implications of these findings are twofold. Firstly, they highlight the pressing need for targeted interventions aimed at mitigating the economic consequences of displacement, particularly among On-Camp IDPs who are disproportionately affected. Such interventions may include providing vocational training, access to microfinance initiatives, and support for small-scale entrepreneurship to enhance income-generating opportunities within the camp settings. Secondly, the findings underscore the importance of recognizing and addressing the structural inequalities and barriers that contribute to the

economic disparities between On-Camp and Off-Camp IDPs. Efforts to promote inclusive economic development and facilitate the reintegration of IDPs into their communities should prioritise addressing these disparities to ensure equitable access to livelihood opportunities for all displaced individuals.

In conclusion, the findings highlight the significant challenges faced by IDPs in Nigeria in terms of income generation and livelihoods. Addressing these challenges requires comprehensive and targeted interventions that recognise the specific needs and vulnerabilities of different groups of IDPs while also addressing underlying structural inequalities. By addressing the economic consequences of displacement, policymakers and humanitarian actors can contribute to the resilience and long-term recovery of displaced populations in Nigeria.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics of Responses to Questions 13-18 "Effect of displacement on income generation and livelihood of IDPs In Nigeria"

		N	Average Mean	Total Mean	Std. Deviation
Implication on income generation and access to employment	On-Camp	210	2.87	17.21	0.444
	Off-Camp	210	2.89	17.31	0.426
	Total Influence	420	2.88	17.27	0.429
Valid N (List wise)		420			

The analysis as shown in Table 3 above indicates the total mean response of 17.21, 17.31 and 17.27 was observed among On-Camp, Off-Camp and both respondents respectively, these are equivalent to the average mean response of 2.87, 2.89 and 2.88 list wisely compare to the expected average mean response of 2.0.

Table 3 above suggests that On-Camp IDPs face more severe economic struggles, particularly in generating income and accessing employment opportunities. This aligns with the slightly lower average mean (2.87) for On-Camp situations, indicating a perception of greater economic impact. The confinement to camp settings could contribute to these challenges, limiting the opportunities for On-Camp IDPs to engage in economic activities. The standard deviation of 0.444 implies some variability, indicating that within the On-Camp group, there are differing degrees of economic impact, possibly influenced by factors such as camp conditions and resource availability. This results in heavy reliance of On-Camp IDPs on external aid. This dependence on humanitarian assistance may be reflected in the lower average mean for On-Camp situations, emphasizing the importance of external support in meeting basic economic needs.

In contrast, Off-Camp IDPs experienced more favourable economic conditions compared to their counterparts in On-Camp settings. These conditions included improved access to local job markets and external support systems. This disparity underscores the significant influence of location and contextual factors on the economic well-being of IDPs affected by terrorism. As depicted in Table 2, Off-Camp IDPs exhibit relatively superior economic conditions, reflected in their ability to tap into local employment opportunities and receive external assistance. This observation aligns with the slightly higher average mean score (2.89) attributed to Off-Camp situations, indicating a perception of somewhat lesser economic impact when contrasted with the On-Camp group. However, the

standard deviation of 0.426 implies variability in the economic experiences of Off-Camp IDPs, suggesting that factors like proximity to urban centres, job availability, and the effectiveness of external support networks contribute to this diversity. Thus, displacement significantly dissipates the income generation and financial opportunities of respondents both On-Camp and Off-Camp while a higher impact was recorded among On-Camp IDPs.

Several factors played a pivotal role in shaping the economic outcomes of IDPs affected by terrorism. These factors included displacement location (On-Camp or Off-Camp), access to employment resources, integration with local communities, and the effectiveness of external assistance programs. On-Camp IDPs grappled with restricted access to job opportunities within the camps, overcrowding, and limited local employment options. They relied heavily on external assistance for sustenance. Conversely, Off-Camp IDPs had more freedom to access resources, secure employment, and engage with host communities, contributing to better economic outcomes.

Despite the daunting economic challenges, both On-Camp and Off-Camp IDPs exhibited resilience and employed coping strategies. Many engaged in small-scale income-generating activities, such as informal trading or agriculture, within their capacities. Additionally, support from family members, host communities, and humanitarian organisations served as a safety net for numerous IDPs. These coping mechanisms helped mitigate the economic impact of terrorism and bolstered the resilience of IDPs. However, long-term solutions and comprehensive interventions remained essential to address the underlying economic vulnerabilities faced by IDPs affected by terrorism.

Conclusion

The comprehensive analysis underscores significant disparities between On-Camp and Off-Camp Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) affected by terrorism in Nigeria. On-Camp IDPs, constrained within camp settings, face formidable economic challenges, particularly in income generation and accessing employment opportunities. The lower average mean score among On-Camp situations reflects a perception of greater economic impact, likely exacerbated by the limitations imposed by camp life. Conversely, Off-Camp IDPs experience relatively more favourable economic conditions, facilitated by improved access to local job markets and external support systems.

Various factors contribute to shaping the economic outcomes of IDPs, including displacement location, access to employment resources, integration with local communities, and the effectiveness of external assistance programs. On-Camp IDPs grapple with restricted access to job opportunities, overcrowding, and limited local employment options, necessitating heavy reliance on external assistance. In contrast, Off-Camp IDPs benefit from greater freedom to access resources, secure employment, and engage with host communities, resulting in comparatively better economic prospects.

Despite these challenges, both On-Camp and Off-Camp IDPs demonstrate resilience and employ coping strategies to mitigate the economic impact of terrorism. Many engage in small-scale income-generating activities within their capacities, supported by family members, host communities, and humanitarian organisations. These coping mechanisms, while vital, underscore the need for long-term solutions and comprehensive interventions to address the underlying economic vulnerabilities faced by IDPs affected by terrorism.

This nuanced understanding of the economic impact of terrorism on IDPs contributes to the literature by highlighting the differential experiences of On-Camp and Off-Camp populations and the need for tailored interventions to address their specific vulnerabilities. Moreover, the critique of existing theoretical frameworks, such as the opportunity cost theory and the human capital framework, challenges their oversimplified assumptions and calls for a more holistic approach that considers the socio-political and psychological dimensions of terrorism. By interrogating and expanding upon these theoretical frameworks, the paper contributes to theory development and offers valuable insights for policymakers, humanitarian actors, and development practitioners seeking to empower IDPs and promote their long-term resilience and recovery.

Recommendation

Based on the research findings, it is imperative to implement tailored policies and interventions to address the severe economic challenges faced by Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) affected by terrorism, particularly focusing on the needs of On-Camp IDPs. These initiatives should go beyond providing basic aid and focus on creating opportunities for income generation within the camp settings. Priority should be given to establishing vocational training programs and initiatives aimed at promoting entrepreneurship

among On-Camp IDPs. These programs can equip individuals with the necessary skills and resources to engage in income-generating activities within the camp environment, fostering self-reliance and economic empowerment.

Additionally, there is a need to establish comprehensive social support systems that address underlying factors contributing to unemployment among IDPs. This includes addressing issues such as limited access to resources, lack of education and skills, and psychological barriers that hinder employment opportunities. Efforts to address unemployment among IDPs should take a holistic approach that considers both economic and social factors. Collaboration between government agencies, NGOs, and community-based organisations is crucial to providing a range of services and support aimed at facilitating economic recovery and sustainable livelihoods for displaced populations.

While short-term interventions are essential for immediate relief, long-term solutions are crucial for addressing the root causes of economic vulnerability among IDPs affected by terrorism. This includes investing in education, skills development, and infrastructure development to create sustainable economic opportunities for displaced populations. Moreover, interventions should be tailored to the specific context and needs of different groups of IDPs, considering factors such as displacement location, access to resources, and integration with local communities.

By implementing these recommendations, policymakers, humanitarian organisations, and other stakeholders can work towards addressing the economic challenges faced by IDPs affected by terrorism in Nigeria and promoting their long-term resilience and recovery.

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A META ANALYSIS OF NIGERIA'S POPULATION CENSUS RESULTS FALSIFICATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

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Population, Census, Falsification, Nigeria and Implication

ABSTRACT
Demographic data obtained from population census serves as a fundamental basis for national development planning, revenue distribution, state establishment, local government creation, constituency delineation, and parliamentary representation. The significance of a precise and dependable population census in national development planning cannot be overstated. Despite its importance, population data in Nigeria is plagued by issues of inaccuracy and unreliability, often resulting in perceived falsification. Falsified population data can have adverse effects on a country's socioeconomic and political progress. This study employed an Armchair research approach to examine the falsification of population census outcomes in Nigeria and its repercussions. By delving into the historical context of census practices in Nigeria, defining census and falsification concepts, uncovering instances of census falsifications in Nigeria, and outlining their implications, the analysis shed light on intentional and unintentional falsifications, including errors in data collection instruments. The repercussions of manipulating population figures encompass incitement of unrest, inequitable revenue sharing and resource allocation, inaccurate parliamentary representation, corruption, unnecessary constituency delineations, and local government creations. To prevent the falsification of population census findings, recommendations include implementing biometric technology in data collection, establishing a comprehensive population registry for universal registration and updates, promoting public awareness on the significance of precise census data, enhancing the training of census personnel, conducting regular census exercises, and ensuring adequate funding for such undertakings.

1.0 Introduction

Population census in Nigeria has evolved into a contentious and disputable subject matter due to its implications on the configuration of geopolitical, state, and ethnic relations, as well as the distribution of power. The endeavor to ascertain Nigeria's population has been a subject of intense debate since 1866, and the determination of the total population has predominantly been based on conjecture rather than precise enumeration and data presentation. The stance of the Nigerian populace, particularly the political elite and leaders, towards population size and its impact on constituent states and regions sets the backdrop for the census-related controversies linked to Nigeria. Undeniably, population census stands as a critical concern in Nigeria owing to the profound consequences of population size and structure on societal transformation, progress, and overall quality of life.

The significance of population census in any nation lies in its pivotal role in shaping developmental strategies by furnishing essential data for effective national planning, equitable governance, and future projections. It also serves as the foundation for fair resource allocation, including revenue sharing, electoral representation, job distribution, establishment of industries, and provision of social amenities such as healthcare facilities, educational institutions, postal services, transportation infrastructure, and law enforcement agencies. Moreover, demographic data determines the apportionment of legislative seats at both federal and state levels. Consequently, the politicization of population census in Nigeria has materialized as the political class grasps the profound influence of recorded population figures on the allocation of government resources, as well as their economic and political stature within the societal framework. This correlation between population statistics and resource distribution has prompted the manipulation and distortion of census data pertaining to specific groups or regions within the country, thereby breeding political, social, ethnic, and religious contentions, along with geopolitical tensions and disputes that impede nation-building and sustainable progress.

The facilitation of political and economic advancement in Nigeria would have been considerably smoother had there existed reliable population statistics, as the dearth of accurate demographic information directly impedes the government's ability to ensure fair political representation and equitable access to crucial public resources. Regrettably, the absence of effective, dependable, and credible census data in contemporary Nigeria poses a significant challenge. Therefore, in instances where a country lacks accurate knowledge of the percentage and the overall population of its inhabitants, the process of strategic planning is prone to being disorganized. This disorganization may manifest in the inadequate allocation of resources to regions or sectors that are in urgent need, deficient political representation, improper distribution of essential infrastructure and social services, among other issues. This discrepancy is often observed in scenarios where certain areas have numerous vacant classrooms while others suffer from overcrowding, disparities in healthcare services availability, and unequal state funding from the national treasury based on inaccurate population figures. Consequently, these disparities result in widespread grievances of marginalization from certain sectors of the population, potentially escalating to calls for secession and dissolution of the federated states, as is being observed in the southeastern region of Nigeria, where groups like IPOB and MASSOB advocate for independence. The demand for restructuring through a national constitutional conference is also gaining momentum. The root cause of these tensions can be traced back to the manipulation of population census data, which has granted advantages to some regions over others. As Nigeria gears up for another census exercise, it is crucial to critically review past census data to avoid falsification of the results. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the falsification of population census results in Nigeria and evaluate its implications on the nation's growth and development.

1.1 Problem Statement and Aim of the Study

Previous census exercises have been surrounded by controversies, a phenomenon that experts have attributed to the politicization of population distribution. This is due to the fact that the figures obtained are utilized for revenue allocation from the federation account as well as for the delineation of constituencies. Throughout the years, including 1963, 1973, 1991, and the most recent one, these figures have been deemed as mere fabrications by individuals seeking to manipulate the fate of the Nigerian populace (Kolapo and Faloseyi, 2007). Census activities in Nigeria are intricately linked to petty-bourgeois politics, representing a scenario where states and/or ethnic groups engage in a struggle to inflate census numbers for their own benefit. As a result, few issues have sparked as much controversy, heated discussions, and ethnic

tensions as the manipulation of national census data. This has undoubtedly inflicted significant harm on the nation. Consequently, Nigerians have developed a deep-seated apathy towards census exercises, firmly believing that no census endeavor can be successful in Nigeria, regardless of whether it is conducted under a civilian or military administration. Recognizing these challenges and the severe consequences of falsifying census data, this study aims to examine the population census in Nigeria and its ramifications. In order to achieve this goal, the research employed the Armchair research methodology.

2.0 Methodology and Description of the Study Area

Having introduced the interest of this paper which is to examine and analyze population census results falsification in Nigeria, an armchair research method was employed to conduct this research. To this, previous censuses were x-rayed so as to unfold the elements of falsification. This was done through addressing the following: clarification of the concepts census and falsification, history of census in Nigeria, evidence of population census falsification in Nigeria, its implications conclusion and recommendations.

Nigeria is part of the West African region that is also in the Sub-Saharan African continent. The country is located within the tropical belt (Figure 1), with a wide land mass area of 923,768km², and a total coastline length of 850km (National Communication, 2003; Nwilo et al, 2006). Nigeria is situated in the northern between 4° and 14' and between 3° and 15' degrees of the eastern longitudes (Oguntunde et al, 2011). This explains the country's climatic variations and the differences on the magnitude of climate change impacts being experienced across the country (Allu, 2014).

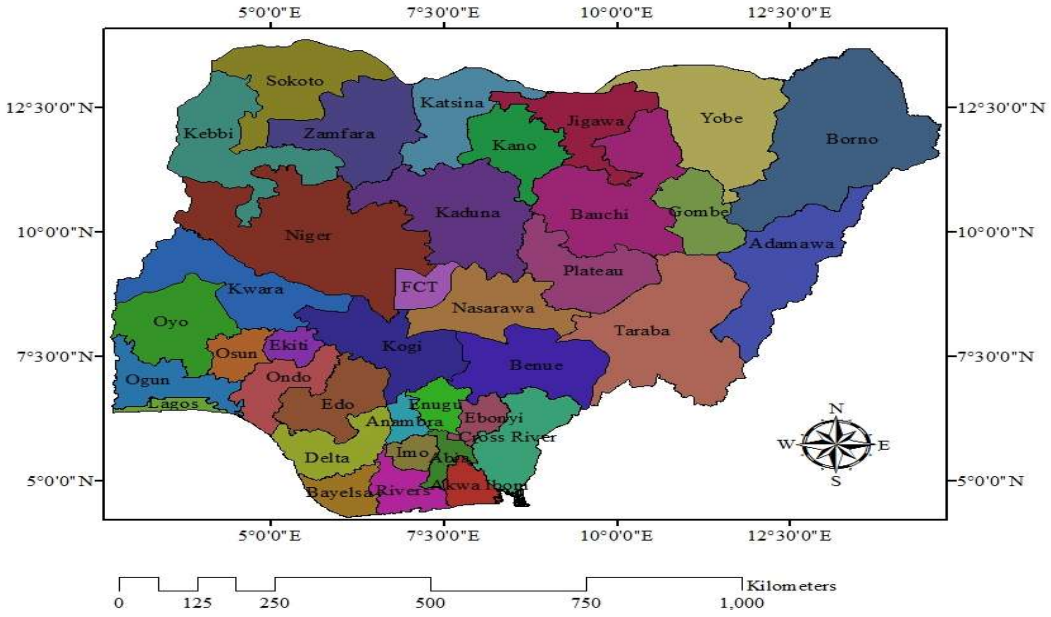


Figure 1: Nigeria showing the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT)

The population of Nigeria as published by the National Population Census Commission (NPC, 2006) is about 150, 000,000 person and this is projected to 200, 000, 000 persons as at 2017 (Demographic statistic Bulleting, 2022). Table 1 shows Nigeria's 36 states in order of their total population based on the 2006 Census figures, (population.gov.ng) as well as their 2016 projected populations, which was published by the National Bureau of Statistics, (Demographic Statistics Bulletin 2022)

Table 1: Nigeria's 36 states in order of their total population based on the 2006 Census figures and their 2016

State	2006 population	2016 population	State	2006 population	2016 population
Kano	9,401,288	13,076,892	Zamfara	3,278,873	4,515,427
Lagos	9,113,605	12,550,598	Enugu	3,267,837	4,411,119
Kaduna	6,113,503	8,252,366	Kebbi	3,256,541	4,440,050
Katsina	5,801,584	7,831,319	Edo	3,233,366	4,235,595
Oyo	5,580,894	7,840,864	Plateau	3,206,531	4,200,442
Rivers	5,198,605	7,303,924	Adamawa	3,178,950	4,248,436
Bauchi	4,653,066	6,537,314	Cross/River	2,892,988	3,866,269
Jigawa	4,361,002	5,828,163	Abia	2,845,380	3,727,347
Benue	4,253,641	5,741,815	Ekiti	2,398,957	3,270,798
Anambra	4,177,828	5,527,809	Kwara	2,365,353	3,192,893
Borno	4,171,104	5,860,183	Gombe	2,365,040	3,256,962
Delta	4,112,445	5,663,362	Yobe	2,321,339	3,294,137
Niger	3,954,772	5,556,247	Taraba	2,294,800	3,066,834
Imo	3,927,563	5,408,756	Ebonyi	2,176,947	2,880,383
Akwa Ibom	3,178,950	5,482,177	Nasarawa	1,869,377	2,523,395
Ogun	3,751,140	5,217,716	Bayelsa	1,704,515	2,277,961
Sokoto	3,702,676	4,998,090	FCT	1,405,201	3,564,126
Ondo	3,460,877	4,671,695			
Osun	3,416,959	4,705,589			
Kogi	3,314,043	4,473,490			

2.1 Conceptual Issues

Concepts of National Population Census

The origin of the word "census" can be traced back to the Latin word 'censere', which denotes the act of taxing and assessing value. Conducted every decade, a population census entails a comprehensive enumeration of a nation's inhabitants, spanning back to ancient times and serving as a crucial wellspring of demographic data (Adeline and Eme, 2015). According to Skerry (2000), Haber Habermann highlights that a census offers a snapshot of a country, delineating its boundaries, strengths, weaknesses, and internal dynamics. By prompting individuals to reflect on their societal position, a census fosters introspection regarding one's place within the nation.

As defined by the United Nations, population census encompasses the entire process of gathering, organizing, assessing, interpreting, and disseminating demographic, economic, and social information pertaining to all individuals in a nation or a delimited region at a specific moment. Described in Population and Societies (2010), a national population census serves as a statistical endeavor aimed at enumerating a country's entire populace while capturing essential demographic, social, and economic data. Osinaike, et al. (2006) characterize census as a method crucial for amassing statistical insights vital for democratic governance and societal advancement. Consequently, population census emerges as a pivotal governmental duty, laying the groundwork for policy formulation across political, economic, and social realms (Peter et al., 2013). In essence, it plays a central role in strategic planning for sustainable national development, offering insights into the total population, demographic

characteristics, and residential patterns, thus informing infrastructure development geared towards enhancing citizens' quality of life (Mimiko, 2006). Despite the United Nations' recommendation of a decennial census cycle, Nigeria has not consistently adhered to this timeframe in its past census exercises. The global body advocates for government-led, synchronized, and periodically conducted censuses to ensure accurate and timely demographic information collection.

The concept of Falsification

Falsification can be construed as the deliberate act of rendering something false through fraudulent alterations, such as counterfeiting documents or measures, and it also encompasses the manipulation of research materials, processes, and outcomes with the intent to deceive. The distortion of data or representations in an exaggerated manner can also fall under the umbrella of falsification. Larry Laudan (1977) defined falsification as the alteration or omission of research data to bolster claims, hypotheses, or other related information. In the realm of science, falsification is commonly understood as the dissemination of misleading information in association with a study, research project, or experiment. Scientific falsification fundamentally contradicts the principles of the scientific method, presenting ethical, moral, and hazardous implications. It stands as one of the gravest transgressions within the realm of research endeavors.

From the aforementioned discussion, it can be inferred that falsification may occur through human interventions or errors in instruments. In the context of the population census in Nigeria, deliberate human manipulations aimed at fraudulent activities are prevalent. The initial scholar to raise concerns regarding falsification was Sir Karl Popper, a significant figure in the 20th century intellectual landscape. Popper revolutionized the philosophy of science by proposing a novel approach to theory validation. Rather than seeking confirmatory evidence for a hypothesis, Popper advocated for actively seeking evidence that could potentially refute the hypothesis. He argued that robust hypotheses should be bold and readily testable, as they are more likely to withstand rigorous scrutiny. While Popper's framework appeared straightforward, it encountered challenges, particularly concerning the demarcation between scientific and non-scientific endeavors. The concept of falsifiability emerged as a response to the problem of anomalies in scientific inquiry, where discrepancies between established theories and empirical findings pose significant challenges. In the context of population census anomalies in Nigeria, the prevalence of human manipulations aimed at falsifying results and gaining unwarranted advantages underscores the relevance of this study.

The principle of falsification plays a crucial role in validating the contemporary scientific method, a process that cannot be exempt from the population census process. Comprehending the methodology and constraints of science is imperative for ensuring the accuracy of scientific outcomes. Inductive reasoning, being insufficient to surmount the challenge of induction due to the inescapable influence of one's perception and reality, underscores the significance of falsification in determining the validity of a hypothesis. A hypothesis that cannot be disproved is deemed inadequate. Adhering to this principle necessitates scientists to scrutinize topics critically without making justifications for their validity. Historically, scientific endeavors often resorted to invoking a divine creator to resolve uncertainties. Addressing this issue, Karl Popper scrutinized the scientific approach and posited that adherence to the scientific method hinges on the falsifiability of a theory. Nevertheless, not all unfalsifiable scientific theories are devoid of significance in shaping current scientific paradigms. An illustrative instance is the ancient Greek postulation of atoms, which could neither be proven nor refuted, thus deeming the theory unscientific. However, contemporary science has demonstrated the particulate nature of matter. The study of science encompasses three pivotal variables related to falsification: falsifiable, falsifiability, and falsificationism.

Falsification is considered a fundamental transgression, particularly in the realm of research, and its ramifications are profound. In the medical sector, for example, valid research forms the basis for determining optimal treatment strategies; hence, falsification of efficacy evidence directly impacts patient care. Scientific falsification arguably poses the most perilous threat in this context. The manipulation of data and evidence can have severe repercussions. Virtually every facet of daily life in various cultures and societies is underpinned by what is deemed as credible research. Business practices, consumer behavior, and educational approaches are all influenced by research findings. The societal structure as we perceive it is largely shaped by research outcomes. The media wields significant influence over individuals, often relying on research-based facts and figures to validate their reports. If research findings are falsified and disseminated, the repercussions are widespread and far-reaching.

History of Population Census in Nigeria

Several estimates of the Nigerian population were made during the colonial period and post-colonial era. Makinwa (1985) documented that the first census took place in 1866 and covered only the Lagos area. The next was in 1871 and marked the beginning of decennial censuses in Nigeria. Following the British tradition of taking censuses in years ending with "one," other censuses of the Lagos colony and its surrounding areas followed in 1881, 1891, and 1901. In 1906, Lagos colony was merged with the then protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Consequently, the census of 1911 covered the whole of what was then known as Southern Nigeria. This was not a true census in that a house-to-house count only took place in 11 main ports, while only estimates of population were made for the rest of the southern provinces and the entire Northern Protectorate, (Petre et'al, 2013). It was the 1921 census during the colonial era that covered the whole country of Nigeria. It was conducted in two parts: one for the town, called the township census, and the other for the rest of the country, called the provincial census. In the township census, 13 townships were enumerated; it was conducted in one day and yielded fairly accurate results. The provincial census spread over a period of two months and because of several difficulties it yielded rather inaccurate results Okolo (1999). According to one account, the provincial census yielded inaccurate data owing to the difficulties arising from the hearty dislike which many tribes feel towards enumeration, and to the shortage of European staff due to World War I (Aluko, 1965).

In 1931, an effort was made to conduct a new census across the entire nation. Regrettably, due to economic hardships, locust invasions in the north, and tax uprisings in Aba, Onitsha, and Owerri between 1929 and 1930, the census was not carried out nationwide. Instead, counting of individuals occurred solely in Lagos, five other townships, 201 villages in Northern Nigeria, and among all foreign residents in the country at that time, according to Petre et al. (2013). Estimates of the population for other individuals and areas were based on existing tax documents and records. Thus, from 1866 to 1931, the censuses were largely unreliable as they did not fulfill all the recognized census criteria, such as individual enumeration, universality, simultaneity, and defined periodicity. In 1941, due to World War II, there was no national census conducted. The subsequent census post-war took place between 1950 and 1953. This process was carried out at various times across the nation. The census for Lagos was the initial one, conducted from 1950 to 1951, serving as a trial to assess new methodologies. Northern Nigeria's census took place between May and July 1952. Residents of the west and mid-west were counted in December 1952 and January 1953, while the east's census occurred in May, June, and August 1953.

Overall, this census marked a significant improvement from previous ones as it covered the entire country. It was spread out over time to allow the Department of Statistics to manage the vast amount of data collected from Nigeria's extensive area. However, the variations in timing meant that data from one region could not be compared with data from another. Additionally, the 1952-1953 censuses faced numerous other shortcomings and obstacles. Many individuals were reluctant to have their wives and children counted as, during that period, the number of wives and children was seen as an indication of a man's wealth. There were those who believed the census could lead to increased taxes for individuals with many wives and children. Some also feared that the census would bring bad luck, famine, or misfortune. Furthermore, certain individuals viewed the census as a way to identify individuals for military conscription, given the previous experience of conscription during the war. By 1952-1953, the northern, western, and eastern regions of the country were preparing for some level of self-governance from the colonial administration as noted by Makama (2006).

Since the last attempt to have census in Nigeria in 1973, no subsequent nationwide census had been held as of 1990. The significant advancements in transportation and accessibility of most regions, in technological capacity, and in the level of education across the nation, along with the widespread acknowledgment of national unity and legitimacy, contributed to the favorable outcome of the autumn 1991 census. Conducted across approximately 250,000 enumeration areas by the National Population Commission, with representation in each of the country's Local Government Areas, the census aimed to avoid potential disputes by excluding religious and ethnic data from the census forms. Moreover, the validation of state outcomes was overseen by supervisors from external regions. Some experts suggest that the endeavor to execute a trustworthy census with apparent validity could serve as an unexpectedly beneficial initiative, strengthening a collective sense of national identity and establishing a template for addressing regional and ethnic disparities.

Following multiple delays, the subsequent and most recent census in Nigeria took place in March 2006. This census marked the second in a series carried out under a democratic regime since the contentious 1952-1953 census. In November 2001, President Obasanjo inaugurated the National Population Commission, charging it with the crucial task of organizing a precise, dependable, and reputable census for the nation. The leadership of the National Population Commission was assumed by Alhaji Samaila Makama. In pursuit of an accurate and trustworthy census, the Commission formulated methodologies and integrated innovative approaches and state-of-the-art technology for the census process. For the first time, the 2006 census utilized technologies such as the Geographical Positioning System (GPS) and Satellite imagery for creating Geo-Referenced Enumeration Area maps, OMR/ICR/OCR machine-readable forms for data collection, Automated Fingerprint Identification System (AFIS) to identify duplicate entries, and Geographic Information System (GIS) for storing the census results from 2006 (Obasanjo, 2006). The initial publication of the 2006 census presents a concise defense of the census methodologies and provides, in an appendix, the interim total population figures categorized by gender and state, along with the average growth rate spanning 1999-2006.

The population total as of March 2006 was provisionally given as 140,003,542. The 2006 census, unlike that of 1991, sought to lessen controversy by avoiding questions on religion or ethnicity. The idea to remove the ethnic and religion status of respondents was greeted with mix feelings Lalasz, (2006).

3.0 Results and Discussions

Ikoba, Jolayemi & Olusola (2018) conducted a Benford-theoretic assessment of the censuses in Nigeria from 1991 and 2006. Data sourced from the National Bureau of Statistics underwent analysis through the application of Benford's probability distribution. The examination encompassed the census data overall and the aggregated data for the six geopolitical zones within the country to ascertain the degree of adherence to Benford's distribution, utilizing the Chi-square goodness of fit test. The findings indicated significant disparities from Benford's distribution in both censuses' overall counts. Notably, the North-West region exhibited the most pronounced deviation in both censuses, while the North-East and South-West displayed the lowest discrepancies in the 1991 and 2006 censuses, respectively. Nevertheless, notable consistency was observed in the dimensions of the local government areas and the population density for the 2006 census.

Bamgbose (2009) uncovered a multitude of irrefutable evidence spanning numerous years, demonstrating that census activities in Nigeria have often been marred by deliberate misinformation, with the goal of securing advantages from the government. In a bid to unveil the fabrication of population census outcomes in Nigeria, the study scrutinized past census results within the country to evaluate the overall findings and pinpoint controversies. The analysis commenced with an in-depth examination of the 1952-1953 census due to its timing coinciding with Nigeria's preparations for autonomy and sovereignty, with its results influencing the electoral process for the Federal House of Parliament. The dataset from this particular census formed the basis for allocating 50% representation to the northern region, a decision vehemently opposed by politicians hailing from southern areas (east and west). Their contention revolved around the allegation that the colonial administration had artificially inflated the population figures in the north to perpetuate political dominance by politicians from that region who were favorable to the British colonial regime. This suspicion of falsification in the 1952-1953 census, where the North secured 50% of parliamentary seats, served as the catalyst for distorting census data, as it gradually dawned on the populace that population size directly influenced political influence, manifesting in the allocation of elected representatives in Parliament or local councils, as well as the distribution of public amenities like schools, hospitals, water infrastructure, and electricity.

The 1963 census marked the initial post-colonial and post-independence census in Nigeria, yet its outcomes failed to resonate positively with the populace. The officially reported figure from the 1963 census stood at 55.6 million, a figure incongruent with the census data from the preceding decade, hinting at a seemingly implausible annual growth rate of 5.8%. Apart from potential inflation of the aggregate figure, evident intra-regional inconsistencies surfaced upon close scrutiny of the 1953 and 1963 census results. In portions of the southeast, for example, the two sets of data imply that some non-urban local government areas (LGAs) had increased at a rate of almost 13 percent per year, while other neighboring areas experienced a minute growth rate of 0.5 percent per year. Despite the controversy, the results of the 1963 census were eventually accepted.

The second post-independence census in Nigeria was the National population census of 1991, which was not free of the element of falsification either. "The 1991 census was a time of accusations and counteraccusations of falsification and inflation," writes Okolo (1999), "and the reported sex ratio (101.3) was contested as it defied world standards and expectations. There were allegations of under-counting and over-counting, and even of manipulation of figures, with the torrent of complaints and rejections that followed the figures." The official census counts of 1991 was 88,5 million people, which was much lower than the 110 million people that many population experts expected. For example, the World Bank estimated Nigeria's population in 1990 at 119 million people, with an estimated yearly growth rate of 3,3 percent. Other sources varied on the exact figure but virtually all agreed that the annual growth rate of population in Nigeria increased from the 1950's to most of the 1980's. According to the government, population growth in most of the country increased at a rate of 2 percent between 1953 and 1962.

For the period between 1965 and 1973, the World Bank estimated Nigeria's growth rate at 2.5 percent, increasing to 2.7 percent between 1973 and 1983. The CIA World Fact book (2016). The last and the recent population census was in 2006, the result shows that Nigeria has 140.0 million people. The total is higher than the projected population of Nigeria in the UN's Revision estimates which show a mid- 2006 population of 134 million. On the politically sensitive matter of the relative proportions of the population in the northern and southern states, the census shows a virtually unchanged division from the previous censuses for instance in 1991 the North has 53.3 per cent of the population and the South has 46.7 per cent while in 2006, the North has 53.6 percent and the South 46.4. (Nigeria National Population Commission, 2006). The 2006 census which sought to lessen controversy, could not escape state- level challenges too to its completeness of estimation. Lagos in particular felt aggrieved. Thus, Weeks, (2008) in his work asserts that the 2006 enumeration exercise was far from being a complete success as there were all kinds of complaints emanating from diverse quarters while enumerators complained of shortages of vital census materials.

According to Bamgbose (2009), the arguments and counterarguments around the 2006 population census revolve around both Kano state and Lagos state. This was made clear when the former Lagos state governor, Ahmed Tinubu, expressed his anger at a book presentation on errors, miscalculations and omissions: the falsification of the census figures in Lagos state. Tinubu said, "we can afford a recount all over the country, and we want one in Lagos. This is the highest form of corruption: fudging census figures just to satisfy some people. No adjustment will make it right; the figure is rejected. We have the support and funding of the UN and the European Union, so let's have a recount."

Ayodele (2007) also raised the issue of the alleged falsification of the results of the 2006 census. According to him, Kano state, which was about the same size as Lagos in 1991, has now a population of 13.732,331, while Lagos has a population of 9.013,534. In his analysis of the 2006 census result Bamgbose (2009) revealed that the released 2006 population census results shows Kano state had 9,383,682 while Lagos had 9,013,634. From the figures released, it was adjudged that Kano state is having the highest population. The figure released by the NPC for Lagos did not match any available social indicators such as the birth rate, the number of houses or physical structures in the area, the number of vehicles per capita, children immunization rate, waste generation, the number of schools in the area, and the cosmopolitan character of the state, through which the population can be derived. According to the available data, the number of immunized children in Lagos state was 3.289,560 in 2004, 3.219,676 in 2005, and 3.186,195 in 2006. The WHO estimated a population of about 16 million in Lagos State based on the results of children immunized between 2000 and 2006. At the time of the 2006 census, Lagos had 26,000 enumeration areas and according to the NPC manual, a city/state should have between 500 and 1000 inhabitants per enumeration area. With an average population of 750 persons per enumeration area, Lagos state should have about 19,500 inhabitants (750 x 26,000).

Again, the released figure for the Lagos State by the NPC stood at 9,013, 534. This is actually far less from what the total number of the residents should be. There are twenty Local Governments in the state and going by the total number of both male and female, this should stand by 17,552,942. This data was gotten from the similar census conducted by Lagos state itself. On the other hand, the released 2006 population census showed that 'Kano has the largest population and that 'North has more population than South' (Muogbo et al., 2007). However, since 1990, Nigeria has been subjected to a cycle of polymorphous violence which has generated thousands of internally displaced persons.

Implications

Any nation's ability to plan for its residents' well-being through government and institutional planning is greatly enhanced by an accurate population census, Nduka (2006). Because the statistics give information for efficient national planning, equitable governance, and future planning, precise statistical knowledge of Nigeria's population is therefore essential to the country's development objectives. In addition, it provides the foundation for the distribution of resources, including revenue, employment, representation of constituencies, and the location of businesses and public facilities like roads, schools, hospitals, and police stations. It also determines the distribution of legislative seats among states in the federal and state houses of assembly. On the other hand, data fabrication may pervert the equity principle, which advocates for fairness and balance distribution of resources and development projects across the state with several implications across economic social and cultural and development indices of the country. This paper therefore summarizes the implications of falsifying population census results in the following paragraphs.

An attempt at falsification could sow the seed of fear of domination among the geopolitical zones as more people become aware of the advantages of having a large population in terms of controlling political power. An attempt to resist the domination could result in riots, as was the case in the 1962–1963 Nigerian census riot, where the eastern and mid-western regions criticized the results and saw it as a ploy by the western and northern regions to dominate them. As a result, they categorically rejected the findings. Thus, the fabrication of census results may provoke a crisis that eventually results in national anarchy.

In Nigeria, the allocation of infrastructures and government facilities, such as schools, hospitals, roads, and portable water supply, is predominantly based on population size among various other factors. Thus, any manipulation in the population census outcomes might lead the government to misplace these essential facilities and infrastructures. Consequently, regions in dire need may suffer deprivation, while those less in need may receive preferential treatment due to inaccurate population data. This disparity is evident in Nigeria, where certain areas have empty classrooms while others are overcrowded, hospitals with vacant beds contrasted with patients lying on bare floors due to insufficient bed capacity. In some regions, animals have access to tap water while humans resort to drinking unhygienic water from streams due to the absence of portable drinking water sources. Therefore, the repercussions of falsifying population data may result in the misallocation of priorities, government facilities, and infrastructures.

In Nigeria, the central government controls the resources and revenues generated by the states, distributing them among the federal, state, and local government levels based on a sharing formula that incorporates population size among other considerations. Consequently, inaccurate population figures could lead to inequitable distribution and allocation of revenue. Often, falsifications are motivated by a desire for political supremacy, particularly evident in Nigeria, with far-reaching implications for the democratic process as misrepresented figures can be exploited to manipulate election outcomes in favor of certain individuals. This trend is notably prominent in the Nigerian federation, where the northern region typically wields significant influence in determining the central government's composition. Thus, the falsification of population data may fuel electoral misconduct, as highlighted by Adeline and Eme (2015).

Furthermore, the study also highlights how falsifying population data impacts the establishment of states and local governments, constituency delineations, and the apportionment of seats for parliamentary representation in both the upper and lower houses. In Nigeria, decisions regarding state and local government creation, as well as constituency delineations, are primarily influenced by population size and other relevant factors. Consequently, erroneous population data may result in unfair seat allocation in the parliament, potentially leading to claims of marginalization and the protection of specific group interests at the expense of others.

Upon considering the significant implications of population data manipulation, it is crucial to assert that falsifying such data amounts to corruption, contravening principles of fairness, justice, and proper governance. Such actions have the potential to unravel the unity of our federation, hinder our development progress, and sow chaos, anarchy, and unrest through crises and lopsided development.

4.0 Conclusion

The distribution of resources within the political system is based on the data obtained from population censuses. In Nigeria, census outcomes highlight the workforce availability and determine the allocation of resources. The 2006 census was

exaggerated due to the understanding that these exercises not only determine the nation's size but also the sizes of different ethnic groups. Moreover, census activities are utilized within the state to assess the political power and impact of various ethnic groups. Since the 1914 unification, ethnic groups in Nigeria have consistently sought increased influence and authority. Consequently, the 2006 population census was manipulated to favor specific ethnic political agendas and ambitions. The competition among multiple ethnic groups in the country significantly contributes to the politicization of census activities. The utilization of population census data for revenue allocation has heightened the eagerness of states in the federation to engage in irregular practices. This increased awareness of the connection between population size, revenue distribution, and political representation in Nigeria poses significant challenges in achieving unbiased population counts.

Numerous challenges hinder the accuracy of population census outcomes, including the absence of a national framework for defining and identifying enumerated areas, inadequate training for census officials, a lack of census operation professionals, conflicting allegiances among census workers, financial constraints, logistical issues, topographic challenges, low levels of education, corruption, ineffective field operation supervision, and the unavailability of essential materials like maps for area identification. These obstacles have prevented the seamless achievement of census goals in Nigeria, resulting in unreliable and erroneous population data.

5.0 Recommendations

This paper haven highlighted the importance of accurate and reliable census data on socio-economic and political life of a nation and identified the implications of its falsification, recommends the following:

i. Post enumeration survey (PES) be conducted independently to assess the validity of the authenticity of the census result.

ii. The use of modern technology that will check multiple counts of individuals to control falsification e.g the use of biometric technology.

iii. Mandatory vital registration and updating where citizen will be registering all vital events of their life.

iv. Organizations, institutions (schools, hospitals and communities should be encouraging to keep records of their members

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NATIONAL SECURITY AND BORDER MANAGEMENT IN WEST AFRICA: A STUDY OF NIGERIA-NIGER RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT
National Security and Border Management in West Africa is an important discourse in security studies in a time when high insecurity and other crimes such as terrorism, kidnapping, arms and weapons smuggling are pervasive. This paper seeks to outline the benefit of a good national security and adequate management strategy to the internal security of states. National security challenges in West African countries partly stem from ineffective border management strategies. Borders between states are porous, unsafe and this allows the illegal movement of people mostly allowing increased insecurity such as terrorism, smuggling, kidnapping, human trafficking and proliferation of arms and small weapons. This paper would rely majorly on secondary sources analyzing already existing documents and works on the subject matter. National security cannot be guaranteed without a proper border management strategy put in place by both Nigeria and Niger as most issues arise from poor border management. This paper intends to contribute to knowledge by arguing that Nigeria-Niger relations particularly border management is critical to the protection of the territorial integrity of the states from the activities of violent non-state actor. The efforts of the states can be impeded based on the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Goods and Persons which will not allow restriction of people in and out of ECOWAS region. This paper also interrogates the recent withdrawal of Niger from ECOWAS and MNJTF and its implications to Nigeria-Niger security arrangement particularly with the presence of various security threats common to both states. Nigeria requires Niger continuous security/military cooperation to ensure its national security is not breached around the border region.

Introduction

National security and Border Management in the West African region have become an issue of concern to most states in the region. National security as well as territorial integrity cannot be guaranteed without adequate border management strategies/programs put in place so that cross-border cooperation and relations would not be hindered. As much as cross-border cooperation is a necessity for the growth of the region, states have to protect their national security by ensuring proper documentation, screening and monitoring the movement of people and goods across their border against Terrorist attacks, illegal movement of weapons and arms, human trafficking, smuggling to mention a few (Ayodele,2019). We have a plethora of literature on this subject matter and we shall examine their dimensions and gaps in this work.

In the case of Nigeria-Niger relations the border security of both states is important and this requires cooperation from both states. This work did not provide the dynamics of cooperation between Nigeria and Niger particularly in the fight against insurgency and other threats which is made possible by poor border control. Also, the valid of free entry and exist made possible by the ECOWAS Protocol which restrict the states to deny entry and exist to suspected criminal and impeding their campaign against insurgency and other threats (Shehu&Dahla,2023).

Borders play and Important role in bilateral relations among states and the protection of the state's territorial integrity from external aggression is dependent on border security/control. In Nigeria-Niger relations border control and management is a major issue for both states as they are in close proximity to each other. This work pays attention to the issues and challenges in Nigeria-Niger border security without highlighting the security threats and their implications on national security, it also did not spotlight strategies to ensure border control and management. This paper will identify security threats and proffer strategies to ensure a proper border control and management protocol is put in place in Nigeria-Niger relations to attain national security particularly on the part of Nigeria (Arizika,2023).

The investigation of trans-national threats in Nigeria-Niger relations supported by porous borders and lack of adequate policy framework to mitigate against these threats which have become a major threat to national security. Cross-border crimes thrive due to easy exit and entry between Nigeria and Niger as a result of unmanned spaces in the border. Today Nigeria and Niger are facing a number of cross-border threats such as insurgency, Proliferation of weapons, drugs and human trafficking and Kidnapping and Banditry. This work failed to highlight the importance of a bilateral framework on border control and management to ensure that their border is safe and secure. Also, a joint security agreement outside the regional was not explored and considered and this work will interrogate this option (Gana et al,2023).

Proper border governance will guaranty national security, as transnational threats will be mitigated against based on the protocols and strategies already put in place. Border management and control plays an essential role in ensuring national security, land border helps the state to control the movement of people and things in and out and improper management would be detrimental as it allows the free entry and exist of criminals and contraband goods.

Illegal migration causes by trans-national threats such as insurgency, banditry and kidnapping area major threat To Nigeria and her neighbors particularly Niger Republic. The interrogation of cross-border threats to national security and the resultant effect which is migration is identifies although the factors supporting the trans-national threats was not examined, also attention was not paid to daunting impact of the threats to National security particularly in the era of insurgency and other major threats. (Ogbonna et al, 2023)

The factors militating against most newly created modern African states in the areas of managing their borders and safeguarding it from intrusion and invasion of any kind from aliens, strangers and unqualified neighbours suffice. The problem is pronounced towards defining and restraining people who should exercise citizenship within the context of the modern African states, not in terms of their location, but itterms of their nationality, relationship and activities across the borders. Many citizens across the divide have relations and traditional ties to people existing as citizens of different nation-states, whom they cannot divorce totally or set apart in sustaining their traditional sentiments and cultural understanding despite the rules of inter-state relations and boundary crossing.

Territorial border is one of the characteristics of a state, it is the sovereignty over a territory which is only achievable through a defined border. Nigeria has international boundaries spanning4,047km of land and 853 km (453 nautical miles) of maritime were created after the partitioning of African continent by European powers in 1885.

International borders which define the legal limits of a country could be partially or fully controlled and may be cross legally only at designated borders checkpoints. Ultimately security of borders and its management constitute a major factor in dealing with national security challenges such as arms smuggling and acts of terrorisms (Freedom,2015).

National security comprises various areas of strategic importance to a state for its survival such as energy, maritime, defense, economy and so on. Border management is important to national security as it helps safeguard people and national assets from external.

Nigeria's border management in relations with her West African neighbours has been poor particularly with the Republic of Niger. The security situations along the Nigerien borders ranging from terrorism, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, smuggling, human trafficking and banditry have become worrisome particularly in the North-Eastern part of the state which shares a large unmanned border with Republic of Niger and other West African States.

This paper seeks to explore the relationship between National Security and border management in the West African region particularly in the context of Nigeria-Niger relations given that Niger is one of Nigeria's closest neighbours towards the North-Eastern part of Nigeria. Trans-national threats or cross-border crimes are present in both states and have become a threat to the national security of both states particularly Nigeria. The paper would identity frameworks and strategies to be put in place to ensure proper border control and management, this will help in secure the state against non-state actors with collaborative efforts from Nigeria and Niger and it will give room for peaceful and cordial bilateral relations.

Theoretical Framework

Transnationalist Theory also known as *Transnationalism* holds that realism fails to offer an adequate explanation for the order that is found within our presumably anarchic system. Popular proponents of transnationalism include Woodrow Wilson, Joseph Nye, Hedley Bull, and Hugo Grotius.Transnationalists argue that state as much if not more than they compete and this cooperation they assert is more consistent than the realists' convergence of national interest among limited numbers of states. Rather states cooperate because it is in their common interest to do so; prosperity and stability in the international system are the direct results of that cooperation.

Transnationalism can be categorised into two models- institutional transnationalism and economic transnationalism(Ayodele,2019). Nigeria-Niger relations can be supported with the theory as it is reflective in all areas of bilateral relations, the political and diplomatic relations between Nigeria is premised on shard cultural values of the people around the North-Western part of Niger and the southern part of Niger. This gives room economic interaction which is beneficial to both states particularly to Niger who is a land-locked country with no access to the open sea. This theory helps to explain Border management and National security in the context of the presence of trans-national or cross-border threats which stand as a major issue to the security of both states. The effect of the threats in one state will be felt in the other state due to close proximity to each other and therefore cooperation and collaboration is required to tackle the treats together.

Transnational security threats often involve non-state actors like criminal organizations and insurgent groups. This theory can be used to examine how these non-state actors exploit weak governance structures and porous borders to carry out their activities. The Theory of Transnationalism considers the impact of globalization on security dynamics. In the context of border management, it helps in analysing how global economic, technological, and communication networks facilitate cross-border crime and challenge traditional border security measure (Gana et al,2023).

In Nigeria-Niger relations border management is a major issue and threat to securing the territory of the states against the activities of criminal and violent state-actors and both states have been grappling with the impact of these trans-national threats which is enabled by poor border management and has significant impact on the National Security of Nigeria in particular.

Conceptual Clarifications

The collocation "national security'' is of rather recent origin. Its elements can be already found in the works of Madison, and more relatively recent in Walter Lippmann's work "US Foreign Policy published in 1943. It was not until World War II that the term "national security'' acquired its place in the "strategic'' dictionary amidst the traditional terms, such as military affairs, external and military policy among others. The term national security is even at the present level of social development

linked almost exclusively with a sovereign nation state in the sense of protection of its physical integrity (Grizold,1994).

National security to any state cannot be underestimated and states take every step to protect the interest of their states and safeguard the values of all communities within the state. The major duty of a sovereign state is the protection of its society from any form of violence and invasion of other independent societies (Akinga,2017). National security encompasses the mitigation against security threats that threaten the sovereignty of a state either by state or non-state actors. These threats include insurgency, militancy, cyberattacks, kidnapping and banditry. The physical security of the state is paramount and it is not restricted to traditional military activities, national security is considered a basic pillar for the survival of the nation (Adamu,2017).

The responsibility of a responsible government is the protection of all citizens and their properties from all forms of internal and external aggression, encompassing the national interests of the state. The protection of a state's sovereignty will be guaranteed through national security which goes beyond just physical security but all other aspect of a state's survival.

National security protects state power (Shuaibu,2017). National security is an important requirement for the survival of the state through the use of various strategies such as economy, diplomacy, power and good governance. In the case of Nigeria, it is the maintenance of corporate existence of the Nigerian state ensuring national unity and cohesion in the face of various security threats and challenges (Shehu&Bello,2017). National security is the sum total of the vital interest of the state, the actualization of these vital interest and the means and methods in attaining these interests The use of state's power and apparatus is strategically important to the actualization of National security. The concept of National security is a post-cold war enabled ideology (Uchegbu,2017) and we have seen states ensure the adequate policies are put in place for the protection of national security.

Border Management

Border management exist in the context of ensuring adequate border security as part of the security architecture of a sovereign state, this ensures the safety of citizens and the territorial integrity of the state from state and non-state actors.The term Management of Border refers to an approach by border control agencies, both domestic and international, in the context of seeking greater efficiencies over managing trade and travel flows, while maintaining a balance with compliance requirements (Freedoom,2015).Border management is therefore commonly defined as the government functions of immigration, customs and excise, and policing, with the aim of controlling and regulating the flow of people and goods across a country's border/boundary in the national interest (particularly economic development, security and peace). Border management is a collaborative process between a country and its neighbours. It cannot be done unilaterally, and it is most effective and efficient when done regionally (Okumu,2016).According to the International Organization for Migration, border management effectively defines a state's territorial boundaries that must be secured and made safe for the benefit of internal security, which in turn determines a nation's sovereignty and capacity to meet its statutory obligations to those who belong, relating to how prohibited persons and harmful substances may be stopped (Gana et al,2023). Border management comes within the purview of national security, the security architecture of states is put in place to ensure the security and safety of the states from all forms of invasion through any of the domains including land (border).

Overview of Nigeria-Niger Relations

The relations between Nigeria and Niger gained momentum towards the end of the colonial rule between 1956 and 1958. Both Nigeria and the Republic of Niger were created and divided by the Berlin conference of 1884 which resolved the scramble for Africa and was able to resolve the scramble by partitioning Africa among European powers. Britain and France both got colonies as well as other powers such as Germany, Portugal and so on (Ayodele,2019). The Republic of Niger became an independent state on the 3rd of August, 1960 and became a member state of the United Nations on the 20th of September, 1960; Nigeria became an independent state on the 1st of October, 1960 and became a member state of the United Nations on the 7th of October, 1960. Therefore, with political recognition, both states decided to have bilateral relations with each other (United Nations,2000).

Their relation was not limited to political relations it included diplomatic, economic as well as military and security relations. The two states enjoyed close ties from proximity of borders, shared cultural and religious heritage, person and goods crossed easily from one part to the other which helped cross-border relations and trade. This unchecked movement has over the years

contributed to security issues along the corridor as the borders are not properly manned due to its large size (Ayodele,2019). Insecurity along the borders of Nigeria and Niger over the years ranging from Terrorism, proliferation of small arms and weapons, smuggling, human trafficking to mention a few has made both states to look into collaborative efforts to safeguard their national security and borders. The insurgency that has engulfed the Lake Chad Basin has not spared both Nigeria and Niger and their porous and unsafe borders have contributed to the success of the insurgency, banditry and kidnapping, proliferation of small and light weapons, human trafficking and a host of other cross-border crimes (Adeola,2012).

ECOWAS Protocolon Free Movement and Implications on National Security and Border Management

Transborder movement is a global challenge to states around the world and at various instance various sub-regional, continental and global organizations have made it a priority to address this issue as it the ability to spring up security challenges that can be injurious to the security of the states even though it's a blessing as globalization encourages movement of people, good and services. In west Africa, the Economic Community of West African States recognizes the undeniable presence of globalization which encourages the movement of people, skill, ideas, goods and services and therefore had to come up with a framework to ensure the actualization of regional integration. Protocol A/P.1/5/79 relating to Free Movement of Persons, Residence, and Establishment in 1979 which provides that "community citizens have the right to enter, reside and establish in the territory of Member States" (Idowu&Agbalajobi,2022).

The establishment of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established in 1975 to encourage sub-regional integration of the West African States in post-independence West Africa, the goal was to promote economic integration and boost the economies of members states to increase the standard of living of the citizens. To achieve this goal certain obstacles must be removed to ensure seamless integration, the most challenging is the free movement of people and goods and the ECOWAS treaty must address it(Idowu&Agbalajobi,2022).

Subsequently, ECOWAS at some point had to move towards peace, security and conflict resolution with the rise of conflict and crisis in the sub-region. The ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of People and Goods was initiated through the ECOWAS Transhumance Protocol of 1998. This allows ECOWAS citizens come in to other member states and stay up to 90 days without a visa(Idowu&Agbalajobi,2022). We have seen the inability to enforce the 90 days residential rule by West African governments and this has given room to illegal presence of citizens from various states who are undocumented and the porosity of our borders makes this ease and in end we have seen a increase in trans-border crimes threatening the national security of Nigeria and Niger.

The implication of this protocol is simple, anyone with identification of ECOWAS State can go in and out with serious security check. In the case of Nigeria-Niger relations with porous borders it gives free entry and exit to criminal elements and it is a challenge to safeguarding the borders in Nigeria-Niger relations (Idowu&Agbalajobi,2022). The protocol negates the protection of national security as entry and exist cannot be denied based on citizenship and this is limiting the protection of the orders with strong implications on National Security.

National Security Issues in Nigeria-Niger Relations

Terrorism/ Insecurity is a threat to the success of Nigeria-Niger relations and in the last few years that corridor has been thrown into devastating effect of security challenge ranging from terrorism, banditry, kidnapping, smuggling. The focus here would be terrorism along the Nigeria-Niger border particularly the impact of Boko Haram in threatening national security in Nigeria and an overlap in Niger republic which provides safe haven for insurgents to retreat into.

The Boko Haram sect, which was officially founded in 2002 in Maiduguri by Mohammed Yusuf, was with the aim of establishing Sharia regime in the states of the core north. The movement whose name 'Boko Haram', in Hausa translates as, "western education is sinful", see themselves as people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teachings and jihad, further translated in Arabic as Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda' awatiwal-jihad.

The group, established a religious centre, which soon became a recruiting ground for jihadis to fight the state. They also include members who come from neighbouring Chad and Niger and speak only Arabic (Gbadeyan,2017).Both Nigeria and Niger's national security have been threatened by terrorism and insecurity particularly terrorism which is peculiar to both of them.

In the case of Nigeria over the past several years, Boko Haram has been responsible for several violent attacks, including bombings against the

Nigerian state in the north and also extended its mayhem to the Nigeria's capital of Abuja. These attacks have occurred at high-profile government establishments, markets, banks, police stations, and churches The sect, which was originally considered to be a domestic terrorist group, has also successfully launched transnational attacks and struck international targets. This has not only fundamentally changed their description and designation, but has put them in the global spotlight (Smith,2016).

Niger has been particularly threatened from its southern and western borders. Boko Haram was responsible for most of the terrorist attacks in Niger from 2015. Targets of terrorist attacks in Niger have included government and civilian entities, as well as foreign, particularly Western entities and nationals. Kidnappings of foreign nationals have also brought millions of dollars into the coffers of terrorist groups (Ayodele,2019).

The close proximity of Nigeria and Niger to each other by virtue of shared border which over the years have not been properly protected and secured has given in to the rise of terrorism and insecurity along the axis. The opportunity of free entry and exit without going through security clearance gave insurgent and criminals safe passage as well as smuggling and movement of small arms and light weapon. The porous borders and poor border management gives access to insurgents and criminals to use both states as safe haven after attacks as both states cannot chase into the individual territories.

An arms trade expert, William M. Hartung argues that conflicts in Africa have attracted arms deal and influx of arms to different parts of North, West and Central Africa that have proximity with Nigeria. Hence, in linking the flourishing arms market in Africa to the strengthening of the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria as a challenge of the nation's territorial integrity and national security, he admitted that the proliferation of arms has become amatter of concern owing to the growing security threats in the Lake Chad Basin particularly Nigeria and Niger (Babalola,2017).

In the case of proliferation of arms and light weapons during the cold war era Africans had support of both the capitalist west and communist east in fighting internal wars through the supply of arms, weapons and ammunition. Africa witnessed various civil wars and conflicts during this time and most of the weapons and arms after the wars were still much around in various part of Africa and this gave insurgents and criminals access to this weapons and arms. The lack of proper monitoring and securing of borders of both Nigeria and Niger allows for easy smuggling of weapons from their respective borders into their states and are used to carry out terrorist attacks and other criminal activities such as banditry, kidnapping, armed robbery and so on.

Banditry and Kidnapping is another major security threat in Nigeria-Niger relations in the last few years both states have been impacted heavily from loss of lives, properties and large ransom payments. Bandits have terrorised north-west Nigerians for about a decade, and attacks are rising. Rape and other sexual violence, abductions and killings are just some of the atrocities citizens face daily. Interestingly we have similar situation in Niger and the porosity of the border made it easy to cross in and out and have a safe haven in Nigeria and Niger respectively.

Border Management Issues in Nigeria-Niger Relations

In the north-east, the borders Nigeria shares with Niger stretch over1,690km. Nigeria ranks 8 of the top 46 countries with long borders in the world. In Africa, Nigeria is ranked 18th on the list. Despite the fact that Nigeria has fewer neighbours with a shorter land border which should make it safer than Mauritania, Angola or South Africa, only four African countries namely: Democratic Republic of Congo, Central Africa Republic, Chad and Libya, with longer land borders and more neighbours are worse off than Nigeria.

In discussing Nigeria -Niger relations border management is one of the major issues in their relations, it is the most porous border between Nigeria and other states. The relationship is a long, historical and culturally one and the nature of boundaries are characterized by a lot of arbitrariness. There is fluidity in the borders between Nigeria and Niger. There is a committee of governors of Northern states of Nigeria with governors of states in Niger that share borders that meet regularly and discuss border security issues and measures (Sana Project2018).

The fight against insurgency in the Lake Chad Basin has been tough particularly the movement of the insurgents through borders of states undetected. This is due to lack of border management policy among states in the region. These terrorists find safe haven in neighbouring border towns after attacks by assimilating into the communities which is easy as the factors such as language, physical attributes and religion are in common (sana Project).

The large expanse of border areas is left unmanned and unsecured. Adequate personnel and efficient use of high technology would be the best way to secure the borders, however, both states lack a comprehensive database of its citizen and immigrants while their passport and identification system are weak and easily accessible putting in mind the high corruption in both states (Onyejelumu,2009).

The poor border management system has allowed smuggling of small arms and light weapons in and out of both states which has fuelled the insurgency over the years. The movement of arms across borders has been made easy for the insurgency as both Nigeria and Niger borders are porous, weak and unsafe and allows smuggling of other contrabands that has aided the insurgency such as kidnapping, banditry and human trafficking (Punch,2020).

The kidnapping of the Chibok and Dapchi girls from their school in Borno state and movement of some across the border into Niger and neighbouring countries would nearly been impossible if the country's borders are adequately protected and secured (Premium Times,2018).

Trans-national crimes have gained ground because of poor border management and security, over the years the easy and unhindered access to Nigeria via Niger and vice versa by criminals and insurgents has weakened the security of the states and enhanced the operations of insurgents and criminals. National security cannot be achieved without a safe and secure land border; this requires a deliberate and functional border control/management framework from both states irrespective of politics and other issues in the sub-region.

Security Implications of Niger's Withdrawal from ECOWAS To Nigeria-Niger Relations

The recent wave of coups in West Africa and particularly the recent coup in Niger republic and the aftermath of ECOWAS sanctions against Niger led by Nigeria did put a strain on Nigeria-Niger relations. More importantly before now, Niger republic is a member of the Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) whose mission is to provide security in the Lake Chad Basin region against the threats of Insurgency, Banditry, Kidnapping and other security threats. The withdrawal of Niger from the MNTJTF in particularly simply means Nigeria will no longer get the support of Niamey in the fight against insurgency and other threats, which then give more space and opportunity to insurgent and criminals to perpetrate crimes in already under protected space (VOA,2023).

In reality, Nigeria will have to double its own effort in securing her territorial integrity against non-state actors going forwards by ensuring the border town are well patrolled and secured. The Nigeria-Niger relations is under threat and both states must find a way to reconcile for the security of their states as non-state actors will now explore the gap to take -over and infiltrate the unprotected spaces. Nigeria-Niger relations is currently at abysmal state and this also includes security relations and particularly the protection of the borders from insurgents and criminals. The National security can be threatened by the lack of support in the fight against insurgents and criminals on the border axis.

Recommendation

The understanding on how to achieve national security also requires the question of how to ensure effective border security. Therefore, border security is very essential for the actualization of consolidated statehood, enhancement of sovereignty and national security. Nigeria has been experiencing the problem of how to effectively secure its borders from all sort of transnational crimes that serve as a threat to national security. Despite certain efforts put in place to strengthen Nigerian borders, certain factors have contributed to serious challenge to border security such as corruption; poor technological gadgets and other facilities/logistics; issues of globalization; porous nature of the border; inadequate cooperation or coordination between security agencies etc. Therefore, to ensure effective border security, the following measures need to be put in place.

i. Adequate provision and use of ICT facilities or the technological gadgets such as the geographical information system, surveillance drones, biometrics etc are very essential in order to effectively track down the activities of trans border criminals like terrorist, robbers, arm dealers etc. The use of ICT or technological gadgets will help to complement the physical border control.

ii. Apart from provision of technological gadgets, provisions of other facilities like good accommodations, offices and logistics (like patrol vehicles, aircraft) to security agencies is very necessary in

order to curb the activities of trans border criminal activities.

iii. There is need for the government to construct adequate fences, auto-gates or border plazas. This will help to reduce the size of illegal migration, smuggling of goods and trafficking of persons.

iv. Strengthening the cooperation, collaboration and coordination between states is very essential. Nigeria and its neighbouring countries need to strengthen their cooperation especially, through the Multi-National Joint Task Force; Joint Border Control Commissions with Niger, Chad, Benin Republic and Cameroon to ensure effective border security.

v. There is urgent need to address the problem of corruption among security agencies in order to reduce the rate of trans-border criminal activities.

vi. Upgrade border infrastructure, including the construction of modern border posts and the deployment of technology such as surveillance cameras, drones, and biometric systems.

vii. Promote cooperation and coordination among various law enforcement agencies from both Nigeria and Niger, as well as with international partners to combat transnational crime effectively.

viii. Encouragement of community engagement for border and security control is very important. Involve local communities in border security efforts by raising awareness, fostering cooperation, and providing incentives for reporting suspicious activities.

Conclusion

The Nigeria-Niger border is a critical border that is prone to a wide range of international cross border crimes, posing substantial hazards to both nations. This study has provided valuable insights into the complex and multifaceted nature of transnational security threats and border management challenges at the Nigeria-Niger border. The findings shed light on the various forms of cross-border crime that affect the region, including smuggling, human trafficking, and terrorism-related activities. It is evident that these issues pose significant risks to the security and stability of both countries.

The Nigeria-Niger border dynamics and transnational threats highlight the need for comprehensive border management strategies that address security challenges while also recognizing the economic and social ties that exist in border communities. Effective border governance, cooperation, and international support are essential to mitigating the security risks associated with this expansive and porous border. The ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Goods and Persons which will not allow restriction of people in and out of ECOWAS region and the implication of the recent withdrawal of Niger from ECOWAS and MNJTF has had a negative impact on the effective border management of both countries.

Therefore, the government of the two countries should be proactive in securing their borders. The growing dissatisfaction, discomfort and distress along these borders coupled with the unabated official corruption, high rate of unemployment have heated up other violent crimes which has become leitmotif of Nigeria and Niger Republic social relation along the border.

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

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ABSTRACT
Security is a vital component of any Nation's growth and development, with its absence, there is no progress. Insecurity in Nigeria now has posed significant challenges to the nation's security forces. The study examined prevention of violent crimes with drones as an effective alternative to vehicular patrols in Nigeria. The specific objectives were to determine the impact of drones in the prevention of kidnapping, 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 College while a sample size of 89 officers was selected for the study. 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 a 0.05 level of significance. The result of the study showed that drones have a significant impact on 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 formations in the country, adequate budgetary provision training of manpower, comprehensive monitoring, and adequate assessment and action on information and intelligence received from drones. This study has identified use of technological devices like drones would help security agencies in the country to be more proactive on issues of insecurity. The study advocates the usage of drones by all security agencies for effective mapping systems in fighting insurgency and other forms of insecurity in Nigeria. Therefore, this study tends to create illumination of the need to safeguard our society with modern technological devices like drones against criminals, because drone usage has been identified as the most effective intelligence gathering and security monitoring.

Introduction

According to (Abiodun, 2020), Security is a major human desire; it is significant to the extent that the absence of it renders people ineffective in all senses. Abraham Maslow's work on human needs also ranked security as second (next to physiological needs) in the hierarchy of human needs. Insecurity is the state of being prone or vulnerable to danger or threat of danger, it is the opposite of security.

The present insecurity situation in Nigeria now has portrayed the country as an unsafe nation for its citizens and non-citizens among the comity of nations. The rising spate of insecurity in Nigeria has now assumed a formidable dimension. This has posed significant challenges to the nation's security forces. Nigeria has experienced widespread insecurity for more than two decades, and this has attracted global attention because it has led to the deaths of many innocent people such as foreign nationals, some members of the country's security forces, and numerous other citizens. Insecurity in Nigeria now calls for extraordinary measures to combat the menace. This critical issue has affected food production and caused hunger in the land as a result of kidnapping, incessant farmers/herders clashes in agri-food farming areas in the country, which has led to the rising cost of food, the rising cost of living, and escalating unemployment that continue to affect our country. The country is going through a very difficult unsafe time, most especially on highways nationwide. Insecurity is a familiar and growing term in Nigeria nowadays, traveling from one place to another within the country is a very risky venture that portends the loss of life and freedom, if millions of naira were not paid as ransom after being kidnapped on the highways to regain freedom. Violent crimes like kidnapping have moved mainly from the city areas or suburbs to highways. The country's security agencies need new approaches to fighting insecurity through the use of modern technological devices like drones.

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. Crime prevention is the various measures and strategies that lead to reduce the risk of crime and its distinct outcome on individuals and the environment, including the fear of crime and by monitoring various causes of crime (Shaw, 2010). (Brantingham and Brantingham,1991) have specified four measures of crime commission that is the law of the land, the guilty party, the injured party, and the scene of a crime.

The use of technological gadgets, 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 indispensable tools 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. The worst situation is that kidnappers often use their abductor's phones to make and receive calls during the negotiation and also receive a ransom in cash without being arrested.

In recent times, drones have been the most efficient tool for gathering intelligence, conducting aerial surveillance, and monitoring security. Drones are crucial devices in enhancing security surveillance and safety across various scenarios. It can conduct regular patrols to ensure ongoing surveillance of a location and it accepts command faster and carries out tasks faster at a reduced cost than the usage of vehicular patrol on our highways. In Nigeria, using drones as a substitute for vehicular patrols can improve the prevention of violent crimes. Researchers, scholars, and security experts have not relented in making various recommendations and viable solutions for addressing insecurity in Nigeria. Therefore, it is in the face of the security challenges that the study focuses and seeks to examine the impact of drones in tackling insecurity in Nigeria by preventing violent crimes; kidnapping, armed robbery, brigandage, or community massacre as an effective alternative to vehicular patrols in Nigeria.

1.1 Statement of Problem

No doubt, the issue of insecurity is a serious problem in Nigeria now. The country was ranked sixth in the world for organized crime, according to the 2023 Global Organized Crime Index. This indicated that Nigeria continues to face a series of security challenges, the country has been battling with various forms of violent crimes nationwide. 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. Insecurity has affected food production and caused hunger in the land because it is affecting farming and food production. It has

caused a rising cost of living, and escalating unemployment that continue to affect our nation. Itis now crippling Nigeria's education system and drastically eating up the educational sector which may eventually lead to educational decay. The pervasive insecurity across various regions of Nigeria has become an ever-growing concern for citizens and the government. The incessant attacks by insurgent groups, kidnappers, bandits, and other criminal elements have resulted in the loss of lives, displacement of communities, and a palpable atmosphere of fear and uncertainty. There are numerous lists of violent highway attacks involving kidnappings or abductions for ransom, violent attacks involving mass/indiscriminate killings without abductions, and lists of attacks involving both mass/indiscriminate killings and abductions. The frequency of violent crimes, including banditry, ritual killings, kidnappings, and armed robbery, has been rising. Insecurity may be on the increase if proactive measures are not taken, because more people have resorted to kidnapping, banditry, and broad-day robbery. The menace is on the increase, hence there is an urgent need to curb and reduce the high wave of insecurity in Nigeria, particularly violent crimes. Crime prevention and control in Nigeria nowadays need technological approaches. Nigeria is experiencing the prevalence of rising crime waves, criminal intentions, and varying degrees of delinquency. Nigeria and Nigerians have been on the global crime map over the years to the present time and there has been no adequate and genuine intention by any government of the society to change the situation. Going by the increase in crime rate, many have lost hope in the police and other security agencies in the country. There are changes and development in crime commission patterns in Nigeria now, crime commission is increasing in geometric progression while crime prevention is moving in arithmetic progression, hence there is a need to be fast growing in areas of strategical crime control, most especially to change from using vehicular patrol to the usage of drones on our roads due to criminogenic nature of our highways in Nigeria. Daily attacks on innocent citizens mostly on our roads by suspected criminals have now become a huge task to handle with vehicular patrol by the Nigerian security agencies,and this is a pointer to the need to adopt the use of drones for security surveillance and intelligence gathering. This study tends to create illumination of the need to safeguard our society with modern technological devices like drones against criminal elements that are involved in violent crimesdailyby identifying the impact of drones in preventing violent crimes like kidnapping, armed robbery, and others. The study is expected to contribute to the existing literature in the field of criminology and security studies in particular and all other social sciences disciplines.

1.2 Objectives of Study

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

The specific objectives include;

i. To examine the impact of drones in the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria

ii. To examine the impact of drones in the prevention of armed robbery in Nigeria

iii. To examine the impact of drones in the prevention of community massacre in Nigeria

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions that guided the study are;

i. To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria?

ii. To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact on the prevention of armed robbery in Nigeria?

iii. To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact the prevention of community massacres in Nigeria?

1.4 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 significant impact of drones in the prevention of armed robbery in Nigeria

HO3. There is no significant impact of drones in the prevention of community massacre in Nigeria.

2.0 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, 1999) 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 unit that can 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, 2022). 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.

2.1 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).

2.2 Theoretical frameworks

The nature of social reality is so complex that, every social phenomenon is subjected to various analyses and interpretations depending on which of the theoretical realm one falls. There are as many theories as there are phenomena. However, two theoretical perspectives in sociology were examined to explain the impact of drones in the prevention of violent crimes in Nigeria as the phenomenon under study.

(i) Anomie Theory

In 1897, Emile Durkheim, a French classical sociologist, first used the concept of anomie in his book (Suicide) to describe the prevalence of suicide in Europe due to the breakdown of the collective values which led to a feeling of despair and hopelessness in the people. However, in 1954, Robert K. Merton, an American Sociologist, developed the concept into a model that analyses the five personality types that respond to anomic conditions in society which include; the Conformist, the Innovators, the Ritualists, the Retreatist, and the Revolutionary. Merton developed the structural strain theory by building on Durkheim's notion that anomie is a social situation in which people's norms and values no longer match those of society. According to Robert Merton's Strain theory, conformists play by social rules and invariably seek politically correct means of achieving cultural goals. The innovators identify the blind spots in the social system and develop unconventional means of achieving the cultural goals. The Ritualists abandon all hopes of achieving the cultural goals due to a repeated experience of failure but still adopt the institutionalized means. The Retreatists become completely disinterested in both the cultural goals and the institutionalized means; they often come off as sociopaths withdrawn to drugs, alcohol, and suicidal thoughts. The Revolutionary seek to disrupt the existing system and replace it with a perceived better system.

The theory submits that society usually puts pressure on individuals to attain socially accepted goals, though they lack the means. This, therefore, results in strain which may push individuals to commit crimes, like kidnapping, armed robbery, banditry, or joining terrorist groups among other violent crimes. According to this theory people engage in criminal behavior as a result of their inability to achieve their goals through legitimate means. People may turn to crimes when they see that there are opportunities to succeed in committing crimes are limited, or when they experience strain or frustration in their lives. The theory suggests that crime is a result of the strain that individuals experience when they are unable to achieve their goals through legitimate means. The theory focuses on the disconnect between societal goals and the means available to achieve them. When individuals cannot achieve these goals through legitimate means, they engage in criminal acts. The patterns of rule-breaking depend on whether or not people accept society's goals and whether or not they have the opportunity to reach them.

The theory is being criticized for emphasizing materialism as a motivation for deviance or crime. The theory also sees crime and deviance coming from the aggrieved activities of the poor rather than the rich, both rich and poor commit crimes. (Mukhtar, 2015) as cited by (John Wajim, 2020) also criticizes the theory based on labeling a ritualist who is someone who lives by organizational rules as a deviant. Finally, the theory does not clarify why some individuals adapt to innovation and not retreatism or adapt to rebellion rather than ritualism.

(i) Relative Deprivation Theory

The study further employs relative deprivation theory to explain the phenomenon. Relative deprivation was first used by Robert K. Merton in his study in 1950 on The American Soldier on the response of groups to promotion (Cherkaoui, 2015). Relative deprivation suggests that crime happens when individuals or groups see themselves as being unfairly disadvantaged compared to other individuals or groups whom they see as being similar (or inferior) to themselves (The Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, 2016).

The theory of relative deprivation, therefore connotes that the feelings by individuals of several feelings of relative deprivation due to economic comparisons can be an important motivator to criminality (Ontario Ministry of Children Community and Social Services, 2016). Such individuals would have compared themselves with others based on some valued dimension (such as income) and found they were worse off than the other. The recognition of their deprivation (the cognitive component of relative deprivation) can be a powerful motivator for accompanying feelings such as anger (the affective component of relative deprivation) to reduce one's deprivation (Ontario Ministry of Children Community and Social Services, 2016). The affective components of deprivation may include an attempt to gain legally or illegally depending on how the deprivation is perceived. Another thrust of relative deprivation theory is that individuals may compare themselves to others (egoistic relative deprivation) or their group to other reference groups fraternal or collective relative deprivation). In that vein, egoistic relative deprivation may motivate individual action, while fraternal deprivation may motivate collective action (Ontario Ministry of Children Community and Social Services, 2016). (Ajaegbu, 2012) attributed the rise in crimes such as robbery, kidnapping thuggery, and terrorism to a "gap" in society. Summarily, relative deprivation is a feeling that you are generally "worse off" than the people you associate with and compare yourself to (Longely, 2018). Relative deprivation theory has been criticized for failure to explain why some people, though deprived of rights and resources, fail to take part in social movements meant to attain those things (Longely, 2018). It is a clear fact that not all unemployed youths are involved in crime. However, the theory is relevant to explain unemployment as a major underline cause of crime in Nigeria, because there is a mutual correlation between crime and unemployment. The inability of most people to be gainfully employed is a major motivating factor for various crime activities perpetrated by them.

2.3 Review of Related Literature

Many studies have been conducted on the relationship between unemployment, crime, and security. There is a consensus among scholars that joblessness is connected to criminality. Ehrlich cited in (Jelilov and Ndanitsa, 2015) noted that joblessness is connected with offence because the time spent for genuine work decreases the chance of illegal work. A decrease in unemployment, according to Fadaei-Tehrani and Green in (Jelilov and Ndanitsa, 2015) leads to a decrease in crime and vice versa. UN-Habitat discovered that socio-economic inequality and lack of opportunities for social advancement and employment are some of the root causes of crime and violence (Ajaegbu, 2012).

According to (Engberts and Gillissen, 2016) stated that drones are not a continuation of human

senses but it aid humans with important informations without their actual presence on the scene. (Abiodun, 2020) in his own view stated that the insecurity and insurgency could be adequately and effectively fought using drones most especially at the border areas, with updated mapping system and the use of drones as surveillance. Another major contribution or merit of drones is that, they become more useful for aerial surveillance, they can move at higher speeds than ground vehicles as they are not restricted to traveling on the road network. They can potentially fly in conditions that are too dangerous for a manned aircraft, such as evacuation conditions, or very bad weather conditions. Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) are usually programmed off-line and controlled in real time to navigate and to gather transportation surveillance and intelligence data (United States Air Force, 2016). UAVs can view a whole set of networks of roads at a time and inform the base station of emergency or accidental sites. It also permits timely view of disaster area to access severity of damage. Most of the drones are able to be flown for up to 45 minutes on a single battery charge and can travel up to 2 miles from the person controlling it, reaching effective surveillance altitudes of approximately 1,000 feet respectively.

Moreover, drones are designed to undertake constant, persistent surveillance to a degree that former methods of video surveillance were unable to achieve. By virtue of their design, their size, and how high they can fly, drones can operate undetected in urban and rural environments. Surveillance UAVs can be programmed to launch at regular intervals throughout the day, survey specific areas or features on the map, record video and transmit it all back in real-time, or record it to a DVR for logging and review later (Collinson, 2011), as cited in (Abiodun, 2020). They can also be programmed to deploy when event-driven triggers, such as seismic sensors, motion detectors and invisible infrared geo-fences are activated by an unidentified presence. Drones produce minimal noise, and can be equipped with night vision cameras and thermal sensors, allowing them to provide imagery that the human eye is unable to detect. Surveillance drones are equipped with sophisticated imaging technology that provides the ability to obtain detailed photographs of terrain, people, homes, and even small objects (Elmendorf, 2010). Giga-pixel cameras used to outfit drones are among the highest definition cameras available, and can provide real-time video streams at a rate of 10 frames per second. They usually carry infrared cameras, heat sensors, GPS, sensors that detect movement, and automated license plate readers.

This is one of the reasons (Abiodun, 2020) in his study reveals that drones or UAVs are very effective for aerial surveillance, mapping system, intelligence gathering, and manning security - and it is to be adopted by the security agencies in Nigeria. He further recommended that various states governments should be licensed to use drones for monitoring forests and other hideouts of criminals in their domains; at the same time, more security officers or vigilantes should be recruited among indigenes and residents of the various communities in each region in the country. According to (Ezenwa Olumba, 2022) in his article title "States must invest in drone research and development to tackle insecurity in the Sahel" The global race to acquire drone technology has intensified among state and non-state actors seeking to assert control over territories. In the Sahel, the use of drones by militarized terrorist groups requires a government response. Ezenwa argues that African states should invest in the research and development of drones to counter the threat defensively, rather than rely on external suppliers.

However, despite the various efforts being made by the past researchers in the field, research on impact of drones in preventing and detecting crimes in Nigeria has not received adequate attention, most especially on prevention of crimes with drones on highways. Little has been done by researchers, and available research literatures on drones are inadequate and dominated by foreign authors and researchers. Although drones' usage has been identified as most effective alternative to vehicular patrols for aerial surveillance, mapping system, intelligence gathering, and manning security, if is to be adopted by the security agencies in Nigeria. But the menace of insecurity has not been well analyzed as failure of government or dysfunctional of the societal systems. In support of (Abodun, 2020) in his opinion concluded that if the drones or UAVs are deployed for aerial surveillance securitization, the increasing level of insecurity in Nigeria would definitely become a thing of the past.

3.0 Methodology

This study used a survey research design method. The population consisted of 114 police officers on a regular course from Nigeria Police College, and stratified simple random sampling technique was employed to stratify the respondents into different categories such senior and junior officers, however, 89 were valid for analysis. A structured questionnaire was used to collect data for the study which consists of a series of structured questions, each of which is intended to elicit a particular piece of data, which include biographical information of the respondents and

multiple-choice questions about preventing violent crimes. Respondents rated their answers on a four-point scale by selecting one of the options from the lists; 1. ***Agree (A),*** 2. ***Strongly Agree (SA),*** 3. ***Disagree (D),*** 4. ***Strongly Disagree (SD).*** Researchers in the form of lecturers validated the instruments to ensure that the questions on the questionnaire were clear and valid.

3.1 Population of the Study

The study population was made of 114 students on a regular course drawn from Nigeria police college as shown in Table 1

Table 1: Population Distribution

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

Source: Field Survey, 2024.

3.2 Sampling and Sampling techniques

A total of 89 students were selected as sample size for the study. The sample size was selected using the stratified simple random sampling technique

Table 2: Sample Distribution

S/N	Nigerian Police College	No of Students
1	Senior officers	40
2	Junior officers	49
	Total	89

Source: Field Survey, 2024.

3.3 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

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 a 0.05 level of significance**.** These sections provided answers to the research questions and tested the hypotheses as follows;

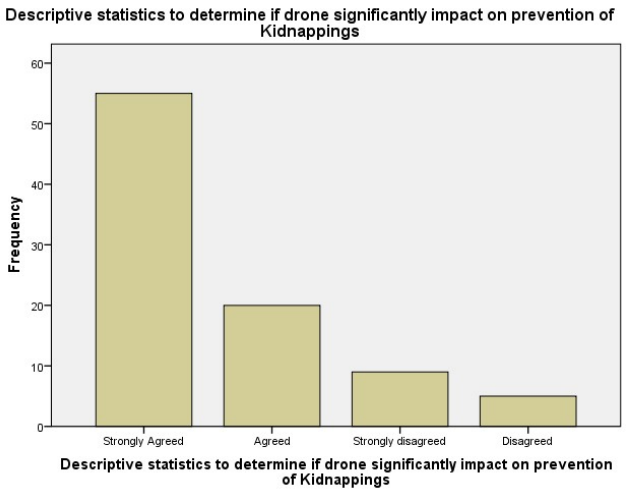
4.1 Research Question One

1. To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria Table 4.1

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

Staff of Nigerian police college	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative	Mean	Std.Deviation
				% Percent	1.5955	.88830
Strongly Agreed	55	61.8	61.8	61.8		
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			



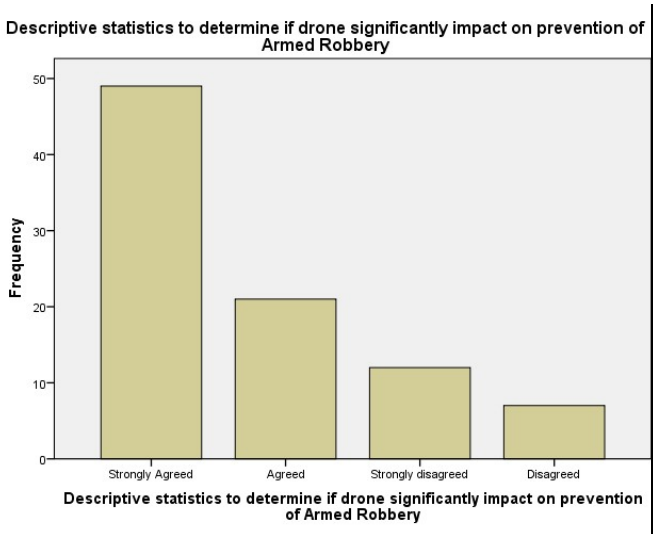
Result; The descriptive statistics showed that 55 respondents representing 61.8% of total respondents strongly agreed that drones significantly impact the prevention of kidnappings in Nigeria

4.2 Research Questions Two

To what extent does the use of drones significantly impact the prevention of armed robbery in Nigeria? Table 4.2

Descriptive statistics to determine if drones 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 respondentsrepresenting 55.1 % of total respondents strongly agreed that drones significantly impact the prevention of ArmedRobbery in Nigeria.

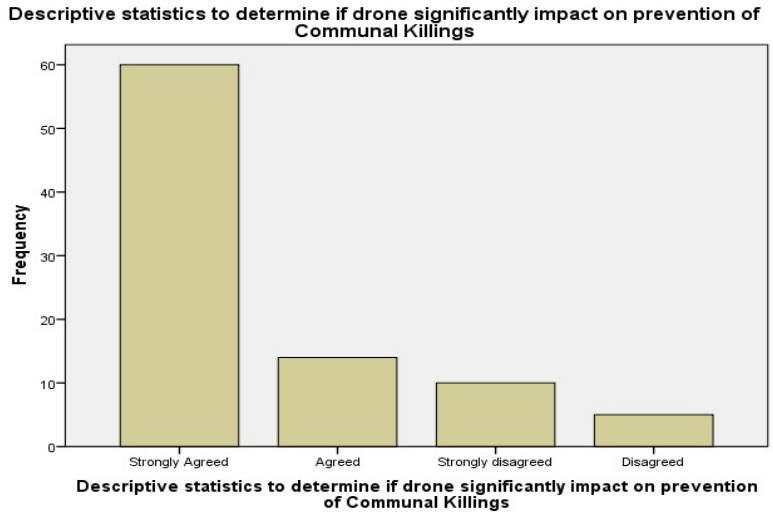
4.3 Research Questions Three

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

Table 4.3

Descriptive statistics to determine if drones 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 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

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

Table 4.4.1

Model Summary

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 a 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

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 to the independent variable.

Table 4.4.2

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.984[a]	.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 a 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

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

Table 4.4.3

Model Summary

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 a significantimpact of drones in the prevention of Communal Killings in Nigeria

4.5Results

The result of the study is summarized as follows

1. 1.Therefore there is a significant impact of drones in the prevention of kidnapping in Nigeria
2. There is a significant impact of drones in the prevention of armed robbery in Nigeria
3. Therefore, there is a significant impact of drones in the prevention of community massacre in Nigeria

4.6 Discussion

The study showed that there is a significantimpact of drones in the prevention of kidnapping, armed robbery, and communal killings in Nigeria.In Nigeria, the use of drones can constitute an alternative to vehicular patrol to enhance the prevention of violent crimes.It is believed thatdrones can enhance effective aerial surveillance, effective, intelligence gathering, and monitoring security activities. Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) known variously as drones or remotely piloted vehicles (RPVs) are small aircraft that can fly without an onboard human operator. They are autonomous 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 that drones are an effective alternative to vehicular patrols in Nigeria in preventing violent crimes such as kidnapping, armed robbery, communal killings, and others. The use of drones goes a long way to prevent such crimes. Therefore, adequate measures and strategies should be implemented to ensure the deployment of drones at all levels of security management to ensure the safety of lives and properties.

5.2 Recommendation

Based on the findings, the following recommendations are made;

1. The government should through policy formulation ensure the strategic deployment of drones in all security formations 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 drone deployment
4. The deployment of drones should be adequate both in rural and urban areas 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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IMPACTS OF INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY ON PERFORMANCE OF ALL PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS IN THE 2023 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT
This study examined the impacts of internal party democracy on performance of All Progressive Congress (APC) in the 2023 general elections in Nigeria. The issue of advancing internal democracy especially as it concerns the selection of candidate within political parties in Nigeria has been a contentious topic. Promoting internal democracy in political parties has not only gained ground in modern day politics and governance but it is believed that such practices will encourage democratic culture generally. Thus, it is argued that political parties across the globe have adopted party primaries as a mechanism for selecting candidates for elections. The study adopted documentary method for data collection while relying on sequential qualitative analytic techniques. The study also utilized the group theory as it theoretical framework for analysis. This paper argues that it is becoming worrisome that All Progressive Congress find it difficult to conduct free and fair primary elections and this has continued to increase internal party crisis and threatens the very survival of political party system and the relevance of practicing democracy in Nigeria. Findings reveal that the adoption of different modes of primary election by APC for selection of candidates in different states in Nigeria appears to be an attempt to subvert the will of the people. The study concluded that it is uncommon for political parties to experience internal conflicts and disagreements, especially when there are diverse group interests and agenda among party members. The paper therefore, recommends among others that individuals should join political party based on shared ideology rather than personal ambition.

Introduction

Political parties are vital to every democracy and their significance cannot be overstated. Public employees apply through these routes for a range of public employment at different levels of government. However, internal democracy is necessary for a party system to coexist peacefully and develop fully. Whether there are two or more parties in power, the foundation of democracy is a political party. It has had an immense impact on the democratic experience. Without question, political parties remain essential tools in most democratic institutions around the world for maintaining and promoting democracy. Political parties, originating from their catalytic nature, act as a middleman in democratic societies, ensuring that the nation upholds democratic values by acting as a link between the people and the government (Orji, 2013, Abdullahi, 2017).

The democratic process is actualized through the channels provided by political parties. Their core responsibilities include scouting and preparing candidates for elections, keeping an eye on government initiatives and policies, and acting as a check on ruling parties by the opposition. Interestingly, they teach political science, especially in poor nations (Abdullahi, 2017). Since the current democratic dispensation was established in 1999, however, political party organizations have turned into battlegrounds marked by enmity, hostility, victimization, and mistrust as a result of members' fierce battles to advance their own and/or the public's interests. There are political problems in the society as a result of some party heavyweights' excessive desire.

Political parties are the architects of democracy; without them, neither a democratic nor an undemocratic environment could exist (Omotola, 2009). Consequently, it is accurate to say that political parties serve as the guardian angels of democratic foundations, utilizing a variety of procedures to guarantee the safety and preservation of democratic frameworks. They are essentially carved out as institutions that support a broad spectrum of aspirants to hold political office through a formal and constitutional process, designating them as the official candidates of their respective parties (Janda, 2005). It is impossible to overstate the significance of internal democracy for political leadership in Nigeria, according to Ikelegbe (2013, p. 4). This suggests that the existence of internal democracy is essential to the political parties in Nigeria having internal coherence. Lack of internal democracy and subpar leadership in the Nigerian political party system results in an unorganized, non-participatory membership, rules and procedures that are not followed, the denial of party member rights, and a careless handling of grievances. Political parties in Nigeria do not select candidates with integrity, fairness, or merit. Nigeria's political landscape has been tainted by individuals with dubious moral fibers and damaged personalities due to poor candidate selection.

Moreover, the establishment of a political party's acceptable climate ensures that all members take part in decision-making and the overall management of the party. This is known as internal party democracy. Momodu and Matudi (2013) claim that such an environment encourages the active participation of all party members, not just a select group of wealthy and influential people. Thus, the goal of internal party democracy is to establish an even playing field for all party members to actively participate in party affairs, to forge a strong, vibrant party that can win elections, and to establish a government that is dedicated to providing high-quality services and democratic dividends. Most significantly, internal party democracy is necessary for the selection of candidates in a general election because its absence frequently leads to crises, factionalization, and party member defection in the majority of political parties (Momodu & Matudi, 2013). Because democracy is supposed to be a competition between and among political parties, not within them, internal party democracy is therefore essential (Disch, 2012). Therefore, the specific objective of this paper is to examine the impacts of internal party democracy on performance of All Progressive Congress (APC) in the 2023 general elections in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarifications

Scarrow (2005) defines "internal party democracy" as a broad category of strategies that enable party members to participate in discussions and decision-making. Originally, it was believed to be the internal structure, organization, and synchronization of political parties in line with democratic ideals, which had a direct impact on the selection of candidates, the ascent to prominence of leaders, the drafting of policies, and the distribution of financial resources (Ojukwu et al., 2011). The three interrelated parts of political parties are the party-in-government (PIG), party-as-organization (PO), and party-in-the-electorate (PIE). The core of internal party democracy is the structural relationship that exists within a political party (White & Shea, 2000).

Political parties use primary elections to select their nominees for the general election ballot. To choose their candidates for the general election, political parties organize primary elections. Voters can indicate their preference for their party's nominee in a general election by participating in primary elections. A candidate must receive more votes than any other in the race and at least 35% of the party's total votes cast for that office in order to secure the nomination of their political party. Primary elections serve as platforms for voters to indicate which party's candidate they support in the main election. Therefore, it appears that the main cause of the internal party problem in Nigeria is the dispute surrounding the primary elections.

A period of intense shock, difficulty, and suffering that develops within a political party due to the party's inability to effectively resolve internal disagreements is known as an internal party crisis. For example, it's common knowledge that a number of parties—mainly the PDP, APC, APGA, LP, and others—are factionalized, and politicians have a duty to resolve conflicts in accordance with the law. None of these parties have been able to resolve their differences. An inter-party crisis, on the other hand, happens when there is a great deal of strain, difficulty, distress, and shock within political parties that run for office and reject the outcomes.

Political party performance is the ability and success of a political party to fulfill its promises and achieve its objectives. This idea encompasses a variety of elements, including the general consensus, internal unity, the execution of policies, the caliber of government, and electoral success. A wide range of metrics and indicators are widely used by political analysts, scholars, and the media to evaluate the effectiveness of political parties. Success for a political party is not just determined by how well it does in elections, but also by its overall impact on society, governance, and the political system. The All Progressives Congress (APC) faced an internal conflict in the run-up to the general election of 2023 that was not carefully resolved, which had an impact on the party's performance in national elections.

Remarkably, the issues at hand are the same as those that caused the party to lose to the People's Democratic Party (PDP) in the general elections of 2019 in Zamfara and Rivers States. This is because, prior to the elections, the Supreme Court ruled that the party had not legally held primaries to select its candidates for state assembly, national assembly, and governorship. As a result, the party lost all of its seats in Zamfara State. See Adenekan (2020) for more information on this. An argument amongst the APC leaders in the North West state was the reason the primaries could not be held in the allocated time. While the group backing Zamfara Central senator Kabiru Marafa insisted that no primary was held, the group backing former governor Abdul'aziz Yari claimed to have convened congresses and fielded candidates.

In Nigeria today, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC) are the two main political parties. One of the major political parties in Nigeria is the All Progressives Congress (APC). Formed in 2013, the alliance was comprised of the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), the All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), and a section of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA). The APC's primary goal upon inception was to overthrow the People's Democratic Party (PDP), which had controlled Nigeria since the nation's return to democratic governance in 1999. The All Progressives Congress (APC) has had a major influence on the political landscape of Nigeria ever since its formation. Its success in ending the PDP's long-standing control and its following attempts at governing has had a significant impact on the country. The APC still has trouble addressing internal party disagreements that result from grievances that were voiced during the party's primary elections and account for unhappiness, despite its advancements in areas like economic diversification and anti-corruption. Consequently, the party's performance and durability in Nigerian politics would be greatly influenced by its capacity to handle these challenges.

Research Method

This study employed documentary methods for data collections. Data generated from secondary sources (Journals, internet materials, books, book chapters, newspapers and among others) were analyzed using sequential qualitative analytic techniques. The study also adopted expo-facto research design.

Theoretical Framework-Group Theory

Group theory serves as the study's foundation. The notion of pluralism, which was articulated by several English writers in the 20th century, is where group theory originated. Arthur F. Bentley (1908), John Figgis, F.W. Maitland, and Cole are among the proponents (Varma, 1975). Arthur F. Bentley is credited with creating group theory. Group theory serves as the study's foundation. Arthur F. Bentley (1908), John Figgis, F.W. Maitland, and Cole are

among the proponents (Varma, 1975). Arthur F. Bentley is credited with creating group theory. Bentley suggested that dynamic processes, not specific institutions or substantial material, constitute society and stressed the importance of group theory in politics. According to him, every group of people forms society, the nation, and the government by cutting across a great number of others. According to Bentley, each group has its own interests, and these interests invariably lead to group action. He claims that there is no such thing as an effective individual interest. Furthermore, no single group interest in society can represent everyone (Olisah & Okafor, 2023, p.102).

Group theory's fundamental premise is that the state is composed of actors, both institutional and non-institutional, who are products of their respective historical, socioeconomic, political, and contextual backgrounds. This suggests that many groups have competing interests and that the state is a means of preserving power. Therefore, a group cannot exist without its interests. This suggests that interests and groups are inextricably linked. Dappa et al. (2021) claim that the theory of group theory originated with the notion that humans are social animals and must live in groups. There is ongoing interaction between these groups. According to the theory, men work together to influence decision makers since every group of people has an objective or an interest that is inextricably linked to the group. Interest is what drives the organization. Proponents of this theory contend that many groups compete with one another for control and power in every civilization. Furthermore, no social group holds the exclusive authority. Since most calls for and arguments in favor of policy are made by formalized groups, it should be noted that the underlying assumption of group theory is that there is competition and struggle for domination between or among groups. Proponents of this theory contend that power is divided among interest groups that are in competition with one another for control (Izueke, 2020, p. 14).

The reason for the usage of the group theory in this study rests on the notion that group and interest cannot be separated. In truth, interest drive group into action. One of the many organizations still involved in a struggle for supremacy and control is the political party system (Olisah & Okafor, 2023). Internal crises can arise when political party members start pursuing opposing agendas, especially when fielding candidates for elected and non-elected office. In addition to anti-party activity, these crises have resulted in the factionalization of certain parties and the defection of members. The lack of internal democracy and party ideology, wherein the elite seek power for their own personal greed rather than to further party principles and interests, has been identified as the primary source of intra-party conflicts (Jude & Ika, 2013, Tino, Danbala & Fwaje, 2020).

Aleyomi (2013), Ojukwu and Olaifa (2011), and Tino, Danbala & Fwaje (2020) have identified the reasons for internal crisis in the APC as poverty of ideology, absence of internal party democracy, incumbency factor, goal incompatibility, godfatherism, and politics of self-interest. Both the ruling APC have suffered internal party crisis which has resulted in several political setbacks such as factionalization, defection, anti-party activities, and political violence. Momodu and Matudi (2013, p. 8) identified the factors responsible for internal party crisis as Godfatherism, lack of internal democracy, the imposition of candidates, injustice and oppression within the party, and leadership tussle between and among party members.

Challenges to Internal Democracy in All Progressive Congress (APC)

To ensure openness, equity, and representation in the selection of candidates and decision-making procedures, political parties must practice internal democracy. The notion and implementation of internal democracy have great importance for the All Progressives Congress (APC), a prominent political party in Nigeria, as it affects the party's legitimacy, unity, and electoral achievements. Nigeria's All Progressives Congress (APC) is confronted with a number of serious obstacles that threaten the country's internal democracy. The obstacles to internal democracy facing Nigerian political parties seem to be a series of vicious cycles of issues that reinforce one another. These difficulties include problems with the way candidates are chosen, the role of money in politics, the domination of strong people (godfatherism), the insufficiency of internal conflict resolution procedures, intra-party strife, a lack of a clearly defined ideology, the funding of the party by the elite, the impropriety of the party primaries and the imposition of candidates, and the haughtiness of the party executive (Omotola, 2009; Aleyomi, 2013: Nwabufo, 2017; Anene & Ndubuisi, 2024).

Political parties consider the process of selecting candidates to be extremely important, as the candidates' choices and allegiances shape the party's image both in elections and during its rule. While it is the duty of a political party to determine who is eligible to run in an election, regardless of the method used, it is generally accepted that the selection process should be based on the membership's good standing and not be free from

discrimination, racial or ethnic discrimination, or bias. But given that the APC faces significant obstacles, Anyaoku (2010) argues that attributing disproportionate influence—particularly self-serving influence—to a party's parliamentary group during the candidate selection process would gravely jeopardize the democratic process. The APC's candidate selection procedure has frequently been tarnished by accusations of a lack of inclusivity and transparency. One recurring problem has been the imposition of candidates by party insiders, as opposed to democratic primaries. President Muhammadu Buhari's insistence on rival candidates to resign, for instance, paved the way for Abdullahi Adamu to become the APC national chairman, illustrating the top-down influence that can stifle wider party engagement (Tino, Danbala & Fwaje, 2020). As seen by the aftermath of multiple state congresses where conflicts erupted over alleged unfair tactics, such practices can cause discontent among party members and factionalism (Folorunso and Naeem, 2022).

Voter fraud, which includes vote buying and vote trading, is an increasingly common activity that compromises the credibility of elections in some countries. In many democracies, the practice takes in various forms. Voter purchasing is a problem in both developed democracies like the US and developing democracies in Latin America, Africa, and Asia (Yamaguchi, 2020). Concern over its prevalence in Africa's precarious democracies is currently growing. According to Matenga, 80% of people in 36 African countries think that politicians are bought off. Additionally, according to 16 percent of voters, they received material or monetary favors in exchange for their votes (Matenga, 2016). According to Onuoha & Okafor (2020), Nigeria is a moneyocracy or "cash-and-carry" democracy because of the blatant distribution of cash, food, and valuables among voters by political candidates and party agents during elections. It comes to the conclusion that vote-buying is a serious threat to both the electoral process and Nigeria's democracy's continued existence (Onuoha & Okafor, 2020).

Therefore, another major difficulty is the ubiquitous impact of money on the APC's internal processes. The impartiality and integrity of the candidate selection process have been weakened by frequent allegations of vote-buying during primaries and congresses. Rich candidates frequently have an unfair edge, which skews the party's democratic process. This financial power may cause candidates to be chosen more for their financial support than for their popularity or qualifications inside the party. For example, the party always sells nomination and expression of interest forms for a total of $100 million in order to select its presidential candidate, which encourages money politics (Johnson, 2024).

One of the main problems undermining internal democracy in the APC is godfatherism, or the influence of influential people within the party. These powerful individuals have the ability to influence party procedures in order to guarantee the selection of their favorite candidates, frequently disregarding the wishes of the larger party membership (Anyaoku, 2010). Internal democracy can be compromised, as seen by the instance of Abdullahi Adamu's appointment as national chairman, where other candidates were convinced to quit in favor of a consensus candidate backed by President Buhari. A detrimental effect on the internal democracy of political parties in Nigeria is predicted by the emergence of godfathers in those parties (Anene & Ndubuisi, 2024). The party members who fund almost all of the party's activities are known as political godfathers. As a result, they have a great deal of authority and influence within the party and frequently set the rules, including nominating or imposing their preferred candidates over the will of the majority of members.

The aforementioned occurred in Lagos when Bola Amend Tinubu, the national leader of the APC and a former governor of Lagos state who is currently serving as Nigeria's executive president, battled to prevent Akinyomi Ambode, the sitting governor, from running for reelection in the 2018 APC state primaries before the 2019 general election (Asadu, 2021). Similar circumstances were seen in Edo State, where the APC national chairman and the former governor of the state attempted to remove sitting governor Godwin Obaseki. Obaseki had defected to the PDP after the APC primary, where he was given the governorship ticket to run for Edo state governor in 2021 (Akpata, 2020). The rise of the "godfather" in Nigerian politics is a serious threat to stability in the country's democratic process, socioeconomic development, and good governance, in addition to political parties (Chukwuemeka, 2012).

Political parties in Nigeria, particularly the ruling parties, are growing too powerful and dominant in the nation to the point where they have transgressed democratic principles and internal democracy, enraged many members and leading to anti-party activities, defection, and other undemocratic practices. The party carried on harboring members' uncontrollable grievances and set a precedent for intra-party strife that the APC quickly adopted and carried on from where the PDP left off. Internal strife has resulted from many party

members feeling left out and alienated from the decision-making process (Yargwa & Abada, 2024). Members of the dominant All Progressive Congress (APC) exhibited a similar tendency in the general elections of 2015 and 2019, leading to tension between the party's controlled National Assembly and its APC-led executive branch (Nwabufo, 2017).

The result of these party conflicts is factionalization within the parties, which leads to boot camp departures and anti-party activities (Jude & Ika, 2013). Lack of internal democracy is exacerbated by the following: the imposition of candidates; godfather politics; corruption; lack of ideology and selfishness; lack of a level playing field for equal participation; institutionalization and inclusivity; hijacked or skewed party funding; flawed party primaries; and executive arbitrariness (Ojukwu & Olaifa, 2011). More than fifty political groups in Nigeria operate without an ideology. What exactly is the All Progressive Congress, one may wonder? Which political party is it—revolutionary, conservative, leftist, rightist, or progressive? The issue of internal democracy in the APC and other political parties in Nigeria will continue until this is resolved.

Taking charge of the party's operations during general elections was an example of the hubris of the party executive. Due to the party's executive hubris, many of the party's esteemed chieftains and founding fathers defected to other political parties, and the party was unable to handle the problem (Metuh, 2010). The party executives are the source of the internal democracy issue within the ruling All Progressive Party (APC), proving the adage "when the head of the fish is bad, the whole body is bad" to be true. This is due to the fact that some APC executives, particularly those at the national level, always believe they have the freedom to change the party as they see fit (Tino, Danbala & Fwaje, 2020). Additionally, the influence of some powerful APC members such as senator Ahmed Bola Tinubu, and the domineering behavior of Adam Oshiomhole, Abdullahi Adamu, and others have caused ongoing crises within the party, which ultimately led to the removal of Oshiomhole and Adamu as the APC National Chairman, respectively. Democracy will not develop in this manner, nor will the APC survive, unless leaders and members of the party promptly revert to actual democratic norms (Adedokun, 2019).

Impacts of Internal Party Democracy on Performance of All Progressive Congress in the 2023 General Elections in Nigeria

As one might expect, a building's strength is determined by the strength of its foundation. As a result, political parties' activities have had a detrimental impact on Nigeria's democracy process. Due to voter apathy brought on by the belief that their ballots would not be counted, people no longer have faith in the electoral system. For example, the selection of party flag bearers in Nigeria's general elections through party primaries has always been contentious and divisive, with the majority of the parties displaying blatantly anti-democratic tendencies and a disdain for popular will.

Researchers have identified a number of causes for the APC's dismal showing in Nigeria's general elections of 2023. Anene & Ndubuisi (2024) claimed that the nation's fledgling democracy is in danger due to the actions of political Godfathers. To the chagrin of other party members, they deny the voters the ability to choose the candidates of their choice, making elections and electoral processes worthless as they vie among themselves (godfathers) for control of state powers and resources through their favorite godsons. Additionally, some of the worst election violence in the nation has arisen from their quest for control of state power (Nkwede, Ibeogu & Nwankwo, 2014). Furthermore, the issue of strengthening the democratic ethos, credible elections, good governance, accountable leadership, rule of law, and development in Nigeria remains distant given the tainted elections, manipulation of the people's will by political godfathers and gladiators, and control over leaders at all levels in Nigeria while forcing them to carry out their will. This includes the appointment of commissioners, ministers, board members of parastatals, contract awards, and the exaction of a significant portion of the state's monthly statutory allocations from their planted godsons (the current case of former Governor Nwike and incumbent Governor Siminalayi Fubara, his estranged godson in Rivers State comes to mind).

As a result, factionalization sets in and leads to a lack of unity within the party, anti-party actions, and party members defecting to other political parties. For this reason, Mbah (2011) claimed that Nigerian politicians cross the aisle without cause because they are desperate to hold public office in order to amass fortune. The effectiveness of democracy sustainability through party processes is undermined by this act because politicians in Nigeria, particularly those in the ruling APC and

PDP, only switch parties to run for office or receive favors, not because of differences in party ideologies. As a result, the tables and graphic below show how the APC performed in the 2023 general elections.

Table 1: Showing the performance of APC in the Presidential Elections

S/N	STATES	2015	2019	2023
1	Abia	13, 394	85,058	8,914
2	Adamawa	374, 701	378,078	182,881
3	Akwa-Ibom	58, 411	175,429	160,620
4	Anambra	17, 926	33,298	5,111
5	Bauchi	931, 598	798,428	316,694
6	Bayelsa	5, 194	118,821	42, 572
7	Benue	373, 961	347,668	310,468
8	Borno	473, 543	836, 496	252,282
9	Cross-River	28, 368	117,302	130,520
10	Delta	48, 910	221,292	90,183
11	Ebonyi	19, 518	90,726	42,402
12	Edo	208, 469	267,842	144,471
13	Ekiti	120, 331	219,231	201,494
14	Enugu	14, 157	54,423	4,772
15	Gombe	361, 245	402,961	146,977
16	Imo	133, 253	140,463	66,406
17	Jigawa	885, 988	794,738	421,390
18	Kaduna	1, 127, 760	993,445	399,293
19	Kano	1, 903, 999	1,464,768	517,341
20	Katsina	1, 345, 441	1,232,133	482,283
21	Kebbi	567, 883	581,552	248,088
22	Kogi	264, 851	285,894	240,751
23	Kwara	302, 146	308,984	263,572
24	Lagos	792, 460	580,825	572,606
25	Nasarawa	236, 838	289,903	172,922
26	Niger	657, 678	612,371	375, 183

27	Ogun	308,290	281,762	341,554
28	Ondo	299,889	241,769	369,924
29	Osun	383,603	347,634	343,945
30	Oyo	528,620	365,229	449,884
31	Plateau	429,140	468,555	307,195
32	Rivers	69,238	150,710	231,591
33	Sokoto	671,926	490,333	285,444
34	Taraba	261,326	324,906	135,165
35	Yobe	446,265	497,914	151,459
36	Zamfara	612,202	438,682	298,396
37	FCT	146,399	152,224	90,902
	Total	**15 424 921**	**15,191,847**	**8,794,726**

Source: Authors compilation with data from INEC

Table 2: Showing the performance of APC in the National Assembly elections

APC	2015	2019	2023
Senator	60	65	57
House of Representative	225	217	162

Source: Authors compilation with data from INEC

It is evident from tables 1 and 2 above that the APC narrowly prevailed in the presidential contest. According to Anene & Ndubuisi (2024), the APC's dismal results in the general elections of 2023 can be linked to a lack of internal democracy within the organization. Furthermore, it is evident that the APC performed far better in the last two general elections than it did in the general elections of 2023. The APC's record in the National Assembly suggests that it lost more seats in the 2023 election for the National Assembly. This analysis makes it abundantly evident that a political party's performance in general elections can be severely hampered by an internal crisis and a lack of internal party democracy (Oyeleke, 2022).

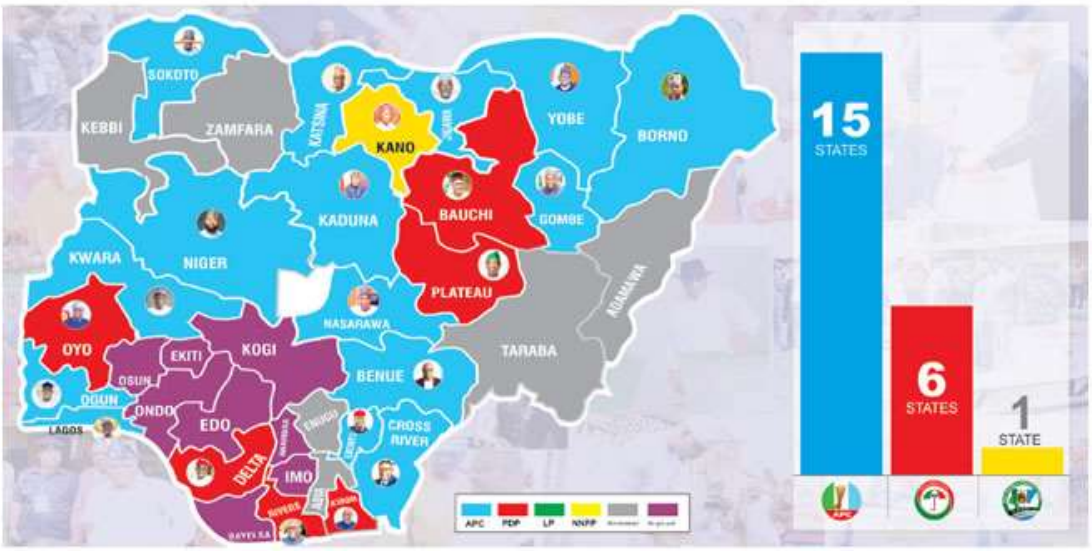
One measure of a party's strength is its internal democracy, or how solid its base is. According to Momodu and Matudi (2013), most political parties experience crises, factionalization, and party member defection as a result of an absence of internal party democracy. Due to the expectation that democracy will occur through competition between and among political parties, rather than within them, political parties must maintain their internal democracy (Disch, 2012). Within the APC, there is unhealthy competition among members, which creates a space for alternative groups to grow. Divided against itself, a house cannot stand.

Table 3: Showing the performance of APC in the Governorship elections

APC	2015	2019	2023
Governorship	19	15	15

Source: Authors compilation with data from INEC

Figure 1: Showing the number of states won by the APC in the 2023 Governorship election



Source: Habib, G. et al. (2023). https://punchng.com/apc-wins-15-states-pdp-six-nnpp-takes-kano/

Following the 2023 governorship elections, INEC released results that showed the All Progressives Congress had won in fifteen states (Sokoto, Katsina, Jigawa, Gombe, Lagos, Kwara, Niger, Yobe, Nasarawa, C'River, Ebonyi, Ogun, Benue, Kaduna, and Borno). Conversely, the New Nigeria Peoples Party prevailed in Kano, while the People's Democratic Party took home victories in the Plateau, Bauchi, Oyo, Delta, Rivers, Enugu, and Akwa Ibom states (Habib, et al., 2023). Abia state was also won by the Labor Party. Sadly, the opposition parties defeated both of the anointed candidates that the governors of Kano State, Umar Ganduje, and Plateau State, Simon Lalong, imposed against the will of the people.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The study concluded that it is uncommon for political parties to experience internal conflicts and disagreements, especially when there are diverse group interests and agenda among party members. The study examined the challenges that affect internal party democracy and political party performance within the All-Progressive Congress in the 2023 general elections in Nigeria. The challenges encompass a range of issues, such as the selection of candidates, the role of money in politics, the prevalence of powerful individuals (also known as godfatherism), the insufficiency of internal conflict resolution mechanisms, intra-party conflict, unclear party ideology, elite funding of the party, faulty primary elections, and the imposition of candidates. Additionally, the arrogance of the party executive has contributed to the internal party crisis and has also sparked factionalization, defection of party members, and anti-party activities.

In light of this, this study suggests, among other things, that people join political parties in accordance with their shared ideologies rather than their own personal goals. In addition, political parties in Nigeria must be reformed in order to establish clear political ideologies, enshrine a system that brings about free, fair, and credible means of selecting candidates for elections, enforce strict party discipline, and establish credible means of raising party funds as opposed to allowing a small number of predatory godfathers to fund the party and use its structures for their own gain. Finally, a specific primary election procedure must be instituted nationwide.

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CHIEF OBAFEMI AWOLOWO'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND WELFARIST APPROACH TO STATECRAFT IN NIGERIA'S FIRST AND SECOND REPUBLIC

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Political philosophy, Welfarist approach, Governance strategies, Social welfare policies, Regional autonomy, Federalism, Socio-economic development, Legacy, Contemporary relevance

ABSTRACT
This research paper discusses Chief Obafemi Awolowo's political philosophy and welfarist approach to statecraft in Nigeria first and second republics. Awolowo a patriot and African hero was known for his contributions to knowledge, constitution-making, and the development of democracy in Nigeria and Africa at large. Chief Obafemi Jeremiah Oyeniyi Awolowo, GCFR, was a nobleman, politician, Yoruba leader, and advocate for Nigerian and African independence. The study explores into his reasoning and methods for improving effective leadership and reinforcing good governance in Nigeria by promoting intellectual capacity among political leaders, leading to general growth and development. He made sure that effective governance includes the following: transparency, accountability, social justice, fairness, and equity, and selflessness, critical observation of the rule of law, purposeful leadership, effective institutions, and legitimacy of political economic and administrative authority, security and order. Awolowo believed the intellectual capacity of people is crucial. That education leads to the development and transformation of mind and body, enabling individuals to address issues accurately, appropriately, and promptly. The paper further assesses the efficacy of his governance strategies, and evaluates the current significance of his ideas in shaping Nigeria's governance structures and public policies. The purpose is to enhance scholarly debate by addressing these gaps and offering useful insights into Awolowo's legacy and its consequences for current Nigerian administration. In order to accomplish these goals, a combination of different research approaches was utilized, including the examination of historical documentation, conducting in-depth interviews with important individuals, and extant literature. The study seeks to conclude by bringing together discoveries from historical studies, interviews, and literature to

offer an in-depth understanding of Awolowo's political philosophy, governing approaches, and legacy. The research provides significant insights for policymakers, scholars, and practitioners who are interested in addressing Nigeria's governance challenges by examining Awolowo's contributions to the country's political growth and his lasting influence on current governance.

Introduction

The lack of trust in the Nigerian government and leadership is often attributed to the absence of patriotism among Nigerian political leaders, especially when compared to those in developed nations. This deficiency impedes Nigeria's progress, causing the country to fall behind its more technologically advanced counterparts. This paper argues that a key solution to this issue lies in a thorough reassessment and meticulous evaluation of the political philosophy and governing methodologies of Chief Obafemi Jeremiah Oyeniyi Awolowo, GCFR, a distinguished African leader known as the "Sage of Ikenne." Approximately thirty-eight years ago, Awolowo became renowned for his advocacy of intellectual ability as a crucial element of leadership, as evidenced by his extensive body of work, including written texts, lectures, seminars, and publications (Adeniran, 2016, p. 31). He emphasized critical thinking as an essential attribute for effective leadership. Awolowo's perspectives extend beyond Nigeria and include universal principles that address leadership challenges on a global level, aligning with profound thinkers whose works reveal deep truths and have a lasting impact (Adeniran, 2016, p. 31).

Awolowo is widely recognized as a staunch advocate of public education, viewing it as essential for fostering a peaceful, prosperous, and cohesive society (Salu, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024). His political worldview, rooted in welfare and progressive governance, aimed to achieve thorough socio-economic transformation in Nigeria. This included proactive government intervention to enhance the well-being of citizens, particularly the marginalized. Motivated by socialist ideologies, Awolowo championed equitable resource distribution and social equity (Olayinka, 2018). As Premier of Western Nigeria, he implemented free primary education, reflecting his commitment to education as a basic right and a pathway for upward social mobility (Olaniyan, 2016, p. 12). This policy not only increased educational opportunities but also laid the groundwork for human capital development and economic empowerment in the region.

Awolowo's political ideology remains relevant in contemporary Nigeria, offering insights for addressing persistent challenges. His endorsement of social welfare schemes and poverty reduction measures provides a comprehensive strategy for tackling contemporary poverty and inequality (Omoriwo, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024). Policymakers can use his methods to foster a more inclusive and fair society by prioritizing the needs of the most vulnerable demographic groups (Johnson, 2022, p. 47). An assessment of Awolowo's welfare-centric approach during Nigeria's First and Second Republics provides valuable insights into the complexities of governance and policy implementation. The knowledge gained from his efforts to promote regional development and empower local communities is particularly relevant for contemporary leaders seeking to allocate power and encourage grassroots growth (Osoba, 2019, p. 79). Awolowo's intellectual legacy highlights the detrimental impact of materialism and intellectual deficiency among politicians. This study aims to examine his political philosophy and welfarist approach to governance, which significantly fostered overall growth and development. Awolowo's framework for successful governance, security, and order is founded on principles such as transparency, accountability, social justice, fairness, equality, and selflessness, adherence to the rule of law, purposeful leadership, efficient institutions, and the legitimacy of power. This study seeks to fill a significant gap in the current literature by providing a comprehensive analysis of Awolowo's accomplishments and their enduring importance to Nigeria's political and socio-economic landscape. It will offer scholars and policymakers a deeper understanding of governance intricacies and potential pathways for Nigeria's progress.

Socio-Political Landscape of Nigeria during the 1st and 2nd Republics: Historical Perspective

The 1st and 2nd Republics of Nigeria, spanning from 1960 to 1966 and 1979 to 1983 respectively, were characterized by significant political turmoil, ethnic conflicts, and power struggles during the challenging post-colonial nation-building period. (Balogun, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024) A nascent form of democracy emerged, marked by republican constitutions and multi-party systems. However, this potential was often overshadowed by ethnic conflicts, regional inequalities, and administrative inefficiencies. (Falola, 2004) Nigeria faced numerous socio-political challenges, including widespread corruption, economic instability, and ethnic tensions. The competition for political dominance between the northern and southern regions, exacerbated by ethnic and religious differences, heightened tensions and hindered national unity. (Suberu, 2001, p. 141) Consequently, the enduring effects of colonialism have led to deep socio-economic disparities, exacerbating social unrest and political instability. (Afigbo, 1986, p. 424).

According to Salu:

> *The 1st Republic was marked by the change of guard from European control of government and the economy to more indigenous control as well as regional rivalries and mistrust. (Salu, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024).*

As Balogun observed:

> *The epoch in review was trapped in the confusion, chaos and troubles associated with post-independence in most African countries, especially, sub-Sahara. It was a time that a country that was ill-prepared for independence was suddenly bequeathed the rights for the administration of its territorial government. Regional aspiration for political domination was rife, and so were efforts by the few privileged individuals to take advantage of the opportunities that suddenly opened for their selfish amassment of the national wealth. (Balogun, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024).*

Whereas, Ahmed assumes that:

> *During Nigeria's 1st and 2nd Republics, the socio-political landscape was marked by regionalism, ethnic tensions, and power struggles. Awolowo's philosophy of socialism with capitalist principles resonated by advocating for regional autonomy, social welfare, and economic empowerment, addressing inequalities and striving for national unity through equitable development policies. (Ahmed, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024).*

In the middle of this tumultuous socio-political environment, Chief Obafemi Awolowo and his political party, the Action Group (AG), emerged as influential figures advocating for progressive government and regional autonomy. Awolowo's leadership in Western Nigeria throughout the 1st and 2nd Republics was characterised by ambitious development projects and a dedication to social welfare programmes. (Omotola, 2010). Corroborating this, an informant submitted that:

> *Chief Awolowo embarked on massive infrastructural projects such as cocoa house, Western Nigeria Television (WNTV), farming settlements in Ago Owu farm settlement in present day Osun state and industrial estates in Ọgbà Lagos state and Gotta in Ogun state to improve manpower, foster an agricultural revolution and stimulate industrial growth. (Salu, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024).*

Balogun further supported the informant's view that:

> *Awo's social-welfarist philosophy was useful in providing early direction for the socio-economic and political development, particularly in the Western region, through the instrument of western education. Some generations of Nigerians till date, still make reference to his social-welfarist philosophy as the reason for their personal developments. (Balogun, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024).*

Nevertheless, Awolowo's endeavours encountered opposition from competing political forces and had challenges in execution, especially in light of federal government interference and political maneuvering. (Falola, 2016, p. 390) The Western Nigeria Crisis of 1962-1963 was a significant event that highlighted the challenges

encountered by Awolowo and the Action Group. The crisis, triggered by political disputes and conflicts for authority within the Action Group, resulted in the enforcement of a state of emergency and the dissolution of the regional administration by the federal authorities. (Onibokun, 2008, p. 48) This episode underscored the delicate nature of Nigeria's federal structure and the conflicts arising from the concentration of authority and the desire for regional independence. Despite these challenges, Awolowo and the Action Group maintained significant influence in Nigerian politics, promoting progressive policies and advocating for the rights and interests of the general population. Their endeavours to advance education, healthcare, and economic progress had an enduring influence on Nigeria's socio-political environment, moulding the course of the country's development for many years to follow. (Johnson, 2018, p. 79) Salu, however, argues that:

> *Awolowo's welfarist (socialist) policies were largely successful and equally appreciated by the populace while he was premier of the western region. During the 2nd Republic period however, despite he's party being in control of some states within the region, the lack of centralized regional control and coordination coupled with the short lifespan of the Shagari administration probably curtailed its effectiveness. (Salu, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024).*

The Political Philosophy of Chief Obafemi Awolowo

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a prominent figure in Nigerian politics, championed a political ideology grounded in socialism, federalism, and regional autonomy. Awolowo's ideology emphasized social justice, fair development, and inclusive governance, shaped by his experiences and observations of Nigeria's socio-political environment (Adeyemo, Personal Communication, February 7, 2024). His ideology combined socialist principles with practical governance strategies to address the socio-economic inequalities prevalent in post-colonial Nigeria (Adebayo, 2012). Awolowo advocated for communal ownership and resource management to ensure fair distribution and societal well-being, asserting the government's duty to intervene in the economy to protect the majority's welfare and promote economic progress (Odugbemi, 2015, p. 70; Olorunfemi, Personal Communication, February 18, 2024).

Awolowo's political ideology also emphasized federalism and regional autonomy, advocating for decentralized governance and regional development. He supported genuine federalism, arguing for the devolution of power to regions to enable them to utilize their resources and pursue development plans tailored to their needs. This, he believed, would foster healthy competition, innovation, and socio-economic development nationwide (Akindele, 2019, pp. 34-37; Aduloju, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024).

His governance strategy prioritized social welfare programs, education, and economic development to uplift the masses and create a more prosperous society. Awolowo viewed education as crucial for social mobility and economic empowerment, implementing free and accessible education systems in Western Nigeria during his tenure as Premier (Adeyemo, Personal Communication, February 7, 2024). He also prioritized healthcare, infrastructure, and agricultural development, laying the groundwork for long-term economic growth and poverty reduction (Afolabi, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024). His Free Primary Education initiative significantly improved educational access and literacy rates in Western Nigeria (Ojo, 2014, pp. 46-47).

Awolowo aimed to create a fair and prosperous society by enhancing individuals' skills and knowledge and improving social systems, enabling everyone to contribute to national development. He distinguished between education for the masses, to combat ignorance and superstition, and advanced education for leaders, to foster critical thinking and effective governance. This vision was evident in his establishment of Universal Primary Education in Western Nigeria, aimed at basic literacy for the public while ensuring leaders received advanced education (Aboluwodi, 2012, p. 62). Examining Awolowo's political theory and welfarist approach reveals their continued relevance in contemporary Nigeria. Awolowo laid the foundation for a more inclusive and participatory government structure, reflecting the aspirations of the Nigerian people, based on socialism, federalism, and regional autonomy (Falola, 2020, p. 80).

Enactment of Welfare-oriented Policies during Awolowo's Term as Premier of Western Nigeria

During Chief Obafemi Awolowo's tenure as Premier of Western Nigeria from 1954 to 1960, he implemented progressive and pioneering programs to enhance social welfare, education, and economic growth in the region (Olaniyan, 2016). Awolowo, drawing on his political ideology centered on the

welfare of the people, initiated a series of measures aimed at improving the living conditions of the masses and tackling the socio-economic challenges that Western Nigeria was experiencing during that period. The groundbreaking implementation of Universal Primary Education (UPE) characterized this period in the region, representing Awolowo's steadfast dedication to social progress and fair access to education. UPE aimed to eliminate limitations to learning related to socio-economic status, making educational opportunities more accessible to everyone (Aduloju, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024). Despite skepticism about the practicality of such an effort, Awolowo remained unwavering in his resolve. The driving force behind this determination was the pressing developmental requirements of the Western Region, requiring immediate and essential change. Critics raised concerns about its economic feasibility given Nigeria's impoverished social environment at the time, and the scarcity of competent instructors, inadequate educational facilities, and limited financial means (Adekola, 2021, p. 14).

According to Ademola Adekola, educational enrollment numbers highlight the challenge, with only a small portion of school-aged children attending courses, and by 1952, only 25 secondary schools had been created. The administration aimed to ensure every child was within a three-kilometer radius of educational facilities. Critics questioned the practicality of implementing UPE, especially considering the estimated £10 million needed to start the program and the additional £3 million required annually, compared to the total revenue of £5 million for the 1952/53 fiscal year (Adekola, 2021, p. 14).

Awolowo used austerity measures to achieve his goal, including the temporary use of mud walls for classrooms, significantly decreasing building expenses. Staff housing arrangements were postponed, and a charge of ten shillings was placed on adults who were subject to taxation, causing dissatisfaction and providing political opponents, particularly the NCNC, with ammunition to win the 1954 federal elections. Despite election defeats, Awolowo remained optimistic, predicting that regionalizing commodities and marketing boards and implementing income distribution based on the concept of derivation would generate an expected £34 million windfall, crucial for funding UPE (Ugwukah and Adesegun, 2023, p. 906). Awolowo gradually introduced a program awarding over 200 scholarships for higher education each year, increasing to 1,200 by 1959 (Adekola, 2021, p. 14). As a result, many people in the Western Region who were previously trapped in poverty experienced social advancement due to Awolowo's educational methods. By the end of his term as Premier in 1959, the number of students enrolled in elementary schools rose significantly to over one million, compared to 429,542 in 1953. The number of secondary schools increased from 25 in 1952 to 139, and student enrollment grew from 9,000 in 1954 to 84,374 by January 1959, surpassing the combined student population of secondary schools in other parts of Nigeria. The creation of 363 secondary modern schools, trade centers, and teacher training institutions, which accommodated 11,000 trainees by 1953, emphasized the region's growth in education (Adekola, 2021, p. 14). The University of Ife, established in 1962 and later renamed in honor of Obafemi Awolowo, stemmed from a recommendation given to the federal government in September 1960 by a committee led by Sir Eric Ashby during Awolowo's term as Premier (Ugwukah and Adesegun, 2023, p. 906).

Awolowo championed the cause of ensuring that education was accessible, free, and compulsory at the elementary level. He believed that every young person, irrespective of their socio-economic status, should have equal opportunities to receive education. The primary goal of UPE was to provide each child in Western Nigeria with the basic right to education, eliminate illiteracy and ignorance, and promote the region's socio-economic development. This strategic decision was based on the understanding that education is crucial for developing human capital, empowering people, promoting social mobility, and driving economic progress. Implementing UPE required a thorough restructuring of the educational system in Western Nigeria, including building new schools, hiring and training teachers, and supplying learning materials. The efforts focused on increasing access to education and improving the quality and relevance of teaching to provide pupils with a strong foundation in numeracy, literacy, and critical thinking abilities (Aduloju, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024).

According to Awolowo in one of his speeches:

> *To educate the child is to lay the solid foundation for future social and economic progress: to provide health services is to combat diseases which are wasting on human resources and therefore, reduce our productive potentialities. The Government has for these reasons, brought about the greatest social revolution in the history of Black Africa within the last seven years. (Awolowo, 1981, p. 197)*

The establishment of Universal Primary Education (UPE) marked a significant change in educational philosophy, emphasizing education as a key driver of personal empowerment and societal advancement. Awolowo aimed to make education accessible to everyone to create a more inclusive and knowledgeable society, where every child could reach their full potential and contribute to the community.

In addition to UPE, Chief Obafemi Awolowo's government in Western Nigeria implemented a comprehensive strategy for educational reform. This strategy included creating additional schools, hiring and educating teachers, and improving educational infrastructure to enhance educational opportunities, standards, and applicability, cultivating a more knowledgeable and proficient population capable of making significant contributions to the socio-economic structure of the area (Omoyeni, Personal Communication, February 19, 2024). Establishing additional schools was crucial to meet the increasing demand for education due to the expanding number of school-age children. Awolowo's administration purposefully placed schools in underserved neighborhoods and rural locations to provide accessible educational opportunities to everyone, regardless of geographical location or financial position (Omoyeni, Personal Communication, February 19, 2024).

Simultaneously, the hiring and instruction of teachers were fundamental aspects of the educational changes under Awolowo's administration. The government prioritized recruiting skilled and devoted teaching professionals, recognizing the crucial role educators play in influencing students' learning experiences. Comprehensive teacher training programs were introduced to provide educators with essential educational skills and subject expertise to offer top-notch education. Awolowo's government also enhanced educational infrastructure by constructing and refurbishing school buildings, supplying learning materials, and investing in instructional technologies. These modifications improved learning settings and supported new teaching approaches, leading to higher educational outcomes (Adeniran, 2016, pp. 34-35).

These educational changes had a dramatic cumulative effect, leading to a substantial rise in school enrollment and literacy rates across Western Nigeria. Awolowo's administration empowered citizens by increasing education accessibility, raising instructional quality, and building educational infrastructure, enabling them to actively engage in socio-economic life. These changes also established the basis for sustained human capital improvement, promoting economic advancement, social mobility, and national development.

The UPE plan also led to the creation of the Western Nigeria Television (WNTV) on October 31, 1959, acknowledged as the first television station in Africa. At the ceremonial opening of the parliament building in Ibadan, Awolowo emphasized its role in improving the speed and quality of education, viewing television as a means of teaching, entertaining, and mobilizing communal efforts for Nigeria's progress (Ikimi, 1979).

Another deliberate policy under Awolowo's leadership was healthcare reform, particularly focusing on children under eighteen, leading to significant changes in medical services in Western Nigeria (Ugwukah and Adesegun, 2023, p. 909). The main focus was setting up basic healthcare centers and significantly increasing medical services in rural regions. These initiatives aimed to tackle persistent inequalities in healthcare access and delivery, improving overall health outcomes and life expectancy. The creation of basic healthcare centers was crucial in decentralizing healthcare services, providing necessary medical treatment closer to communities. These centers functioned as primary healthcare institutions offering preventative and curative treatments such as immunizations, prenatal care, and basic diagnostic tests (Ugwukah and Adesegun, 2023, pp. 909-910). Awolowo's government placed these centers in underdeveloped regions and isolated villages to ensure equal access to healthcare for all citizens, regardless of location or socio-economic background. Corroborating this assertion, Ugwukah and Adesegun submit that:

> *Apart from the fact that his government implemented the policy of establishing at least one hospital in every administrative division in the western region, yet other important towns which were not administrative headquarters equally benefited from the Free Health Scheme as hospitals were equally established in the domains. Also three mobile dispensaries took hospital and other medical facilities to remote parts from bases in Ibadan, Abeokuta and Benin provinces, two touring launches did the same f rom Epe and Forcados while three Ambulances stationed at Badagry, Okitipupa and Warri took patients to hospitals. Indeed, it was clear and glaring that the children in schools and post -primary institutions were the first to benefit from this scheme*

> *while enjoying their free primary education and other scholarship schemes. But farther than other citizenries of the western region were all beneficiaries of this health programme which transformed the medical lives of the people and gave them more life in abundance unlike their previous lives in which traditional medicine was the only recourse they had to their health and lives. (Ugwukah and Adesegun, 2023, 909-910).*

The combined effect of healthcare reforms during Chief Obafemi Awolowo's administration had a dramatic impact, significantly improving the accessibility of affordable and high-quality healthcare services across Western Nigeria. By prioritizing resource allocation, these measures not only reduced the impact of avoidable illnesses but also enhanced the general welfare and economic success of the area (Johnson, 2018, pp. 46-47).

During Awolowo's tenure, there was a significant revitalization of the agricultural sector, a crucial aspect of the economy in Western Nigeria. Although the Yoruba people had a strong tradition of farming before colonial authority (Ugwukah and Adesegun, 2023, p. 911), Awolowo implemented innovative improvements that benefited both farmers and young graduates pursuing careers in agriculture. His administration emphasized agriculture, leading to the creation of many farm settlements and institutes aimed at providing employment and essential farming skills to young graduates (Ugwukah and Adesegun, 2023, p. 911). Programs like the Cocoa Research Institute of Nigeria (CRIN) demonstrated focused efforts to provide high-yield, disease-resistant seedlings to farmers (Lawal, 2007, p. 423). The Western Nigerian Development Corporation, for example, oversaw six large plantations growing products such as rubber, palm oil, citrus, cashew, and coffee in 1958 (Salu, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024). The Rubber Improvement Scheme also played a significant role by distributing high-yielding seedlings, including cocoa seedlings of the Amazon type, to farmers.

Awolowo's government made substantial investments in agricultural research and infrastructure, recognizing the importance of innovation and technological progress in fostering agricultural development. Research institutes were established and funded for projects aimed at improving crop varieties, boosting soil fertility, and controlling pest and disease outbreaks. Additionally, investments in agricultural infrastructure, such as irrigation systems, storage facilities, and rural roads, aimed to enhance agricultural productivity, reduce post-harvest losses, and improve market access for farmers (Adeyemi, 2019, pp. 79-80).

Awolowo's government also prioritized rural industrialization, exemplified by the establishment of textile training centers and cooperative weaving organizations. These initiatives aimed to equip school leavers with skills in wide loom weaving, designing, and dyeing, promoting local manufacturing and ensuring economic sustainability.

Furthermore, Awolowo's administration initiated ambitious infrastructure projects to modernize Western Nigeria's physical environment, including improving transportation networks, communication systems, and urban amenities. This comprehensive strategy aimed to stimulate economic growth, promote connectivity, and improve the general quality of life for citizens in the region (Adeyemi, 2019, pp. 79-80). For example, significant funds were allocated to enhance rural infrastructure, evidenced by massive road construction initiatives, including bituminous surface tarring. In 1959, the legislature approved a significant capital investment for a Road Development program to pave over 2,200 miles of roads across the region, highlighting Awolowo's commitment to comprehensive rural development and economic advancement (Adekola, 2021, p. 14). These initiatives improved the mobility of goods and people, reduced transportation costs, increased market access, and promoted commerce between rural and urban areas, stimulating economic activity. The development and enhancement of road networks increased connectivity and accessibility, promoting regional integration and socio-economic development.

Awolowo's government also focused on modernizing communication networks, recognizing the importance of telecommunications in promoting economic growth and social unity. Investments were made to expand telephone networks, develop postal services, and deploy radio and television broadcasting facilities in Western Nigeria, improving access to information and communication services for citizens. Additionally, the development of urban amenities such as public parks, recreational facilities, and civic buildings improved the region's livability and quality of life (Adeyemo, Personal Communication, February 7, 2024). Investments in urban infrastructure not only provided essential services and facilities to residents but also served as symbols of progress and growth, fostering civic pride and communal identity.

Legacy and Contemporary Relevance of Awolowo's Political Philosophy

The political ideology and welfarist approach of Chief Obafemi Awolowo have had a lasting impact on Nigeria's governance institutions and public policies, significantly influencing the country's political landscape and socio-economic growth. His forward-thinking guidance and dedication to fairness and equality continue to shape discussions and decisions in politics at both the national and regional levels. For instance, Awolowo's advocacy for genuine federalism has laid the foundation for a fairer allocation of resources and power-sharing among Nigeria's various ethnic and regional factions (Salu, Personal Communication, February 5, 2024). His efforts to empower local areas and promote bottom-up development have left an enduring mark on Nigeria's governance systems, addressing regional inequalities and fostering national cohesion (Olayinka, 2017).

Awolowo's focus on the well-being of the people still influences public policies and development priorities in contemporary Nigeria. His emphasis on social welfare programs, education, and economic development remains relevant in addressing the country's socio-economic challenges, such as poverty, inequality, and underdevelopment (Odugbemi, 2018, p. 48). Awolowo's commitment to investing in human capital and social infrastructure demonstrated the importance of proactive governance in improving the welfare of the people and promoting inclusive economic development. His welfarist approach continues to resonate with political leaders and policymakers, who prioritize social justice, equity, and participatory governance (Johnson, 2019, pp. 79-80). Political parties and organizations uphold his principles, striving to advance his vision of a fairer and more prosperous Nigeria.

The enduring significance of Awolowo's political ideology underscores the need for continued efforts to build on his legacy and address the current challenges facing Nigeria. His principles of social welfare, regional autonomy, and inclusive governance provide valuable insights for navigating Nigeria's complex socio-political landscape today. These principles offer hope and guidance for achieving national unity, equitable development, and resilience in the face of socio-economic disparities, political instability, and ethnic tensions.

Awolowo's advocacy for Universal Primary Education (UPE) had a significant impact beyond Western Nigeria, leading to similar initiatives in other regions. For example, the Eastern region implemented UPE in February 1957, but its effectiveness was short-lived due to problems like inadequately trained teachers and insufficient financial resources. The Northern region, however, prioritized Islamic education over UPE. Consequently, the Western region emerged as a stronghold of educational progress, attributable to Awolowo's steadfast commitment to improving education. He believed education was key to unlocking individual potential, arguing that human capital was the most valuable resource for any state. Awolowo maintained that while ignorance among a large population could hinder progress, a well-educated populace was crucial for the success of any state.

Analysing the Political Philosophy of Awolowo and Welfarist Approach

The political ideology and welfarist approach of Chief Obafemi Awolowo can be analyzed and juxtaposed with other ideologies and governance models, both historically and globally. This analysis provides valuable insights into effective approaches for addressing socio-economic challenges and fostering equitable growth. A key feature of Awolowo's political ideology is his endorsement of socialism, which emphasizes communal ownership and control of resources to ensure fair distribution and societal well-being (Odugbemi, 2017). This socialist perspective parallels other leftist ideologies, such as Marxism and democratic socialism, which also prioritize social justice and economic equality. However, Awolowo's approach is distinct in its focus on pragmatic governance and gradual reforms rather than radical change.

Awolowo's support for federalism and regional autonomy aligns with the principles of decentralization and self-governance seen in many federal systems worldwide (Akindele, 2018, pp. 70-71). His vision of decentralizing power to regions demonstrates a commitment to local autonomy and participatory democracy, influenced by systems like the United States federal model and Germany's federal structure. Nevertheless, Awolowo's emphasis on strong central leadership and interventionist state policies distinguishes his approach from more libertarian versions of federalism. His governance strategy, prioritizing investments in education, healthcare, and economic development, aligns with welfare state models found in Western democracies (Johnson, 2020, pp. 48-49). His focus on social welfare programs and poverty alleviation reflects the tenets of social democracy and Keynesian economics, which advocate government intervention to address market failures and ensure social security. Awolowo's approach is notable for its emphasis on grassroots development and participatory governance, elements sometimes lacking in centralized welfare state models.

Comparing Awolowo's political philosophy with other ideologies and governance models reveals that his practical blend of socialism, federalism, and welfarism offers crucial insights for contemporary political theory and practice. His approach underscores the importance of social justice, equitable development, and inclusive governance, providing a strategic framework for addressing the socio-economic challenges faced by modern nations (Falola, 2022, pp. 79-81). Moreover, his commitment to empowering local communities and promoting regional self-governance serves as a guide for fostering inclusive development and enhancing unity in multi-ethnic societies.

Conclusion

Chief Obafemi Jeremiah Oyeniyi Awolowo's political philosophy and welfarist governance approach represent a distinctive and enduring legacy in Nigeria's political landscape. Awolowo's vision combined socialism, federalism, and welfarism, offering a comprehensive development model and participatory governance. His political ideology provides valuable insights for addressing Nigeria's socio-economic challenges and promoting inclusive progress. Awolowo's focus on social justice, equitable resource distribution, and local community empowerment offers a strategic framework for addressing Nigeria's diverse societal challenges and fostering national unity. His welfarist strategy, which prioritized education, healthcare, and economic development, remains relevant for tackling contemporary issues such as poverty, inequality, and underdevelopment in Nigeria. Furthermore, his advocacy for federalism and regional autonomy presents a blueprint for decentralized governance and grassroots empowerment, crucial for advancing local development and national cohesion in a heterogeneous society like Nigeria. Consequently, Awolowo's political principles and welfarist approach continue to provide valuable perspectives and strategies for addressing Nigeria's governance and development challenges.

Educational initiatives in the Western region during the pre-independence colonial period primarily benefited the elite and their descendants, leading to ongoing educational progress and socio-economic improvements. Awolowo's legacies, including his free education programs, have had a significant and lasting impact on subsequent Nigerian administrations, highlighting the importance of education for social progress. His leadership periods are deeply embedded in the collective memory of the people. Thus, classifying Awolowo merely as a hero of Nigerian society would be an understatement. His visionary goals, actions, and influential policies in the South Western region and beyond clearly establish his heroic status. Awolowo's enduring contributions include political ideas such as fiscal federalism, resource control, ethnic autonomy, equitable resource distribution, efficient national resource management, strategic development planning, advanced agricultural methods, and scientific education. Awolowo's legacy is timeless and unalterable. By adopting Awolowo's principles and further developing his legacy, Nigeria can work towards building a fair, just, and prosperous society for all its residents.

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RESPONSIBILITY OF PARENTS AS HOME BUILDERS, A SINE QUA NON FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT
The family, society and morality, to borrow the most ecological terminology, have become "endangered species". Studies on parenting have focused on psychological, sociological, gender roles and traditional perspectives. However much has not been said about the dimension of parents as home builders a sine-qua-non for national development from Christian standpoint. Data for this work were collected through oral interview and consultation of scholarly journals and textbooks. In the 21st century, the families off springs are endangered with multiple social vices that range from internet fraud (yahoo yahoo), kidnapping, lesbianism, drug abuse, homosexuality, bestiality, incest, ritual killing and others. Some of these issues if not all are gaily celebrated in most of our churches and shrines as they are being aided in all front. Parents have self-imposed and natural duty to train up their children without treating it as a second class duty, that there is a link between effective parenting, morality and national development. Findings from this work has indicated that responsible citizenry, reduction in crime rate, healthy nation and preservation of cultural values which are germane to national development are products of responsible parenting. Also discovered, are the salient roles of women (responsibility in children upbringing, character study, mirror of the family and caretakers) which are imperative for effective parenting, tutelage and admonition of children in families. The work recommends.

Introduction

Families are institutions of human society and form the starting point of discipline in the society. Parents connote one's father and mother. Parenthood can also be acquired via adoption and guidance. The father's leadership role in marriage invests him with responsibility before God for the direction of family living, which his wife in her response helps him to accept. This means she is not to sabotage his leadership or usurp it. The wife is to encourage and strengthen rather than eliminate it. Marital partners bear one another burden. His leadership role must be felt, but where there is

masculine ineffectiveness in the home, there are occasional brutal attempts to assert his leadership, which will pose great threat to the building of such home. This work is predicated on responsibility of parents as home builders, a sine qua non for national development, hence the following research questions are germane to the discuss:

i. What is Parenting?

ii. What is Home Building?

iii. Responsibility of Parents as Home builders.

iv. Prominent Roles of Women as Home Builders.

Literature Review

Here, several works of scholars are being reviewed on issues in parental responsibility.

Issues in Parental Responsibility

Omotuyole (2009) opines that, a family and her members have a number of functions and rights. It is the responsibilities of such family to name every child born into the family, to raise the child from childhood till he or she is old enough to take care of him/herself. He argues that the family is expected to educate and transmit societal norms and culture to children and also ensures provision of physical security in terms of food, clothing and shelterand other needs. Omotuyole's contribution is relevant to this research in that it discusses the ideal role of parenting in a normal family structure. However, he undermined the issue of parental responsibility in home building.

Another work relevant to this study is that of Abgana and Oludare (2010) affirm that the society is characterized by socio-economic upheavals, crime-waves such as delinquency brought or necessitated by parental neglect, economic realities and the parents now bestow the early training and education of their children on house maids and care centres. Early childhood care and education centres flourish in this century as a means for the growing needs of the children whose parents/guardians are out in search of economic fortunes. Adebayo (2011), Murdock (1949) and Aggarwal (2010) corroborate Agbana and Oludare's opinion that most children in Nigeria are denied of adequate parental care due to their over involvement in white collar jobs, business and other economic ventures. The contribution of these authors is relevant to this research. We agree with no doubt that their works have added value to this research in the sense that they see delinquency as a spill-over effect of parental negligence resulting from economic realities. However, they completely neglect the aspect of parents as home builders a sine qua non for national development.

Ooye (2013) affirms that a worldwide renowned Evangelist and a well-known notorious armed robber were born alike. The only different is their upbringing or parenting. She insists that the upbringing of a child dictates what he/she will become later in life. Ooye's contribution serves this work right. We agree with her opinion that parenting dictates the later life of a child. And to be brought up by a good parent is priceless. But, she fails to discuss the functional imperative of parents as home builders.

Conceptual Clarification of Terms

Meaning of Parenting

Adeyemi (2010) considers parenting as a process of promoting and supporting the all-round development of a child (physical, emotional, educational, social, intellectual and spiritual) from infancy to adulthood. It is intended for the upbringing of a child that is socially matured and productive who will be able to impact his or her world in the right direction. In the same vein, parenting refers to carrying out the responsibilities of raising and relating to children in such a manner that the child is well prepared to realize his or her full potential as a human being. This implies that parenting involves administering a total care to a new born from birth to adulthood. It can simply mean the process or state of being a parent. Scholars like Nancy (2002), and Jack (1897) agree that parenting involves a process which sometimes continues for many decades. Morrison (1978) also defines parenting as the acquisition of knowledge and skills necessary for giving birth to, rearing and providing care for newborn. This definition implies that parenting must be planned for and should not be taken for granted. Morrison, further stresses that a qualitative parenting depends on several factors: First, a qualitative parenting depends solidly on parental maturity. Stable marital union largely depends on this factor thirdly; the number of children born by parents could affect the pattern of parenting. Fourthly, when pregnancy is prepared for it will affect their parenting quality. When

parents' least expected the coming of a child it will have a spill-over effect on children. Lastly, the child's temperament and physical attributes play a pivotal role in their upbringing. A troublesome child with visible handicap will make the parenting task more strenouos than a simple newborn with appraised attributes.

Home Building

The home represents the family. The family in turn, is the smallest unit of the society. We can therefore conclude that the family or home is the mirror of the future of the society. If the future generation is not well groomed, the norms and values of the society may be extinct. Overton (1935) sees home as a peculiarly precious social institution, which houses some of the most sacred of all human relationship**.** Onah (1999) defines the home as 'a private living quarters of a person, family or household.' It also connotes a place where one was born and brought up. The home is a family unit. There are three key elements in building a peaceful home life: the relationship between family members, the atmosphere of the home itself, and the way the home is run. When a family shares principles and values, they grow together. The home becomes a foundation for the family to grow together. The home becomes a foundation for the family's shared sense of purpose while providing a springboard for each member to pursue his/her own goals. In such a home, family stay up late talking heart-to-heart about what's on their minds. Children crowd around grandparents to hear stories. Teenagers debate meaningful issues with each other and with their parents. The whole family gets together and not just on holidays but also for evenings of songs, games, folktales (which indirectly teach morals) and reminiscing. The home becomes alive, a source of energy and hope, of urgency and love. It is not the tranquility of a home that makes it peaceful; it is the life within.

Responsibility of Parents as Home Builders

Parents are to live in harmony. After addressing the wives and the husbands separately, Paul instructed the two sexes (in the congregation): "All of you, live in harmony with one another, is sympathetic, love as brothers, and be compassionate and humble. Do not repay evil for evil or insult with insult, but with blessings, because to this you were called so that you may inherit a blessing," I Peter 3: 8-9. This is their responsibility to one another. It is their practical way of teaching their children to live in harmony with their spouses and other people. Though all the aforementioned obligations are directly expected between husband and wife, they have their side effects indirectly on the children. Nevertheless, there are some roles to be directly played by the parents on the children. Parents are to train their children, (Proverbs 22:6), and part of the training is to give various instructions. It is the responsibility of the father to instruct his children to obey their mother. In Proverbs 1:8, the wise father instructs his son "do not forsake your mother's teaching." Against the happenings in some homes today where one parent will be instigating the children against the other parent, we can see how the wise father is teaching the children to be obedient to their mother. This is applicable to the mother too. Mothers are very influential. Often times whatever they say is believed and followed by the children. If they do not want the children to fear and honour their father, they can do it. A clear example is found when Jacob deceived his father and was blessed instead of Esau! Jacob feared his father and would not want his curse. But Rebecca encouraged, supported and taught him how he would deceive his father. She totally dispelled the fear from his heart that Jacob eventually confidently sat before his father and deceived him (Genesis 27). This is not encouraged in the Bible. What happened between Rebecca and Isaac was touching; how they handled their children almost claimed Jacob's life as Esau wanted to kill him. This shall later be discussed under favouritism. In essence, for a godly and pleasant relationship that will benefit every member of the family and the society at large, the two parents should work hand in hand and see that their children respect and obey the two of them. The two of them have different roles to play on the children, they complement each other.

It is the responsibility of parents to instruct their children to preserve sound judgement, as a parent gives an instruction, "My son, preserve sound judgement and discernment." (Proverbs 3:21). This is one of the ways to solve the problems of injustice in our country. People pervert judgement. Many people have suffered injustice; this is even affecting Nigeria politically. But all our judges and lawyers were raised by some parents. Though many factors are responsible for the act of injustice, parent – child relationship may minimize it. Let the parents train their children from the beginning of their lives, to be godly in all their dealings. As part of training the child is to maintain justice, the parent in the book of Proverbs exposes his child to the attached benefits. According to him, if the child will maintain justice, it will be an ornament to grace his neck, he will go on his way to safety and he will not stumble. When he lies down, he will not be afraid; when he lies down, his sleep will be sweet, (proverbs 3: 22-24). It means maintaining justice which beautifies the one who does it. There are also safety and peace

of mind for him or her. There are social and medical benefits of maintaining justice.

Parents are to instruct their children not to join bad company. Proverbs 1:10 instructs, "My son if sinners entice you, do not give in to them." I Corinthians 15:33 also confirms, "Do not be misled, 'Bad company corrupts good character." Part of what the bad company can do is to lie in wait to kill and shed harmless innocent blood (Proverbs 1:11). They do such just to get money and wealth (1:13) but eventually, they resulted in killing one another (1:18), the reason for the warning not to join them. It is very clear that an average Christian finds it difficult to kill fellow human beings. One of the reasons can be traced to the value biblical teaching attached to life. If all parents care about lives of others, a healthy parent child relationship that teaches sanctity of life and discourages the children from joining a bad company will minimize the killing of innocent souls in our society.

Parents should care to instruct their children against adultery. Apart from the fact that the bible is against adultery and fornication, it also guides the parents to teach their children to resist sexual immorality. An example is found in proverb 5:1-10. Other passages include proverbs 2:16ff, 6:24ff, 7:6ff, 22:14, 23:27-28, 31:2-3, Exodus 20:14, Matthew 5:27-30, Galatians 5:19.

To discipline a child is also part of training him or her, and this is a responsibility of the parents to the child. Proverbs 19:18a states, "Discipline your child with rod; while verse 24 explains how punishing a child with rod can save a child's soul from death. In essence, it is ethical and acceptable to punish or beat a child when necessary (Salifu, 2021). It is equally cultural. Nonetheless, Coon (2000) is of the opinion that punishment is most effective when it is immediate, consistent and intense. It also has some side effects such as "conditioning of fear; the learning of escape and avoidance of responses; and the encouragement of aggression" (Coon, 2000). It can even be misused. In the process of punishing or beating, a parent can become violent – the reason for the warning in Proverbs 19:18 "Discipline your son for in it there is hope; do not be a willing party to his death." In other words, Sharon (1985) corroborate Coonas he considers "correction, criticism and expectation should only have one aim – to elevate the child … to remove the dross. They should never be used to hurt or humiliate.

Discipline has many benefits for both the parents and the child trained with it. When a child is trained with discipline, his soul will be rescued from unnecessary death (Proverbs 19:24). The wayward life some people lived had claimed their lives. Such death can be averted by living a disciplined life. Though discipline is not always pleasant, it eventually produces fruit of righteousness and peace for those trained by it (Hebrew 12:11). Such righteous peaceful life gladdens the hearts of the parent (proverbs 23:15-16), and because "a cheerful heart is good medicine," (Proverbs 17:22a), it can be said that such parent will experience a sound health and long life, but reverse will be the case if a child is a foolish (unwise) son as a result of being not well-trained. Such child will not only bring trouble to himself or herself, he or she will equally bring grief to the father and the mother (Proverbs 17:25). Consequently, as cheerful heart is good medicine, a cursed spirit dries up the bones (Proverbs 17:22b). Unger (1987) renders the verse as follows: "A merry heart (a cheerful mind) does good like a medicine (lit. 'causes good healing'), meaning, "A cheerful spirit (which can be brought about by, when is well trained and is wise as grieved) spirit, producing a gloomy outlook, drieth (up) the bones and so affects the whole body with ill health".

Parents are to religiously guide their children. God expects them to direct their children to knowing, following and fearing God. This is found in Gen 18:19 where God said, "I have chosen him (Abraham), so that he will direct his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord by doing what is right and just." A good relationship between parents and the children could encourage children to be godly. In the situation where the parents themselves do not care about God, or they are not godly themselves, it will be hard for them to direct their children to the way of God. God's instruction to parents in Deuteronomy 6: 2-5 is to love and serve their God as a way of teaching their children. "That you, your children, and their children after them may fear the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your strength." This will be a practical way of worshipping God which will naturally influence the children. A parent can be religiously influential as it will be noticed in the letter of Paul to Timothy. Paul wrote, "I have been reminded of your sincere faith, which fist live in your grandmother Lois and in your mother Eunice and I am persuaded, now lives in you also," II Timothy 1:5.

Guiding a child not to "join those who drink too much wine or gorge themselves on meat," as in Proverbs 23: 19-20, is another responsibility of the parents. The reason being that 'drunkards and gluttons become poor and drowsiness clothes them in rags' (Proverbs 23:21). It means the act has social and financial implications. Too much wine has caused so many irreversible havocs. It has caused many people to misbehave, it has caused fatal

accidents on the roads, and unfortunately, there is no measure to determine excessive drinking of wine. The measurement that intoxicates a person is a starting point for another person. To add more to this problem is the fact that like some other things and drinks, alcoholic wine has addictive nature. A parent that will effectively guide

his children from being addicted or being a drunkard must be a parent that does not drink alcohol at all. This will prevent him from being addicted or misleading people around him. In this trend Shields (2004) explains:

> *Because wines and beers can make a person drunk and can be the introduction to distilled liquors (spirits), many Christian go further and feel compelled to abstain from alcoholic drinks. They know the danger of addiction and the damage alcohol does in many lives. They fear similar effects in their own lives and in the lives of those, who might, by following their example become addicted. They see the use of alcoholic drink as the cause, not just of drunkenness, but of dishonour to the Lord. Just as Paul decided to abstain from eating meat that has been offered to an idol (I Corinthians 8:13), so they decide not to drink wine. (Romans 14:20). They voluntarily become total-abstainers as a matter of conscience.*

It is the responsibility of the parents to teach their children hospitality but encouraging children to care about others is something that is best accomplished by example, rather than by preaching. It begins with the parents' own attitudes towards their children and with the climate they establish within their homes (Berman, 1977). The woman of good attitude "cares for the poor and provides also for the needy", (Proverbs 31:20). Abraham's household entertained some three visitors in Genesis 18: 1-10. This is expected of a Christian home. It will be a practical way of teaching the children to be hospitable.

Fathers are instructed not to embitter their children so that the children will not be discouraged (Colossians 3:21). To err is human but to keep on doing what is irritating and ungodly to a child may discourage him or her from keeping God's command to honour his parents (Exodus 20:12). Doing ungodly things especially to children, will hinder a godly and healthy parent-child relationship. Children should not always be maltreated. When they are offended, the situation should be explained and apologized.

Parents should not play favouritism, unfairly favouring a person or group. This can be a form of giving a special treatment to a child irrespective of sex; but when it is done basically because of the sex, and then it becomes gender discrimination. The household of Isaac gave birth to only a set of twins and the two of them were males. The mother chose to love Jacob more than Esau; while the father loved Esau more than Jacob! That each of the two children was loved by different parents shows that each of them was good and lovable. It was just by choice that each parent preferred one of them to the other. In Genesis 27, when Isaac was about to die, he wanted to pray for his favorite son, Esau, instead of the two children. Rebecca too wanted only Jacob to receive the blessing of the dying father. Jacob was eventually blessed, and Esau planned to kill him – Genesis 27:41. Jacob had to flee for his life. This is one of the reasons it is not good to play favoritism. Parents are to be caring. It is part of being caring to wake up while it is still dark, to prepare food for the family (the husband and the children), Proverbs 3:15. It is part of being caring to be concerned not only on major but also on the seemingly minor issues of the children. A good father admonished his child, "Eat honey, my son, for it is good," Proverbs 24:13. Though, contextually, verse 13 is part of verse 14 and the two verses compare the goodness of wisdom to the sweetness of honey, the fact still remains that the father urges his son to eat honey – which is "extremely nutritious".

In Proverbs 25:27a, he also advised: "It is not good to eat much honey," an advice against excessive eating of anything, irrespective of its good taste.

Prominent Roles of the Woman in Home Building

The prominent role of women in home building could be viewed from different perspectives. For instance, Iwe (1999) opines that traditionally, women play their basic roles in life as daughter, sister, wife, and other more recently as wage earner. The role as wife is more important here, some of these prominent roles are hereby discussed.

Responsibility in Children Upbringing: it is a fact that, according to Meckenzie, (1978), it is the duty of both parents to teach children, but Raymond Smith (1972) stresses further that "the relationship between mother and child appears to be in a rather special category, since the human being is part of its mother physical being before birth." In the same vein, Elizabeth, John and Comfort (interview respondents on the 5th of April, 2024) remark that "next to God, we are indebted to mother, first for

life and then making it worth living." Therefore, the role of a mother to breastfeed, nurse and nurture children is an all-important event in human life. Children learn best through association with parents because their values are passed on to them (especially mothers). Children are born helpless, and then they remain dependent on adult care for a longer period. They need to be taken care of socially, emotionally and spiritually (Pastors Solomon, Ezekiel and James, interviewed on 27th April, 2024).

Character Study: a measure of integrity and reliability is needed in a family. Some patience is needed to accommodate some husbands. To maintain stability and good character, the woman must be firm with herself. She cannot afford to retaliate for whatever blunders the man commits Mrs. Funmilayo S, (interviewed on 30th April, 2024). She has to overlook certain things in the Christian spirit in order to resist or avoid divorce. This will help in no small measure to maintain the much desired stability in families and even in the entire society at large.

Mirror of the family: an unfavourable condition in a home can be concealed by a dedicated wife. Somebody can only pry into, find out facts about, and gossip on another family if he or she gets a clue. A woman i expected to create a positive impression of her matrimonial home outside. This is so because the way a woman talks, appears and comforts herself outside can reveal the situation of the family. Probably this is why the catholic women organization of both Enugu and Nsukka dioceses have this as their slogan: Ndi Nne Mama Igegbe Ezina-Uno! Meaning: Hello Mothers: The Mirror of the Family! So while the catholic men organization play the role of Ide Ji Uni (the pillar holding the house), the mothers act as the mirror of the family (Mrs. Nduka and Obinna, interview respondents on 1st May, 2024).

Moral Obligation: the moral obligations in the family lies squarely in the hands of the parents; but women by virtue of their closeness to the children undertake early inculcation of initial etiquette and moral education. Moral education in the family comes simultaneously with the natural preliminary instructions on basic etiquette.

A Guide to the Family: instability in the home can emanate in Genesis reveals how Eve led Adam to disobey God by eating of the forbidden fruit. This was the first big and permanent instance of instability/ women's guide and advice mane many Israelites kings derail from God's order and worship strange gods, thereby, creating instability. A woman in the home should be able to guide the affairs of the family and offer pieces of advice to the advance of the family in cases of dilemma because two (good) heads are believed to be better than one.

Caretakers: this woman duty as a caretaker is multifarious. In the first instance she should be very close to the man in times of distress and frustrations and play the role of a comforter. Meckenzie (1978) comments on the work of women: The work of women was long and hard-milling, baking, the care of the house, the care of children, attention to the husband.

Imperative of Responsible Parenting to National Development

Responsible parenting is Imperative to national development in the following ways:

Responsible citizenry: When parents train their children and bring them up with sound moral values; such children grow up to be responsible citizens of the country and will be law abiding. This is because children who are well-trained have respect for elders and possess sound education that will enable them to contribute meaningfully to the society at large. They are also well brought up to be able to uphold their moral duties as responsible citizens of the country.

Reduction in Crime Rate: Most of the youths that engage themselves in criminal activities and social ills such as robbery, theft, prostitution, cultism etc., are from broken homes or homes with irresponsible parents. Such children will end up becoming a liability to the society. An ideal parenting will help the child to disassociate himself from hoodlums and other groups that are prone to committing crimes. This will eventually decrease the crime level in the country. Country with reduced crime rate will experience progress and development.

Healthy Nation: Responsible parenting is important if we want a nation that is practically, socially and economically healthy. Children from good homes have sound education and eventually grow up to contribute economically to the nation by being productive. People are productive when they can work or set up their own businesses that will enable them to employ other people to work for them. Children from responsible homes also grow up to participate actively in a country's political activities and process. In the final submission, no country can be healthy economically, socially and politically if parents are not responsible. No nation can be sure of the future if there is no responsible parenthood because the home is the first institution of learning for every child.

Preservation of Cultural Values: A child is able to learn culture and values of his or her parents from the family. Once they learn these cultural values, thy can pass it on and on to generations to come. It therefore means that if we as a nation will retain our cultural values and integrity, we must pay necessary attention to promoting responsible parenthood because the home is an important institution for transmitting culture from one generation to another.

Recommendations

Cooperation Among Parents

Parental cooperation is a sine-qua-non for effective parenting. Cooperation entails building of family solidarity where by one's need becomes the need of all the members of the family. The welfare of each other must be sought diligently.

Parents Should Uphold High Moral Probity

Parent should ensure to input moral consciousness in their children. This is because children that are groomed early in life with moral values such as discipline, truth telling, keeping of promise and honesty are most likely to exhibit behaviour that are in conformity swith the societal ethics. The easiest way parent can achieve this is by ensuring that they too should live a life that is worthy of emulation by their children.

Mutual Trust Among Parents and Children

It is against domestic ethics for parent to betray the trust their children conferred in them. Parents are supposed to be confidants to their children. This would go a long way strengthening the family bond and social compatibility. Where children are mistrusted, they tend to seek solace in friends and peer group. Unfortunately, this could have a devastating concomitant effect on children especially when they fall into wrong hands.

Parents Should Discourage Materialism

One of the greatest gifts parents can give their children is contentment. This can be developed very early in life by encouraging our children to give thanks to God for all they have by discouraging materialism by word and example, and by counting the blessings every night and remembering the less fortunate.

Teaching Children value of Prudence

When children live extravagant life, they can hardly survive in an atmosphere of lack and want. Parent should teach their child the virtue of prudence early in life.

Conclusion

This work hasexamined responsibility of parents as home builders, a sine qua non for national development from a Christian perspective. Due to continuous social change that emanates from globalization and the entire human ecological system, children are prone to these changes with varying negative and positive effects. This research shows that only responsible parental guide can salvage children from the hazard such changes could bring and hence insulate them from the prevailing moral decadence in the society at large.

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COLLOCATIONAL PATTERNS AND SENSE RELATIONS IN THE EXPLICATION OF MEANING IN ARMAH'S NOVELS

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ABSTRACT

When literary writers write, they do so with the aim of conveying meaning. And the tool which gives expression to their thought is language. At various time, literary writers including the 20th century writers like Ayi Kwei Armah has deployed and manipulated language to suit his thematic concerns. This paper therefore seeks to study one of such language manipulations – collocation. It established that collocation is a habitual juxtaposition of a particular word with another word or words with a frequency greater than chance. However, from the study it is revealed that more often than not, Armah, violated this prism by using lexical items which normally should not co-occur. But instead of seeing this as a language error, it should be seen as novel and which contribute to the understanding of meaning. It analysed three of Armah's novels using the theories of reader-response and discourse analysis. The data analysed were randomly selected. It concludes that Armah relied on both habitual co-occurrence and abnormal co-occurrence of lexical items to convey his meanings. Armah has enjoyed a lot of literary analysis and criticisms, this present work seeks to study scientifically his word choice as a further contribution to the corpus literature (both literary and linguistic) on him. We opined that rather than see Armah's choice of words as bothering on obscenities, his choices should appreciated given the burden of the themes he seeks to share with his readers.

Introduction

The human language is the most universally accepted medium of communication. And many literary writers including the 20th century writers use language in their arts in an attempt to convey meaning. The 20th century writers use their novels as a medium of expression of their views, and conceptions about society. Their novels as a medium of expression does not only show the author's view points and problems but also explores the entire society or a segment of the society. That is why literature is regarded as a reflection of social reality, a form of social consciousness determined by social beings.

For writers to achieve their purpose, they need the resources of language. This is so because, language is the method of communication, while literature is the content being communicated. Linguists generally see language as a set of gestures and words and phrases with meaning behind them. On the other hand, literature is the manipulation and use of those gestures and words and phrase for creative purposes. Therefore, literature manifests

through language. There is no literature without language. Both language and literature have a close relationship. Egharevba (1987) a contemporary Nigerian writer maintains that an artist's sensibility is to a large extend informed by the historical period in which he was bred, and committed writing focuses on the prevailing historical issues of the writer's time. This study seeks to analyse The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born, Fragments, and Two Thousand Seasons.

In a bit to achieve the above aim, this paper takes a slight departure from the normal linguistic analysis of language use. Armah has variously been accused of using coarse language to draw attention to the decadence and corrupt behaviour in Ghana. This paper is premised therefore on the fact that Armah's choice of words is for therapeutic purpose. Armah had the content but his search for the form to give his readers content pitched him against some critics. It is for this purpose that this paper seeks to understand the collocational patterns in Armah's three select novels and to apply it within the confines of sense relation to the explication of meaning. The principal method apply in this paper is textual analysis.

In the course of this paper, attempt would be made to answer such burning issues as: Is Armah's use of language vulgar, repulsive and gutterish? It is safe to dismiss Armah as an egocentric writer? Or regard him as a mere satiristic writer? Or would it be safe to see Armah's choice of words as fitting symbols and imagery suit to carrying the burden of his mind?

The Concept of Collocation

Collocation is a term associated with the British linguist John Firth who introduce the concept into modern linguistics. Collocation means the tendency of words to co-occur (Baker, 1999). Cambridge Dictionary defines collocation as a word or phrase that is often used with another word or phrase, in a way that sounds correct to people who have spoken the language all their lives, but might not be expected from the meaning.

Newmark (1981) distinguishes between collocation and what is not collocation. He maintains that a colocation consists basically of two or three lexical words, usually linked by grammatical words, e.g. "a mental illness". The collocates within a collocation define and delimit each other by eliminating atleast some of their other possible meanings:

> *the defining may be mutual and equally balanced, but more often it is closer for one collocate than for other. Thus, "to pay attention" is a collocation, because it reduces the number of senses in which "pay" can be used to one. The word "attention" in the sense of "care", "solicitude". "To buy a hat" is not a collocation since it does not appreciably delimit the sense of "buy" or "hat".*

The source maintains that collocation is the element of system in the lexis of a language. It may be syntagmatic or horizontal, consisting of a common structure; or paradigmatic or vertical, consisting of words belonging to the same semantic field which may substitute for each other or be semantic opposites. These become collocations only when they are arranged syntagmatically.

According to Newmane (1981) syntagmatic collocations can be divided into seven groups:

i. verb plus noun

ii. determiner plus adjective plus noun

iii. adverb plus adjective

iv. verb plus adverb or adjective

v. noun plus noun

vi. count noun plus mass noun

vii. collective noun plus count noun.

On the other hand, the source also maintains that paradigmatic collocations may be based on well established hierarchies such as kinship, colours, scientific taxonomies and institutional hierarchies where the elements of the culture for each language often have their distinct linguistic likeness although the extra linguistic object may be the same. Alternatively, they may consist of the various synonyms and antonyms that permeate all languages.

What is Sense Relations?

Sense relations are very important to the understanding of meaning. The sense of a word can be understood from its similarity with other words, on the other hand, it can also be viewed from its oppositeness with other words. What this means is

that sense relations can be seen from the similarity of meaning as in synonymy, the inclusion of meaning as in hyponymy, and the oppositeness of meaning as in antonymy.

Sense relations may also be understood as the associations that exist at the word level, or phrase or sentence level. Meaning that these relationships may be syntagmatic or paradigmatic.

Theoretical framework

This paper anchors on two theoretical frameworks called reader-response theory and discourse analysis theory. Reader response theory focuses on the reader rather than on the author. This theory recognizes the reader as an active agent who imparts "real existence" to the work of art and completes its meaning through interpretation. It believes that meaning of a text is derived from the reader through the reading process. Reader-response analyst focuses on what texts do in the minds of the readers. Reading involves an interactional and transactional relationship between the text and the reader. Thus, this paper is interested in the text inferred meaning and the individual interpretation by the reader influenced by his/her personal emotions and knowledge.

Also, this paper draws from discourse analysis which seeks an explicit, systematic account of structures, strategies or processes of text in terms of theoretical notions developed in any branch of linguistics.

Literature is the reflection of the society. And writers write for the society. The society/reader seeks to understand the writer through his language use. It is pertinent to note that, writers consciously or unconsciously deploy words (forms) to give meaning to their content. It is not the writer who is reading himself, it is rather the reader who is reading the writer. Hence, our adoption of reader-response theory. It is expected through this approach that the reader makes meaning from what is being read. Similarly, discourse analysis theory is fitting for this paper, because we truly see language in action.

Collocational Pattern in Armah's Novel and its Sense Relations

In**The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born**, a number of collocations are isolated and analysed as contributing distinctly to the lexical trend in the novel. Describing for instance, the corrupt practices in Ghana, Armah says:

> *…this was the point at which she told me that those who wanted to get far had to learn to drive fast. Accidents would happen on the road, but the fear of accident never keep men from driving and Kromson had learned to drive. (p. 58-59).*

Here we see that the verb "driving" takes on the noun "road" as it collocates. "Accidents" also has co-reference to "driving" and "road". "Road" as used here relates to the diverse ways of getting rich quick while "accident" is semantically conditioned to mean "caught". Thus, the semantic feature is /+ corruption/. What Armah seeks to convey in this habitual collocate is to condemn in strong terms "the get-rich-quick syndrome" which he compares to one driving on the road who ultimately get involved in an accident.

In an attempt to bringing out the weight of the pains in his heart, Armah engages in the violation of collocational rules in what Montgomery et al (1992) call "the effect of defamiliarization". Victor Shklorsky's is the proponent of the concept of defamiliarization. This paper agrees with him, if as readers we become to familiar with a concept, word, symbol, it can actually hinder our understanding. As readers, we need this disorientation to allow us to see the object/concept in a new light and appreciate its unique qualities. For example, Armah talks about the enjoyment by the rich at the expense of the poor:

> *…the sweet sadness of Congo music flowed out through a window near the end of a row of little houses (p. 50).*

In the normal English language code the adjectives "sweet" and "sadness" are seen as violation or poetic expression, but since, literature contrast from our everyday communication, it extends the boundaries of our world which we have taken for granted and gives us the option to think and feel it afresh by systematically shifting away from conventional linguistic practices and habitual mode of expression. Thus, the juxtapositioning of "sweet", an element of joy /+ pleasure/ with "sadness", an element of depression i.e, /- pleasure/ shows Armah's disdain for corruption in Ghana.

Also concerning the corrupt practices in Ghana, Armah depends on another set of collocational restriction. For instance,

> *…blinding lights, wild and uncontrolled, succeeded by pure darkness (p. 100).*

Again, "light" takes on the attribute of human- "blinding", as is said to be wild and lacking control but in quick succession, Armah talks about "pure darkness". Within the context of this novel "light" symbolizes independent Ghana and has the semantic feature /+ freedom/, which is soon over-taken by "darkness" which has the feature of /+ corruption/, /+ backwardness/. The stylistic effect of these collocations serve the artistic purpose of allowing the reader to draw the relationship between denotative and connotative meanings of the lexical items used.

A few other examples illustrate the range of occurrences of collocations in the novel. For instance,

> *… to have good leader. Our people have not known good governance and people like Koomson lacks good virtue, hence our leaders should adopt (p. 77).*

To explicate the contextual meaning of "good", the class of items with which it collocates may be divided into two: on the basis of concreteness and animacy. Concreteness here is used to refer to those who detest corruption like "the man", "Nana", "Baako" and "the people" while animacy here means those who are morally debased like the "minister", "the Whiteman" and "Brempong". Other collocational trends indicate that the choices are intended to suit the theme of corruption. For examples, "corrupt politician connive" while "good leaders are elected". A number of ideas are summarized in these carefully chosen words. "politicians" and "leaders" are possible synonyms, but "politicians" collocate with "corrupt" (of negative connotation) and "leader" collocates with "good" (of positive connotation) showing the divide between the two categories of leaders with the semantic implications of /+ virtue/ /+ model/, with politician depicting /+ evil/, /+ cheat/, /+ corruption/.

In addition, most of the collocates here include the definite article "the". For example, we have "the needy,", "the poor", "the sleeper", "the living dead". The emphatic and consistent use of "the" article is of stylistic importance to this paper. The role of the article "the" helps in conveying the author's sense of concreteness. Thus, "the" consistently precedes either adjectives, "needy" and "poor", or verb "dead", or noun, "needy" this is making the adjectives and the properties of the adjectives "needy" and "poor", as /- rich/, /- affluence/, /- availability/.

On the other hand, people like Koomson are described as "the mighty", "the rich", "a big shot", "my lord", "my master". These descriptions show affluence. The article "the" has already been said to show concreteness, the other article "a" is undefined, meaning that "a big shot" is ephemeral and "my" is a determiner and shows possession. Here Armah uses it to show the slave-master relationship that exists between the rich and the poor in Ghana.

Fragments shows a preponderance of collocations which reveal the subject of the novel. For example,

> *… the only things the nurses had for quarters, to leave the whole **aborted town** just to get out and keep going in the attempt… to forget all the reminders of futility (p. 12).*

Armah uses the noun "town" which has the feature /- animate/ with a lexical verb "aborted" with the features /+ animate/, /+ human/. This gives animate and human features to a normally inanimate noun "town". This is unusual collocation, and it depicts unusual, abnormal situation in the Ghana of the novel.

In another development, Armah in discussing the preparation made for Baako to travel highlights the frustrating nature of the society as both progressive and retrogressive. According to him, "light moved up and down".

> *…lights came casting giant leaf shadows upon the hills inside from cars returning, lights that moved **up and down** (p. 5)*

"Light" has the feature /+ development/ and is paired with "up and down" as collocates. The lexical items "up and down" show the swing in the society from progress to retrogression. It has the semantic feature /+ instability/.

Again, Nana's frustration in her dream Ghana is expressed in these lines:

> ***My spirit*** *is straining for another where there will be new eyes… the* ***shattered dreams…my ghost*** *will find the beginnings that will be known here as* ***my dream****(p. 196).*

"My spirit", "my ghost" and "my dream" are all abstract entities. There is an intratextual cohesion between them, and they share the common semantic feature /+ vague /. Besides, these normal collocates bring us to the constant narrative shift. "My ghost" represents the past, "my spirit" represents the future while "my dream" represent the future.

Another instance is:

> *I am here against the last of my veils. Take me. I am ready.* ***You are the end. The beginning****. I am coming (p. 201).*

From this extract, we have an unusual collocate "you are the end and the beginning". In normal English language code, we should have had "beginning and the end" but within the world of this novel, there is a conscious interplay of these words designed to foreground its use. Here, wrongful acquisition of wealth is described as "you" i.e. /+ animate/ and is said to be the "end and beginning". Within this novel, success of any kind is measured in terms of materialism.

In **Two Thousand Seasons,** we also noticed that lexical items collocate to show the theme of alienation and frustration. For instance, the Whiteman are known as desert, who only take without a corresponding giving. In the opening paragraph of the novel, we have,

> *… the* ***desert takes****. The desert knows no giving… there the devotes of death take life… (p. xi)*

Here the noun "desert" stands for the invading whites who have come in for forcefully occupy Ghana. Armah in showing his resentment for them described them as desert with the semantic feature /- life/ and the verb "takes" which is in the present tense.

This is an abnormal collocates because the inanimate "desert" is given human quality. What Armah intends to demonstrate is to highlight the possessive tendencies of these white invaders.

We also have another abnormal collocation in the following extract:

> *In the* ***living night*** *came voices from the source. We go to find our audience, open our mouth to pass on what we have heard (p. xi).*

Ekpenyong (2000) describes this kind of collocation as idiomatic. Ekpenyong asserts that the expression, "living night" is an idiomatic expression, but a cursory look depicts it as an abnormal collocate and more of a figure of speech. For "living" is a verb while, "night" is a noun (Verb + Noun). Also, in terms of figure of speech, it may be personification, because "night" is given an human attributes of "living". However, within the context of this novel, "night" is given an attribute of living and has the semantic feature /+ human/. The progressive verb "living" shows the continuity of "darkness" (i.e attribute of night).

In displaying his anger, Armah chooses putrid language to show his displeasure of the Whiteman:

> *So among us the* ***ostentatious cripples*** *turned the honoured position of caretakers into plumage for their infirm selves (p. 63).*

To show intensity, Armah uses the adjective "ostentatious" with the noun "cripples" as collocate. The word ostentatious is derogatory in nature and its use with another derogatory element such as "cripples" has rhetorical effect. Within the world of this novel, they share the same semantic components of /+ wealth/, /- motion/. Armah thus sees the Whitemen as 'cripples".

Like what we noticed in the two novels analysed in this paper. Armah likes to use the definite article "the" to describe the villians in his works. As already mentioned this stylistic device is aimed at concreteness. In **two thousand seasons we have**:

> *…****the hollow-eyed beggars*** *seeking refuge from the people.* ***The predators****, their first appearance among us was that of beggars.* ***The bloat-eyed revellers*** *also within swollen quantities (p. 21).*

"The hollow-eyed beggars", "the predators", the bloat-eyed reveller" all refer to flesh eating animals and they share the same semantic feature /+ death/, /+ destruction/. All these animals are introduced by the definite article "the" which make the white specific.

Furthermore, Armah in discussing about the suffering of the people in the hands of the white invaders compares them to a shrinking soul.

> *… the perception of beauty is so dependent on **the souls seeing,** on **the soul hearing**. **A shrunken souls, shrunken from the way**, **shrunken souls** turn from the way by the white destroyers… (p. 183).*

Apart from the conscious repetition of the words "shrunken" and "souls", they are abstract entities but made to take the qualities of living things e.g. "seeing" and "hearing". Besides the verb "shrink" is used in the past tense and made to collocate with the abstract "soul". On the other hand, the soul is supposed to depict life, but taking the verb, it takes an extra-textual meaning of life /- life/, /+ suffering/.

Finally, talking about the final annihilation of the black people by their white invaders, Armah makes use of predictable collocate but with a stylistic marker to make his message clearer to his readers. He says:

> *… the **desert** knows no giving. To the giving water of your flowing it is not in the nature of the **desert** to return anything but **destruction**. **Springwater** flowing to the **desert**, your future is **extinction**(p. xi).*

"Destruction" and "extinction" belong to same grammatical category and also share the same semantic properties of /+ death/ within the world of this novel. "springwater" has the feature /+ life/ and it represents the blacks in the world of this novel while "desert" represents the whitemen and has the semantic feature /+ death/.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have observed that for any literary writer to convey the burden of/in his/her mind, language is at the centre piece. And the choice of language by the literary artist depends greatly on the sensibilities of the artist, the social context and the period. Armah as one of the 20th century literary artist has within the world of his novels chosen dictions to suit his theme. This paper particularly looked at Armah's use of collocations and their semantic implication in the understanding of meaning. From our discussion here, collocation is seen as predictable co-occurrences of two or more words not determined by logic or frequency, but is arbitrary, decided only by linguistic convention. From the data analysed, Armah seemed to rely greatly on abnormal collocates, this is understandably so because of the theme of corruption, alienation, frustration and disappointment he tries to share with the public. So, this gives rise to the conscious violations of his collocation patterns. However, this stylistic linguistic analysis has helped in a better comprehension and understanding and perhaps free him from his critics who sees his choices of words as bothering on obscenities.

Our conceptual orientation in this paper has been critically tested. Truth is, words do co-occur but we have also noticed a deliberate departure from this angle. It underscores our concept of defamiliarization. The reader-response theory adopted also proved useful, because the selected texts were purposefully read and data selected for reader-centred and not author-centred. The discourse theory aspect of our orientation demonstrates how Armah's choice of words work in different situations (i.e. context of situation).

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CAREER DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYEE RETENTION IN THE BENUE STATE CIVIL SERVICE

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Career Development, Certifications, Seminars and Employee Retention

ABSTRACT
The paper examined the effect of career development on employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service. This study adopted survey research design, the sample size for the study was 200 across the Benue State Civil Service. Data were collected using a self-mixed questionnaire with response rate of 200 percent. Thepaper has a total population of fourteen thousand nine hundred and sixty-six (14,966) (Benue State civil service commission worker's register, 2023). The analysis of data was done using simple frequency distribution and percentages. The multiple regression analysis t-test was used alongside with Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) technique in estimation. The Findings revealed that that effect self-certification has significant relationship on employee retention of Benue State civil service and seminars has significant relationship on employee retention of Benue State civil service. The study revealed that career development affected the employee retention of Benue State civil servants. The study concludes that certification, seminars, internship and coaching positively affected the employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service. This implies that investing in certification, seminars, internship, and coaching programs can effectively enhance employee retention within the Benue State Civil Service. The study recommended among others that Policy makers of various ministries should expand the availability of certification programs relevant to the roles and responsibilities within the Civil Service. And clearly communicate the career advancement opportunities associated with obtaining specific certifications, emphasizing their importance in professional development and progression within the Civil Service. This can be done by partnering with accredited institutions or professional organizations to offer a diverse range of certifications.

1.1 Introduction

Career development plays a crucial role in shaping employees professional growth, job satisfaction, and commitment to their organizations by offering opportunities for advancement, skill enhancement, and personal development, career development initiatives can foster a sense of purpose, engagement, and loyalty among employees. In civil service, where bureaucratic structures and traditional promotion systems may prevail, effective career development practices are essential for attracting and retaining top talents. The retention of talented and experienced employees is therefore, vital for ensuring operational efficiency, maintaining institutional knowledge, and delivering high-quality public services. However, despite the recognized importance of retaining skilled personnel, civil service agencies often grapple with challenges related to employee turnover and retention (Delbari, *et al.,* 2021).

Employee retention is about keeping employees for a large duration of time and the intention of the management of the firm to keep the maximum employee numbers (Muriithi, 2020). Frequent employee loss, according to Rono and Kiptum (2017) drains the organizational assets and resources based on time and costs that is lost during the recruitment and training of new employees. This leads to variation in production rates and service delivery quality. The loss of talent is not only in terms of finance but also loss in intangible resources like the knowledge and experience of the employees that impact the growth and high performances for the organization.

The high employee turnover rates are expensive to the business units, leads to variation in service delivery and losing the loyalty of customers that negatively impacts on the profit margins. The intention to leave an organization is costly to same based on loss of service after training the employees, besides they leave with all their experiences that will benefit their future employer. Chiekezie, *et al,* (2017) contend that organizations must put in place measures that will retain their best employees. The employees drive business performance that gives the firm competitive advantage. The banks in Nigeria give their employees compensation packages inclusive of salary, bonuses and benefits like insurance cover and personal loans as an incentive to retain the bank staff for long periods. In certain organizations, job enrichment, job rotation, training and development could be used as part of employee development programs that led to higher retention rates for its employees.

Given the critical importance of retaining skilled employees within civil service organizations, there is a compelling need to examine the relationship between career development and employee retention. By assessing the effectiveness of existing career development programs, and identifying strategies to improve retention, this study seeks to contribute to the enhancement of workforce stability and organizational effectiveness in the Benue State civil service sector.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In civil service organizations, the retention of skilled and experienced employees is essential for maintaining institutional knowledge, ensuring continuity of services, and promoting effective governance. Despite the recognized importance of career development in enhancing employee engagement and satisfaction, civil service organizations often face challenges in retaining their workforce. One significant issue is the perceived lack of opportunities for career advancement and growth within civil service roles. Many employees may feel that their career trajectories are limited or unclear, leading to frustration and disengagement. Additionally, the bureaucratic nature of civil service organizations and rigid promotion structures may hinder employees' ability to progress professionally. Furthermore, the rapidly changing landscape of public administration, technological advancements, and evolving job roles necessitate continuous learning and skill development. Yet, civil service agencies may struggle to provide relevant training and development opportunities to equip employees with the skills needed to adapt to changing demands.

Moreover, the competitive job market and attractive opportunities in the private sector pose challenges for civil service organizations in retaining top talent. Without effective career development initiatives and incentives, employees may be more inclined to seek employment elsewhere, resulting in talent drain and turnover. Overall, there is a pressing need to examine the relationship between career development opportunities and employee retention within civil service organizations. To this effect, the Benue State civil service organizations have embarked on several career development programsto enable them retain its workforce for optimum performance. Yet, there appears to be a vacuum to this end. It is on this note that this study deem it fit by assessing the effectiveness of existing career development programs, and exploring strategies to improve retention, this study seeks to contribute to the enhancement of workforce

stability and organizational effectiveness in the civil service sector.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The main objective of the paper is to determine the effect of career development on employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service. The specific objectives are to:

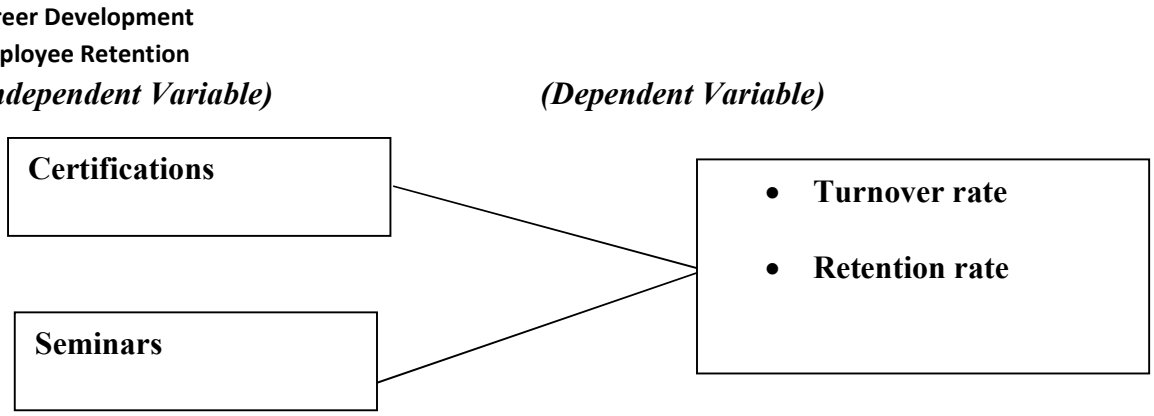
i. assess the effect of certifications on employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service,

ii. examine the effect of seminars on employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service,

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Framework

This sub-section provides conceptualization of key concepts such as Career Development and Employee Retention.



Conceptual framework on the relationship between Career Developmentand Employee Retention

Source: Researchers model (2024).

2.2.1 Concept of career development

Career development refers to the ongoing process of managing one's professional growth, learning, and advancement over the course of one's career. It involves setting goals, acquiring new skills, seeking opportunities for advancement, and adapting to changes in the workplace. Career development is essential for individuals to achieve their full potential, pursue meaningful work, and progress along their chosen career paths. According to Weinert (2021), the term career can be described as a pattern of workexperiences including the entire life span of a person which is carried out throughdifferent stages reflecting the change from one phase of life to another. Smit, *et al.* (2017) defined career as the sequence of work experiences that an employee acquiresover time. Career may involve not only upwards movement of person in the sameorganization but also working for several organizations during the courses of his work life (Prasad, 2019).

According to Ezeuwa, (2019) career development can be seen as the use of human resources to quantitatively changeman's physical and biological environments to his benefits or ever seen as involving theintroduction of new ideas into the social structure and causing alterations on the patterns of theorganization and social structure. To develop staff, (Daniels, 2019) simply refers to make themgrow with the organization so that they can be fitted for available higher positions within theircapacity. Development deals with improving human relations and interpersonal skill (Iwuoha, 2019).

Career development covers an employee's working life. It starts with staff orientation, on-jobtraining, experience, short courses, professional courses, post graduate degrees or diplomas. According to the National Strategy for the Development of the social service workforce in Scotland (2015), employee development is the foundation on which the confidence and competence ofindividual staff is built, (Robbins,

2020). Employees are major assets of any organization, theyplay an active role towards organizational success that cannot be underestimated. Equipping theseunique assets through effective training becomes imperative in order to maximize the jobperformance. Career development is often used to close the gap between current performances andexpected future performance. Many employees in different organizations' have trained but theyhave remained stagnant with little evidence of career advancement. Rivai andSagala (2013), was of the view that career development is a process that enhances the individual's ability towork in order to achieve the desired career. Career development is expected by everyemployee, as it provides for better rights than ever before. Like a raise and get moreperks from the company.

2.2.2 Dimensions of career development

The dimensions of career development considered in this study include certification, seminars, internship and coaching.

i. Certifications

According to Noe and Hollenbeck, (2019), certifications are formal credentials or qualifications awarded by a recognized authority, institution, or organization to individuals who have demonstrated a certain level of knowledge, skills, competence, or expertise in a specific field or subject matter. These certifications serve several important purposes in various industries and professions. To Lussier andHendon, (2020)certifications provide tangible evidence that an individual possesses the required skills and knowledge in a particular area. They demonstrate that the individual has met a certain standard of competence as defined by the certifying body. Many certifications require individuals to undergo training, coursework, or practical experience to earn the credential.

ii. Seminars

Seminar is defined according to Rivai andSagala (2013) as a structured and organized meeting or gathering where a group of individuals, often with shared interests or expertise in a particular subject, come together to discuss, present, and exchange ideas, information, or research on a specific topic. Prasad (2019) also asserts that seminars are typically more interactive and participatory than traditional lectures or presentations. They provide a forum for participants to engage in discussions, ask questions, and collaborate with each other to deepen their understanding of the subject matter. Seminars can vary in format, ranging from academic seminars held at universities to professional development seminars in the workplace or community-based seminars on various topics of interest.

2.2.3 Employees retention

Employee's retention refers to an organization's capacity to keep its personnel, and while they respect dedicated individuals and know how to retain them by spending large sums of money on acquiring and training them, many firms continue to experience a significant loss of talent each year (Rakhra 2018). Employee retention can be described as the strategies and methods that firms adopt to keep their most valuable people on the job (Abba 2018). The management techniques, which are comprised of numerous components, are likely to aid increasing staff retention. Employee retention is intimately related to the policies developed and enforced by a company's human resources department (Kundu and Gahlawat 2016). By identifying, examining, and criticizing employee motivation ideas and demonstrating the link between employee motivation and employee retention, the author thereby clarified the significance of keeping key people and demonstrated how employee retention methods might be more effective (Olson and Zanna 1993).

2.2.4 Dimensions of employee retention

The success of every organization depends on the performance of the employees of the organization concerned. Therefore, each work unit in an organization must assess its retention, so that the retention of human resources contained in units of an organization can be assessed objectively. On this note; Mangkunegara (2013), identifies retentionindicators include which comprises of turnover rate, retention rate, and length of employment as discussed as follows:

i. Turnover rate

Employee turnover is the percentage of employees that leave your organization during a given time period. Organizations typically calculate turnover rates annually or quarterly. Employee turnover rate is a good indicator of an organization's work culture, the effectiveness of hiring policies and overall employee management (Kundu and Gahlawat 2016). An understanding of turnover rate compared to industry standards as well as global employee retention benchmarks can

help businesses drive growth and improve workforce engagement.

ii. Retention rate

Employee retention rate measures the percentage of employees that stay at your company over a specific period of time. It complements your turnover rate, or churn rate, providing a more complete view of employee transition than calculating either metric alone. Employee retention rate would be the percentage of employees who stay with your organization during that time (Kundu and Gahlawat 2016). The retention rate is a key metric used by organizations to measure the percentage of employees who remain with the company over a specific period of time, typically on an annual basis(Mangkunegara2013). It is a critical indicator of workforce stability and the organization's ability to retain talent.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study is based on the human capital theory.

2.2.1 Human Capital Theory

The Human Capital Theory was propounded by Schultz (1961). The Human capital theory explains that education or training raises the productivity of workers by imparting useful knowledge and skills, hence raising workers' future income by increasing their lifetime earnings. The human capital theory suggests that an individual's decision to invest in training is based upon an examination of the net present value of the costs and benefits of such an investment. Individuals are assumed to invest in training during an initial period and receive returns to the investment in subsequent periods. In this view, human capital is similar to "physical means of production", e.g., factories and machines: one can invest in human capital (via education, training, medical treatment) and one's outputs depend partly on the rate of return on the human capital one owns.

The theory prescribes education, training and skills acquisition as mechanisms for attaining productivity, workers' efficiency and overall socio-economic development. The human capital theory advocates education and training as a tool for improving human capital, stimulating labour productivity and boosting the levels of technology across the globe. Human capital enhancement through quality education and training is a critical factor that is responsible for economic growth and development of nations. While formal education has expanded rapidly in many countries, a large portion of human capital accumulation in the forms of on-the-job training and other modes for working adults actually take place both inside and outside the workplace.

2 .3 Empirical Review

Naw., et al.(2023) examined the impact of career advancement on employee retention of public sector inLincoln, Malaysia. The study employed a survey design, using a sample of 373 medical employees of six ministries in Lincoln. A questionnaire using a 5-point Likert type scale was used for data collection and data analysis was conducted using Regression with the aid of SPSS version 23. According to the findings, firms that focus on employee career development have a positive impact on employee satisfaction because the impact of employee satisfaction is larger when long-term objectives and goals are met. The study discovered that (i) organizational career development planning is connected to employee retention through organizational goals, training and development, and career ladders, all of which have an effect on employee satisfaction and subsequently support the development of organizational effectiveness. (ii) Individual career planning will affect employee satisfaction, causing employees to experience varying levels of satisfaction. This study is closely related to the current research however it was conducted in the context of Malaysian so the current research is being conducted to fill the gap in the Nigerian context in order to see if the findings will be same or vary.

Iyke-Ofoedu, Okafor and Ogbuagu (2023) examined the effect of career development techniques on employee performance in deposit money banks in Nigeria. The research design employed in this study was the descriptive survey research design. The sample size of 231 respondents was drawn from population of the study which consists of 548 employees of Wema Bank Plc, Sterling Bank Plc, First Bank of Nigeria Plc and Access Bank Plc in Enugu State. Research questions were answered using mean and standard deviation. The hypotheses stated were tested using single regression analysis. The empirical result shows that there is a positive and significant effect of induction training on employee quality of service delivery (t-statistics (58.161) > critical value (0.000). Again, the study revealed that there is a positive and significant effect of job rotation on employee punctuality (t-statistics (59.146) > critical value (0.000). The study also revealed that there is a positive and significant effect of formal education on employee transparency (t-statistics (53.984) > critical value (0.000).

Michael et al. (2022) determine the effect of career development practices on employee attraction and retention in the mining industry in Namibia. This study is quantitative in nature and questionnaires were used to collect the data from participants. The researchers used Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software to analyse the data and to provide descriptive (mean and standard deviation) and graphical analyses with the use of tables and calculation of statistics for central tendency, variability, and distribution. The major findings of the study revealed that the career management plans do not align with employees' personal career goals and that the employee commitments and performance in the mining industry are constrained due to the lack of structured career planning and management. It is also evident from the findings that career development practices would increase the profitability of the mining industry as a result of satisfied and high performing employees. Although the employees have adequate resources to carry out their duties, the lack of career advancement as well as adequate training and development is a great concern. This study is closely related to the current research but the gap this study left to be filled by the current research is that it focused on employees in the mining industry in Namibia which has a different culture so the current study covers the gap in the public civil service in Nigeria.

3.0 Methodology

3 .1 Study Design

This study adopted survey research design, this is due to the fact that primary data is required for the study and also that this research design provides the researcher with the opportunity of gathering first hand and current information that is reliable and authentic for the intended purpose. The survey design, through the use of questionnaires as instrument for data collection is deemed suitable for this study; the questionnaire is considered suitable because it will enable the researcher to collect data from respondents, regarding their views and knowledge concerning the study variables in order to achieve the objective of the study.

3.2 Population of the Study

The target population of this study comprise of the entire number of civil servants across the eighteen ministries in Benue State. Hence, the study has a total population of fourteen thousand nine hundred and sixty-six (14,966) (Benue Statecivilservicecommissionworker's register, 2023).

3.3 Sample and Sampling Technique

The sample size for the study was 200 across the Benue State Civil Service. A two-staged sample technique was used to select the sample. The first stage involved a purposive selection of four ministries (ministry of health and human services, ministry of information and culture, ministry of education and ministry of finance) the State.

3.4 Variable/Model Specification

Multiple regression model was adoptedfor this study, where career development was considered as the independent variable and was measured by (Certifications, Seminars, Internships and Coaching) and employees' retention was the independent variable which was also measured by (turnover rate, retention rate, and length of employment). The model used in the study was stated using both implicit and explicit functions. The implicit for of the model was stated as follows:

$ER = f(CD)$

$ER = f(CR, SM, IT, CC)$ (3)

Thus the explicit function of the model is as follows:

$CS= b_0 + b_1CR + b_2SM + b_3IT + b_3CC + \mu$ (4)

Where;

CD = Career Development

CR = Certifications

SM = Seminars

IT = Internships

CC = Coaching

ER= Employees Retention

μ= error term

A priori expectation: $b_1>0$, $b_2>0$, $b_3>0$, $b_4>0$. This means that career development, measured by certifications, seminars, internshipsand coachingare expected to positively influence the retention of employees of Benue state civil service.

4.0 Data presentation and Analysis

This section deals with the presentation of the results obtained from the field. It is made up of four subsections namely; data presentation, regression analysis, test of hypotheses and discussion of findings.

Table 1: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics		
					R Square Change	F Change	df1
1	.826[a]	.681	.674	.239	.681	92.533	4

a. Predictors: (Constant), CC, IT, SM, CR

Source: Computation of Field Survey, 2024.

4.8 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

The result from the ANOVA statistics in Table 2 indicates that the processed data, which is the population parameters, had a significance level of .000 which shows that the data is ideal for making a conclusion on the population's parameter as the value of significance (p-value) is less than 5%. This implies certifications, seminars, internships and coaching significantly affect the employee retention of Benue State civil service. The significance value was less than 0.05 which indicates that the model was statistically significant (F =92.533, P = .000 < 0.05).

Table 2: ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	21.091	4	5.273	92.533	.000[b]
	Residual	9.858	173	.057		
	Total	30.949	177			

a. Dependent Variable: ER

b. Predictors: (Constant), CC, IT, SM, CR

Source: Computation of Field Survey, 2024.

4.9 Regression Coefficients

From the data in the Table 3, the established regression equation is presented thus:

Employee Retention = 1.994 + .311(certifications) + -.211(seminars) + .278(internships) + .128(coaching). The regression equation above indicated that, a unit increase in certification learning to a constant zero, affect employee retention in the Benue State Civil Serviceby 31.1%, whereas a unit increase in seminars would affect employee retention Benue State Civil serviceby 21.4%, a unit increase in internship would affect employee retention in the

Benue State Civil Service by 27.8%, meanwhile, a unit increase in coaching would affect the employee retention Benue State Civil serviceby 12.8%. Furthermore, the study found that the p-values for certifications, seminars, internships and coaching (.000, 00, .000, .040) respectively were less than 0.05 which is a signal that each variable has a positive effect on employee retention of Benue State Civil service. The result by implication suggests that certifications, seminars, internships and coaching have more significant effect on employee retention of Benue State civil service.

Table 3: Regression Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1.994	.140		14.205	.000
	CR	.311	.049	.588	6.326	.000
	SM	.214	.053	.345	4.028	.000
	IT	.278	.053	.372	5.292	.000
	CC	.128	.062	.208	2.068	.040

a. Dependent Variable: ER

***Source**: Computation of Field Survey, 2023.*

4.2 Test of Study Hypotheses

Four hypothesis were stated for empirical testing in section one; under this section, the hypotheses are re-stated and empirically tested using the *t*-test statistics and *p*-value that is associated to each variable. Results in table 14 at 95%confidence level are used to test the hypotheses. The decision rule is that, if the computed *t*-statistics fall within the limit of two critical values (±1.96) accept the null hypothesis (Ho), otherwise reject the null hypothesis. Alternatively, accept the null if *p*-value is greater than 0.05.

4.2.1 Hypothesis one

$H0_1$: Certifications has no significant effect on employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service.

To test this hypothesis (table 14), the strength of the effect of certification on employee retention of Benue State civil service, was measured by the calculated p-value = .000 at a significance level (α) of 0.05. Since the computed p-value is less than the significance level (α) of 0.05 (*p-value* .000< α 0.05), the null hypothesis was rejected. It is therefore concluded that certificationhas significant effect on employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service.

4.2.2 Hypothesis two

$H0_2$: Seminar has no significant effect on employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service.

To test this hypothesis (table 14), the strength of the effect of Seminars on employee retention of Benue State Civil Service., was measured by the calculated p-value = .000 at a significance level (α) of 0.05. Since the computed p-value is less than the significance level (α) of 0.05 (*p-value* .000 < α 0.05), the null hypothesis was rejected. It is therefore concluded that seminarshas significant effect on employee retention of Benue State Civil Service.

4.3 Discussion of Findings

The discussion of findings is primarily based on objectives by objectives of the study as stated below:

4.3.1 To assess the effect of certifications on employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service

Hypothesis one and research question one sought to examine the effect of certification on employee retention of Benue State civil service. The objective of this study examined the link between certification and employee retention. This study tests that assertion and the result from the analysis is reported in table 14. It was found that t = 6.326, p = 0.000. The null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternate hypothesis accepted and we therefore conclude that effect self-certification has significant relationship on employee retention ofBenue State civil service. That is, we accept the estimate a_1 is statistically significant at 5% level of significance. This implies that certification has a positive effect on employee retention on employee retention of Benue State civil service, and the relationship is statistically significant (p< 0.05) and line with *a priori* expectation. By implication, a unit increase in earning certificates will result to a corresponding increase in employee retention by 31.1%. The result of this study is in line withNaw., *et al.* (2023) who examined the impact of career advancement on employee retention of public sector in Lincoln, Malaysiaand found that organizational career development planning is connected to employee retention through organizational goals, formal training and development, and career ladders, all of which have an effect on employee satisfaction and subsequently support the development of organizational effectiveness. The finding is also in agreement with that ofIkechukwu and Adighije, (2017) who found that career growth on employees' performance of Academic Staff of Michael Okpara University of Agriculture Umudike in Abia State, Nigeria.

4.3.2 To examine the effect of seminars on employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service

Hypothesis two and research question two sought to examine the effect of seminars on employee retention of Benue State civil service. The objective of this study examined the link between seminars and employee retention. This study tests that assertion and the result from the analysis is reported in table 14. It was found that t = 4.028, p = 0.028. The null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternate hypothesis accepted and we therefore conclude that seminars has significant relationship on employee retention of Benue State civil service. That is, we accept the estimate a_1 is statistically significant at 5% level of significance. This implies that seminars has a positive effect on employee retention on employee retention, and the relationship is statistically significant (p< 0.05) and line with *a priori* expectation. By implication, a unit increase in learning through seminars will result to a corresponding increase in employee retention by 21.4%. The result of this study is in consonant with Wau and Purwanto (2021);Qingxiong and Rongzhi (2020) andIkechukwu and Adighije, (2017) who both advanced that career development variables of attending seminars have significant positive relationship on employee retention in terms of employee commitment, employee well-being and employee recognition.

5.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

Based on findings of the study which states that career development affected the employee retention of Benue State civil servants. The study concludes that certification, seminars, internship and coaching positively affected the employee retention in the Benue State Civil Service. This implies that investing in certification, seminars, internship, and coaching programs can effectively enhance employee retention within the Benue State Civil Service.

5.2 Recommendations

Based on findings of the study which states that certification, seminars, internships, and coaching have positive effect on employee retention within the Benue State Civil Service, the following recommendations can be made to further enhance the impact of career development initiatives:

i. Policy makers of various ministries should expand the availability of certification programs relevant to the roles and responsibilities within the Civil Service. And clearly communicate the career advancement opportunities associated with obtaining specific certifications, emphasizing their importance in professional development and progression within the Civil Service. This can be done by partnering with accredited institutions or professional organizations to offer a diverse range of certifications.

ii. Management of various ministries should offer a wide range of seminars covering various topics such as leadership development, communication skills, and industry-specific knowledge. This can be done by tailoring seminars to address both the immediate needs of employees and the long-term goals of the Civil Service as well as actively promote seminar participation among employees through regular communication, incentives, and recognition for attendance and engagement.

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SURVIVING HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN NIGERIA: COPING STRATEGIES OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDP) IN BENUE STATE, NORTHCENTRAL, NIGERIA

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IDP, Survival, Benue, Nigeria, Farmer Herders' Crisis

ABSTRACT
For more than two decades now, farmers-herders' crisis have rendered more than 1.5 million people displaced, and several hundred maimed and killed. Although internally displaced persons remain the sole responsibility of Government, while CSOs gives helping hand, Government have failed to bring a lasting solution to the protracted war; relationship between CSOs and State have been described to be inchoate and adversarial leading to further failure in the role of complementarity expected to bring succour to the IDP. The IDP therefore remain in very inhabitable conditions, for which they have to, through resilience, design survival strategies for themselves as individuals, households and community. Although literature abound on IDP in Benue state, less has been done to theoretically and empirically foreground and document the means of survival by the internally displaced persons in the face of state fragility. It is this yawning gap this study intends to fill. The study argues that government and CSOs inchoate interventions have left the IDP with the option of fending for their needs; and this, have led to reducing sufferings, as well as lessening dependence on epileptic humanitarian aids; thereby enhancing and self-reliance. Drawing from the human needs theory, this study examines displacement and its impact on productivity, IDP needs, interventions and coping strategies. Qualitative approach was adopted to include primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include oral interviews; such as key informant interviews, and in-depth interviews; with the aid of unstructured interview guide. Secondary sources include published scholarly works. Collected data were qualitatively analysed, using descriptive statistics. Findings reveal CSOs and State inadequacies in meeting the basic needs of the IDP; this have made the IDP to resort to street begging, petty stealing in and

outside IDP camps; prostitution among aged women, adult ladies, teenagers and even children or minors; the study establishes that inadequate care to the IDP can lead to epidemics breakout, internal insecurity for the IDP and the community hosting them; thereby leading to environmental and community security threats. The study recommends skills development centres for IDP; actionable policies to end the crisis leading to displacement; and the need for all stakeholders to focus on sustainable development interventions, rather than just relief interventions.

Introduction

Human displacement is an increasing issue on a worldwide scale. Individuals impacted can be categorized into groups, with those forced to leave their countries being officially termed refugees, while those who remain within their home countries are referred to as 'internally displaced persons (Jeremy & Mooney 2007). The global population of such individuals has been increasing. Studies in 2022 revealed that internal displacement surged to almost 60 million individuals globally (IDMC 2022). As of the conclusion of 2021, the global number of internally displaced people was 59.1 million, including 53.2 million resulting from conflict and violence, and 5.9 million due to disasters (IDMC 2022). The UNHCR reported at the end of 2021 that 89.3 million people worldwide were forced to flee their homes due to conflicts, violence, and persecution, more than double the figure from a decade ago. This marks the highest number since World War II, highlighting a concerning trend of increasing displacement if conflicts persist unresolved. (UNHCR Report 2022).

In 2018, Africa had a record high of 16.8 million people were internally displaced due to conflict and violence, accounting for approximately 40% of the global total. Additionally, 2.6 million new displacements were caused by disasters, particularly hydro-meteorological hazards. The trend of increasing displacement is expected to continue in 2019, indicating that efforts to reduce this phenomenon have not been successful (IDMC 2019; AU-ECOSOCC, IDMC & NRC 2010). IDMC 2019 report further stated that conflict and violence are on the rise in numerous African countries, yet the displacement crises they provoke are often overlooked and the responses are inadequately funded. In Cameroon, conflicts in the Anglophone regions led to 20 times more displacement than the Boko Haram insurgency in 2018. Communal violence in Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger has also contributed to displacement, both internally and across borders in 2016 and 2017. By mid-year 2019, displacement figures for Libya had already doubled compared to the entire year of 2018. Many of these crises are not new, emphasizing the urgent need for renewed efforts to address their root causes (IDMC, 2019).

Studies further reveals that in sub-Saharan Africa, internal displacement incurs costs exceeding $4 billion annually. Estimates indicate that the economic impact of displacement in this region results in an annual loss ranging from 0.1 to 11 percent of pre-crisis GDP in countries already facing economic challenges. The Central African Republic (CAR), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Somalia, and South Sudan experience the highest average annual economic impact compared to their pre-crisis GDP. These countries may struggle to manage these costs, which could undermine their national development and stability. Given Africa's potential for growth and socio-economic progress, addressing internal displacement is crucial (IDMC, 2019).

The Northeast and Central Nigeria have been two of the most devastated regions in Nigeria. Boko Harm terrorists, banditry, herder/farmer ecological violence, flooding, pockets of communal clashes, electoral violence, inter-ethnic, ethno-religious, and cultural conflicts have led to an unprecedented humanitarian crisis in form of displacement (Okpe, 2016, Ukase, 2020, Inyang & Effiong 2022). Government at different levels (Local, State and Federal) including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have continued to intervene in the management of the humanitarian crisis in northeast and north central Nigeria (Okpe 2006, Okolie & Atelhe 2014, UN, 2022, CSIS 2022). Benue, which is in the north central region, the population of internally displaced persons surge from 80,000 to close to 2,000,000 (two million) in 2022 (PUNCH, 1st April, 2022., HumAngle, 2022., Idowu 2022). The poor state of social provisioning by the CSOs and state, have left IDP with the option of fending for themselves.

Statement of Research Problem

Other pieces of literature have established that since 2010 herders have resorted to the use of arms to attacks on the people of Benue to gain access to resources best known to them, between 2010 and 2020 the group has rapaciously attacked, maimed, killed and displaced millions of people in Benue state (Wegh, 2018; Olugbenga, 2017; Abass 2012; Ahmed-Gamgam, 2018). The herdsmen in several attempts to justify their actions, have often come out to claim responsibilities for the heinous acts and killings; these nefarious activities have led to the rising profile of the herdsmen; as they rank among the most dangerous and dreaded terrorist groups globally (GTI, 2015). In addition to these attacks, communal and ethnic clashes; as well as ecological disasters also continue to threaten peaceful co-existence (Ajiye, 2018; Bello, 2016; Oravee 2015; Ajiye, 2018; Blench, 1994; Eromo, 2016; Nnoli, 1995).

In fact, the most devastating effects of this protracted war is that it has led to wanton loss of lives and properties. One of the sad incidences, among many others took place on 1st January, 2018 when the herders during a night raid, killed over 70 people in Guma Local Government Area of the state; by 2022, the farmers/herders clashes in addition to pockets of intra and inter-communal crisis have led to the death of over 10,000 people, with those narrowly escaping also sustaining varying dimensions of life threatening injuries requiring intensive medical care; these attacks have led to the displacement of villages and communities across Benue state (Inyang & Effiong 2022; Ameh 2018; Duru 2016; Egbuta 2018; Ukase & Jatto 2020). The displacement occasioned by the crisis have led to the emergence of IDPs camps; by April 2022, Benue state has become a home to 27 IDP camps, comprising of 6 official camps created by government and 21 unofficial camps created by the victims of the attacks in order to create a social welfare net for themselves (Iyang & Effiong, 2022; Usman 2023; IDMC 2022). The Ortom led government and Benue State Emergency Management Agency (BSEMA) in lamenting the situation have also reported that the IDPs camps in Benue as at 2022 has become home to over 2 million IDPs and the number of those coming into the camps have continued to increase exponentially (Charles 2022; Duru, 2022).

In other strands of literature, scholars have established that the interventions of the state and civil society organisations have remained largely inchoate and disorganized (Inyang & Effiong 2022; Ameh 2018; Egbuta 2018; Terhemba, 2015; Ukase & Jatto 2020). However, none of these scholars were focused on how the IDP displayed self-reliance, and adopted survival strategies in such horrible conditions of poor social provisioning from the state-CSOs partnerships; Another study closely related to this study was carried out by Ekezie (2022), which focused on 'Resilience actions of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) living in camp like settings: a Northern Nigeria case study', in which he reflects on the camp management and health resilience strategies of IDP in camp-like settings based on the first strategic objectives of the international organization for Migration (IOM) Progressive Resolutions of Displacement Solutions (PRDS). However, while Ekezie focused on the resilience mechanisms of the IDPs in Northern Nigeria as regards health management, less was done to empirically document coping strategies in terms of hunger, shelter, water, sanitation, etc; particularly in the selected locations for this study; which are Logo, Abagena, Naka, Agatu and Ichwa. This study is in furtherance of the scholarship already established by these scholars, such as Ukase and Jatto; Terhemba; Inyang and Effiong, and especially Ekezie on displacement, sufferings and resilience across IDP camps, and especially Benue state, by exploring the survival mechanisms the IDP have built through resilience to deal with hardship as individuals, households and community of people in order to drastically reduce dependence on relief materials from local and international CSOs, as well as build self-reliance and resilience in the face of humanitarian crisis.

It is based on this background that this study draws from the human needs theory to explores the medium of survival among IDP and its implication for IDP and community security; 2015-2023. Specific objectives are to (a) examine displacement and its impact on productivity; (b) IDP needs, interventions and coping strategies as well as (c) proffer recommendations.

Research Methodology

Data for this study were quantitatively collected, to include primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include oral interviews; conducted through unstructured interview guide; Key Informant Interviews (KII), In-depth Interviews and two three Focused Group Discussion (FGD) in Logo, Agata, Naka, Abegena, Ichwa and Dauda I, IDP camps, Benue state, Nigeria. Secondary sources include published scholarly works to corroborate oral accounts. The study combines descriptive statistics and analytical methods of data collection for analysis. As regards processes of data collection, 50 persons were interviewed in the course of this study; spread across 10 adults in each selected IDP camp; about 60% of respondents' female, in order

to balance gender gap; and also because women and children are the most vulnerable in times of humanitarian emergencies (Ekezie, 2022; Ukase and Jatto, 2022). The study ensured a high level of confidentiality, with participants opting to remain anonymous for security purposes. As a result, the respondents' names were not disclosed in the study, although the locations of the interviews were provided. This study emanated from one year of extensive field research in Benue, between April 2023- April, 2024.

Scope of the Study

The geographical scope of this study is Benue state. The time scope is 2018-2023. The selected IDP camps are Logo, Agata, Naka, Abegena, Ichwa and Dauda I, IDP camps. These areas were selected because it covers the entire region of the state, ranging from Zone A-C, in order to give insights about the debilitating rate of displacement in the state as a result of the crisis. More also, the year, 2018-2023 was selected because it was the period that witnessed an exponential increase in the rate of the humanitarian crisis.

Theoretical Framework and Conceptual Clarification

The study is based on the Abraham Maslow's human needs theory, which suggests that unmet basic needs can lead individuals to engage in deviant behaviour within their social relationships (Pichère & Cadiat, 2015).

Diagram I: **Hierarchy of Human Needs Pyramid.**



Source: Pichère & Cadiat, (2015).

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is a motivational theory in psychology that comprises a five-tier model of human needs. These needs are often depicted as hierarchical levels within a pyramid as shown in diagram one. a) Basic needs: These are the primary biological requirements essential for human survival, including air, food, water, shelter, clothing, warmth, intimacy, and rest. The most crucial need is the need for physical survival, which influences our actions. Once basic needs are satisfied, individuals progress to higher levels. (b) Security needs: Individuals desire structure, predictability, and influence in their lives. These needs can be met through family, community, and institutions such as law enforcement, schools, and healthcare. Examples include emotional well-being, financial stability, lawfulness, and freedom from anxiety. (c) Social and belonging needs: This level pertains to our emotional requirement for social connections, affiliation, bonding, and inclusion in a community. It involves experiencing a sense of fitting in. (d) Esteem needs: These needs relate to our wish for self-respect, confidence, accomplishment, acknowledgment from others, and admiration. This stage concerns feeling appreciated and esteemed by others; and lastly (e) Self-fulfillment needs: which involve creativity that leads to the full realization of one's capabilities.

The theory in this study would be used to capture the various needs of the IDP, such as primary healthcare, water, shelter for which they need humanitarian interventions. The study draws fron the human needs theory to how the IDP through the acts of resilience, as individuals, households and communities are meeting their own needs in the midst of CSPs-State failure; the study further probe how the adversarial relationship between the state and the CSOs, leading to poor interventions continues to thickens their skin towards self-reliance, as well as inter-dependence as a community of vulnerable people.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDP): internally displaced individuals are those who escape their homes or usual living places for safety due to uncontrollable circumstances. The main distinguishing factor of internally displaced persons is that they remain within their country of origin. Internal displacement involves forcibly leaving one's village, community, or region because of conflict or natural calamities, relocating to a safer area within the same country (Mmahi 2016; Ekezie, 2022). The United Nations Guiding Principles on IDPs defines IDPs as individuals or groups who have been compelled to leave their homes or habitual residences, particularly to avoid the impacts of armed conflict, widespread violence, human rights abuses, or natural or man-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized border (UNHCR, Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, 2005; Ekezie, 2022). For example, people who fled their native homes across communities in Benue due to the destruction and attacks by Fulani herdsmen, flood and other forms of natural disasters, but still remain within the boundary of the state in official or unofficial camps due are referred to as internally displaced persons.

Humanitarian Crisis: This is described a humanitarian crisis as a scenario where there is a significant threat to human life, dignity, and well-being. She highlighted that such crises usually arise due to various factors like natural disasters, conflict, and political instability, and emphasized the severe consequences they can have on individuals, families, and communities (Thomas, 2014). On the other hand, (Macrae, 2002), a former head of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, defined a humanitarian crisis as a situation where people struggle to access basic necessities such as food, water, shelter, healthcare, or protection. He pointed out that these crises are commonly triggered by natural disasters, conflict, and political instability, and stressed the profound impact they can have on individuals, families, and communities. In this study, humanitarian crisis refers to the various disasters, natural and man-made that has made people to flee their homes in search of safety.

Horrors of Displacement, IDP needs, Challenges and interventions

This section of the study explores the rate of displacement, and its impacts on the displaced people. In Benue, the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic worsened the already precarious conditions of the IDPs in different parts of the state. There were about 27 IDP camps in the Benue State, Nigeria. Before the Covid-19, Benue state housed the largest number of IDPs in central Nigeria. Although, even before the outbreak of the covid-19, state government official continually lamented that government broke and unable to provide sufficient facilities for the IDPs. The governor of the state, Samuel Ortom once accused the former President Muhammadu Buhari of abandoning Benue IDPs to languish in hunger and diseases (WHO 2018, UNICEF 2018). In other words, COVID-19 led to social and economic displacement, which made many people to lose their means of livelihood.

Table A: Benue State Communities and Internal Displacement (Conflict Induced)

S/No.	Year	Number of Internally Displaced Persons
1.	2018	80,000
2.	2019	500,000
3.	**2020**	**600,000**
4.	**2021**	**650,000**
5.	**2022**	**1.5 million**
6.	2023	2 million

Source: Benue State Emergency Management Agency (SEMA), 2023.

As can be seen in table I above, the number of IDPs increased exponentially in Benue during the covid-19 years from 500,000 in 2019 to 650,000 in 2021. The figure reached its apogee in 2022 with 2 million internally displaced persons in different IDP camps. This surge in number of IDPs during the turbulent moment of Covid-19 pandemic created double tragedy for both the CSOs, government and IDP (SEMA, 2023). While government battled to prevent spread of the corona virus in IDPs and state, the IDPs themselves battled hunger and isolation. The Covid-19 pandemic and the surge in farmer-herder violence led to massive inflow of displaced persons into the camps, thereby worsening the precarious food and feeding conditions in the camps (SEMA, 2023, Ethnographic Survey, 2023). For instance, the Benue State government claimed it could no longer effectively feed the IDPs satisfactorily because of the shortfall in federal government revenue allocation and the increase in cost of feeding the IDPs (Ochogwu 2022).

In six IDP camps, with 10 persons as respondents in each of the selected camps, the study takes a look into the impact of displacement across communities. The table below shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the IDP in the study area. It showed how displacement have dislocated IDP from their families; means of livelihood and ancestral lands.

Table B: Socio-Demographic Characteristics of IDPs in the Study Area

		Logo (N=10)	**Daudu (N=10)**	**Agatu (N=10)**	**Naka (N=10)**	**Abagena (N=10)**	**Ichua (N=10)**	**All (N=60)**
Age (years)	<31	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	3 (30%)	6 (60%)	18
	31-40	4 (40%)	4 (40%)	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	16
	41-50	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	8 (80%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	20
	51-60	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	5
	>60	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1
	Total	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**60**
Sex	Male	4 (40%)	8(80%)	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	5 (50%)	4 (40%)	31
	Female	6 (60%)	2(20%)	3 (30%)	7 (70%)	5 (50%)	6 (40%)	29
	Total	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**60**
Period in camp	<6 months	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0(0%)	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	3
	6-12 months	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)	6
	13-24 months	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	9 (90%)	0 (0%)	5 (50%)	5 (50%)	24
	25-36 months	4 (50%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	10 (100%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	21
	>36 months	3(30%)	4 (40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7
	Total	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**60**

Source: Field survey, 2023.

From table B above, the people on these camps are able bodied young men and women who should be working to contribute to the economic and political development of their communities. They have stayed in the IDPs camps for as much as two to six years; disconnected from their ancestral communities and occupations, totally dependent on relief materials for survival. This poses huge challenges for peasant farmers, agricultural development as a large percentage of them are farmers by occupation. This will eventually lead to the inflation of agricultural produce as well as food

insecurity. In addition, the continual stay of the IDPs in their various camps pose huge security challenge for host communities, as well as the possible outbreak of contagious diseases. More also, there is heavy burden on government and humanitarian organizations in their attempt to carter for them. Probably due to the overwhelming poor condition of those in camps, government and CSOs through their actions and inaction are not able to effectively carter for IDPs, leading to the worsening condition of those in camps. Other pieces of literature also corroborated these findings from the field; such as increasing level of hunger, starvation, and mal-nourishment (Ladan, 2012; Ukase & Jatto, 2020; UNHCR, 2019; Nsa, 2018; Okonkwo & Nomji 2021; Ohihoin et'al 2013).

In addition to facing forced displacement, most internally displaced persons (IDPs) encountered challenges such as residing in camps unrecognized by national authorities, limited access to essential resources, and the consequences of inadequate support. The primary health issues reported included headaches, eye infections, diarrhoea, fever, typhoid, and malaria. IDPs attributed some of these health problems to the large number of rodents and disease-carrying vectors on the camp premises, including mosquitoes, snakes, and scorpions. The bites from these vectors were linked to increased disease rates and deaths. Long-term well-being issues included trauma, stress, and loss of income. Supplies for the IDPs were insufficient, with food scarcity affecting their health and leading to speculated deaths. Consequently, it was not surprising to find that hunger was the most significant challenge across all camps, with one IDP noting that some deaths were due to starvation. According to a respondent in Naka.

> *We face the most harrowing of situations like disease prevalence, poor primary healthcare provisions, and acute hunger. In the past three months, we have lost more than 15 IDP. The food government and all of those organization are largely inadequate. Women and children even face more sorrow in this place (001 Respondent, Naka).*

In Ichwa,

> *This is Ichwa IDP camp, it has been labelled as an unofficial camp. Government claims ignorance of our existence. In fact, we only hear there is a government, their impact is not known nor felt here. We have received support, although inadequate, from local groups, a few international CSOs, individuals and Nigeria faith based organizations (002 Respondent, Ichwa).*

From findings, IDP in Ichwa, Naka, Anagena lack adequate toilet facilities, making majority to practice open defecation. Under the condition, environmental hygiene and sanitation is seen as luxury; and this has facilitated diseases like cholera, malaria, etc. In fact, everyone in the camp look sick, the worst hit seen were "women and children", who were reported by the camp manager to have mortality rates usually hitting the crescendo. The alarming vulnerability is based on the fact that they are more prone to falling ill, especially during childbirth for mothers and young ages of children, and the inability of women and children to cater food for themselves increased their vulnerability. Unaccompanied children, especially those orphaned by the crisis or those with no personal guardian in the camp, were also vulnerable to being exploited. The lack of men in any household spells more doom for the women and children, as they are also prone to all forms of Gender Based Violence (GBV) like rape, assaults and all kinds of risks.

Coping strategies of Internally Displaced Persons in Benue IDP Camp

In terms of primary healthcare provision, some camps like Agatu, Logo, and Naka had established a health support team to manage medical issues for the internally displaced persons (IDPs). Sick individuals were typically taken to see a medical doctor, often at distant facilities, who would then prescribe medications. These health services were available in most locations but often required direct financial payments as there were no insurance or subsidy schemes for the IDPs. In such cases, the IDPs usually supported each other financially. However, when their out-of-pocket expenses exceeded their budgets, they turned to alternative treatments such as traditional remedies like herbs or purchasing medicines from street vendors. The use of herbs and medications from street vendors was sometimes found to be ineffective, leading to inadequate treatment of the conditions experienced by the IDPs. Overall, financial constraints posed a significant challenge as the IDPs could not afford proper medical care, resorting instead to self-medication. They also noted that sometimes, because of the high cost of proper treatment, they go get concoctions from chemist stores with 50 or 100 naira, they just tell the chemist person to mix drugs for them (Field work 2023).

In camps like Ichwa, Médecins Sans Frontières have established a mini-clinic to carter to health issues like cholera, malaria, pneumonia, very serious sicknesses are said to be transferred to the specialist hospital in Benue; however, they are not

able to attend to the overwhelming conditions of sick people in the camp. They noted that one of the things that have escalated the health issues is rainfall. The IDP have no proper shelter, they constructed for themselves shelters made of sack (popularly known as cement bags); when the torrents of the rain become very high, the wind blows a lot of the sacks away, leaving them at the mercies of the heavy downpour.

A respondent noted:

> *Aside the fact that we do not have access to quality medical attention, we are faced with the challenges of shelter. When it rains, sometimes most of our properties are washed away by the rain. The rain further exposes us to very dangerous reptiles, which are also looking for places to hide. A lot of us have suffered from scorpions and snake's bite. The way we cope is that we usually go out to buy more sack bags, and also reptile repellent chemicals. However, these self-help measures are never enough, we want to return to our homes (003 Respondent).*

According to Nurse, who is humanitarian worker with a well-known international organization, at the Ichwa IDP camp:

> *Lack of shelter, and adequate food make nonsense of our medical interventions. You need food to take drugs, you need shelter to rest and recuperate well. In situations where there is no shelter, and the IDP are constantly exposed to the intense cold and rainfall, even if they get treatment, the sickness will become protracted, and even lead to death. The self-treatment they expose themselves to a lot of times further magnify their health challenges (004 Respondent).*

To deal with the challenges of food and healthcare shortages, some IDP leaders advised camp residents to generate income through activities like farming and selling firewood. When external support groups provided food to the IDP community, resources were distributed based on the amount supplied, number of households, or family size. Certain camps used specific food rations for fair distribution, often relying on household information to guide the process. Formal camps with government or humanitarian organization supplies commonly used standard protocols. However, these supplies were often inadequate, leading to below-par nutrition, malnutrition, weakened immunity, and increased begging among IDPs due to the gaps between distributions.

An IDP noted:

> *We go street begging, sell firewood, hawk sachet water, groundnut, beg community elders to give us land to do petty farming. Sometimes they give, some other times they refuse. A lot of young people are also involved in social vices, like stealing from members of the community, as well as from IDP. Unfortunately, our young ladies are also involved in prostitutions and other illegal activities (005 Respondent, Naka).*

As stated in the human needs theory, when certain basic needs are not provided, there is a probability for humans to become deviant. We can establish from the above that people who will normally not steal or engage in prostitution began to involve themselves in those anti-social behaviours, just to ensure survival.

Table C. Coping Strategies of IDPs in Benue, Northcentral Nigeria

S/No.	Children	Women	Men	Aged and Sick
1	Street vending, fishing, bricklaying, begging, house cleaning services, support from CSOs focusing on Children; communal living	Petty retailing, farming, hawking, house clearing and cleaning services,	Wood-work, such as Carpentry, farming, bricklaying,	Children, relatives, alms begging and support from faith based

	among members of the IDP community, etc	construction site works, saloon business, support from relatives and friends, commercial sex activities; CSOs focusing on women, communal living among members of IDP community, etc.	barbing, commercial transport services (bus drivers, conductors, motorcycle riders), auto-repairing (mechanic), support from relatives and friends, as well as communal living among members of the IDP community etc.	organizations and public spirited individuals; as well as communal living among members of the IDP community, etc.

Source: Fieldwork, 2023.

Recommendation

Based on the fore-going, the study recommends the following:

i. Before displacement, IDP apart from being farmers are skilled artisans, carpenters, painters, traditional cloth and basket weavers, cobblers, specialization in the usage of herbs, teachers, etc. rather than camping the IDP to continually depend on CSOs and the state for relief materials for survival, upon displacement, the state should establish means of getting soft loans for women especially, to begin small and medium businesses, establish vocational centres in the camp for the IDP to learn new skills like barbing, carpentry and others. Also employ other IDP knowledgeable in those skills to teach other IDP. This way of intentional skills development will entrench in the IDP the strength for self-sustainability and reliance even after departing the IDP camps.

ii. CSOs and state partnerships should be focused on strategies that can enhance development goals for the IDP, rather than relief interventions alone. Such focus could involve the strengthening of security measures, and long term projects that could continually enhance sustainable developments.

iii. More also, government at the federal, state and local levels should embrace partnerships that could see to the end of the protracted farmers'/herders' crisis that have led to the displacement, maiming and killing of thousands of people across the north central region. From the findings of the fieldwork, IDP are desperate to return home. It is necessary for the federal government and relevant stakeholders to expedite actionable plans for them to be reintegrated into the society.

Conclusion

This study draws from the human needs theory to examine the coping strategies of the IDP as individuals, households and community as a result of the failure of the state and CSOs in social provisioning. In fact, in some instances the state and civil society organizations partnership have been

reported to be adversarial. Individually, the IDP have resorted to doing all kinds of menial jobs, street vending or hawking, brick laying and so on, to be able to carter for their needs. Also, a few miscreants among them have resorted to petty stealing and prostitution for survival. In addition, households ensured that they look after themselves, especially their young ones, although, oral account stated that households with presence of males are likely to receive more protection, especially against Gender Based Violence (GBV); as a community, the IDP have maintained a united front in caring for one another, donating little stipends for treating each other in worse conditions, accommodating unaccompanied children, and many ways than expected, morale boosters to themselves. This interconnectedness, creates a sense of love and belonging. Philanthropy between IDP have created a strong bond of family. Biological family members and friends have also built a system of informal philanthropy, where they come to visit and donate once in a while. It was obvious the hierarchy of human needs through in relation to love, self-esteem and the need to belong were also fulfilled as a result of the communal lifestyle in the IDP camps.

Faith based organizations are also not left out, as they come from time to time to evangelize and also donate to the IDP. All of these acts of labour and philanthropy have helped to encourage self-reliance and drastically reduced excessive dependency on relief materials from local and international humanitarian organisations which seldom satisfy the teeming population in the IDP camp. The study established that inadequate care to the IDP will lead to health crisis, such as epidemics outbreak, internal insecurity for the IDPs and the community hosting the IDP; thereby leading to environmental and community security threats.

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ANALYSIS OF RAINFALL ONSET, CESSATION AND LENGTH OF THE GROWING SEASON AND ITS VARIABILITY EFFECTS ON CROP PRODUCTION IN KARASUWA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, YOBE STATE, NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS
Rainfall, onset date, cessation date

ABSTRACT
The study is on the Analysis of rainfall onset, cessation and length of the growing season and its variability effect on crop production in Karasuwa Local Government Area, Yobe State, Nigeria. The study used secondary data that collected from NIMET office, Nguru station. The data is for mean monthly rainfall from 1992-2022. The data were analyzed using Walter 1967 method of calculating onset, cessation data and length of the growing season. The result of the study reveals that rainfall variability leads to cause rainfall late onset, early cessation and shortened the length of the growing season in the study area. The earliest onset dates for rainfall in the study area was early onset date in 30 May 2002 from the 30 years of the study. The late onset date within the 30 years of study is 9 July which usually occurs in 1992, 1993, 2009 and 2015 respectively. On 4th August 2011 is the earliest cessation date at Karasuwa Local Government Area that occurred and the late cessation date of rain occur on 28 October 2019 which is the highest within the 30 years of the study. the lowest length of the growing season is determining on 2004 (46 days), 2007 (51 days), 2015 (56days) and other years like 1993, 1995, 1998, 2001,2008, 2009, and 2020 respectively which the length of the growing season is below average and it affect the crop production in the study area. The study recommend Farmers should change/shift their planting period to appropriate time since the onset date has changed in order to avoid crop damage at the early stage, Government should provide the farmers with early matured crop and improved crop varieties, mitigation/adaptation action is highly needed in order to cope with the problem.

Introduction

Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO, 2017) defined the start of the growing season as the date when precipitation exceeds half of the potential evapotranspiration. Cessation date means termination of the effective raining season. It does not imply the last day rainfall, but when rainfall can no longer be assured or be effective for crop production. Length of Growing Season is the period between the onset and cessation dates, which is the difference between the onset dates and the cessation dates of the rainy season. Agricultural activities and production becomes extremely vulnerable to the variability of the onset, cessation dates and length of the growing season (Dodd *et al.,* 2001). Land clearing, crop selection, seed planting and crop harvesting requires the knowledge of rainfall onset and cessation (Abaje, *et al.,* 2014)

The knowledge and variation of rainfall onset, cessation and length of the growing season both at national and international level is paramount, as many agricultural activities and planning for sustainable food yield depend on rainfall for land preparation, seed/crop planting and harvesting. Also, observed that the irregularity of onset and cessation of the rainy season across many regions over the years had made it difficult for farmers to optimize the seed planting period and adjust to the length of the growing season. The resultant effect is the decrease of agricultural yield and an increase in the risk of hunger. In most tropical regions, rainfall onset and retreat dates are important parameters in the agricultural calendar Odekunle (2004). Many regions over the world are expected to experience substantial modifications as a result of climate variability. These changes are expected to affect the onset and cessation of the rainy season which has become irregular over the years (Salack, *et al.,* 2011).

A delay of 1 or 2 weeks in the onset is sufficient to destroy the hopes of a normal harvest while a "false start" of planting, encouraged by a false start of rainfall may be followed by prolonged dry spells whose duration of two weeks or more may be critical to plant germination and growth (Ndomba, 2010). Iortyom, *et al.,* 2017) in their study, reported that early cessation of raining season has more effect on crop yield as compared to onset of raining season, especially when the crop is approaching its fruiting stage, they require more water for growth. Early cessation affects the development of the crop. Variability in the length of the growing season is dominant in the tropical areas, and is indicative of crop failure risk (Vreiling *et al.,* 2013). The variability in the rainy season onset and cessation could pose socio-economic and developmental challenges as they threaten food security and induce poverty. Annual rainfall, onset, cessation, number of dry days and temperature had statistically insignificant effects on the variability of the yields of crop production.

Yobe state, being an agrarian state; there are delayed onset date of rains particularly in Northern part of the state (where study area is located), increase in the number of dry days during the raining season and increase in temperature. The area has serious problem of crop failure, or low production caused by climate variability particularly the delayed onset of rains, shortened the length and frequency of dry spells during the growing season. (Saleh, 2014 cited in Galadima& Nandi 2016).

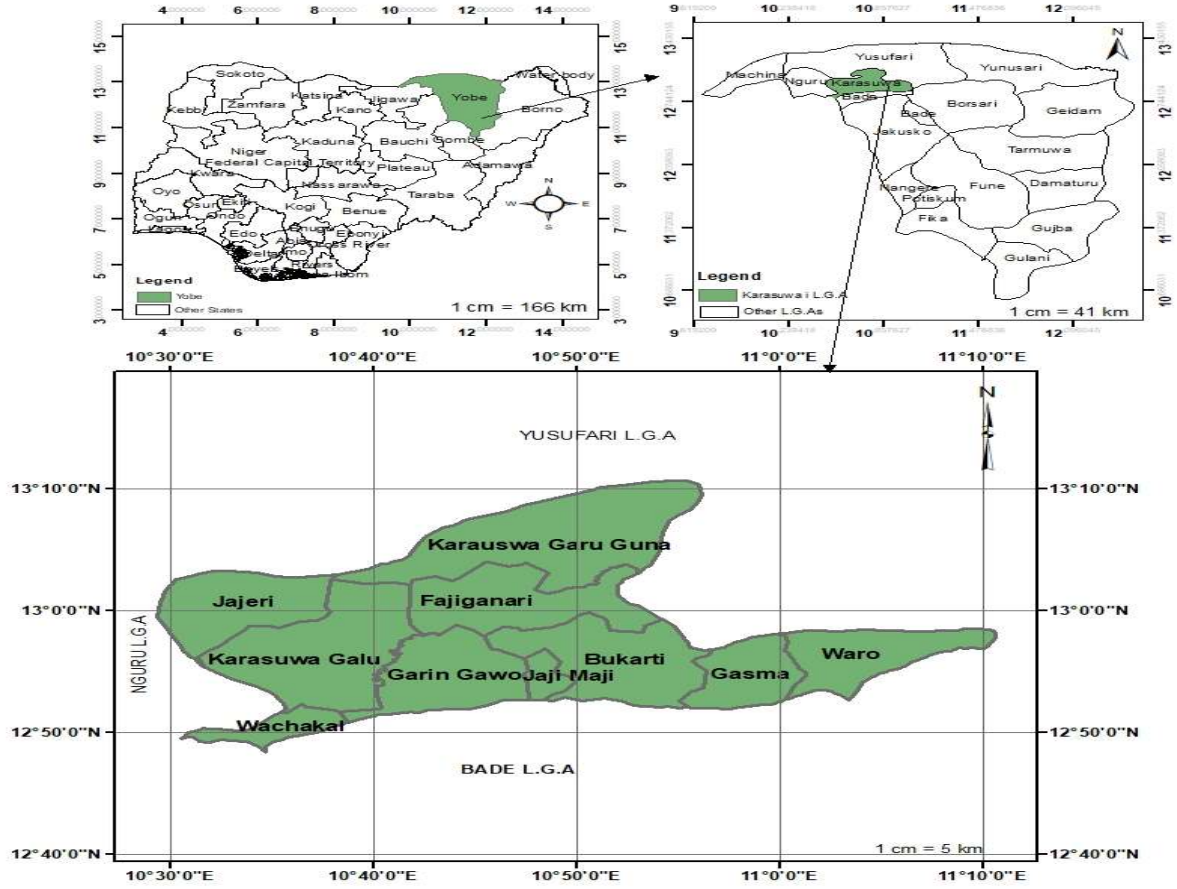
Methodology

Study Area

Karasuwa Local Government area is located at latitude 12053' 57'' N - 130 00' N. North of the equator and longitude 10 0 47'E – 10 0 48 '28''E. East of Green which Meridian. It has a land area of 1,162km2, (Thomas, 2017). Karasuwa Local Government area shares a common border with Nguru Local Government to the west, Bade Local Government to the East and South, and Yusufari Local Government to the north. Also, Karasuwa local government have ten (10) political ward which includes, Karasuwa, Jaji-Maji, Bukarti, Gasma Karasuwa Galu, Wachakal, Jajeri, Faji-Ganari, Garin-Gawo and Waro Ward (see figure 1).The climate of Karasuwa is characterizes with rainfall ranges from 250-500mm and up to 750mm. There are two seasons in this area; the wet and dry season. Karasuwa mean annual temperature is about 280c. The coolest months are December and January with average temperature of 210c.the hottest months is April and May during this period temperature reach up to 35^0c – 40^0c, (Orounye, 2009).

Figure 1:

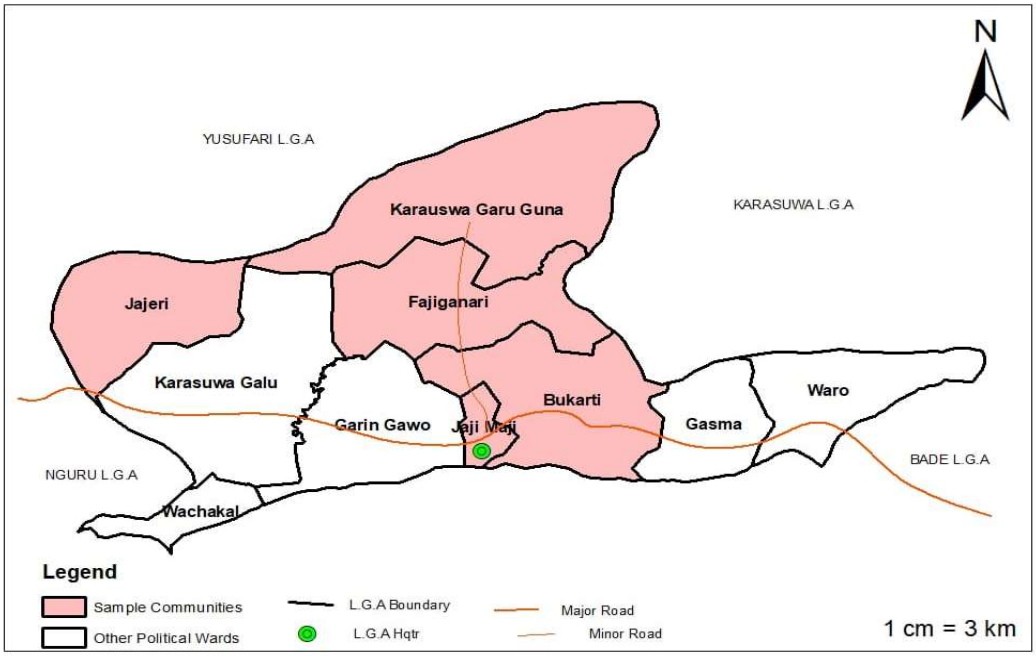
Map of Nigeria showing Yobe state, Map of Yobe state showing Karasuwa LGA and Map of Karasuwa LGA showing the 10 political wards



Source: *GIS Lab, Department of Geography, Yobe State University, Damaturu (2023)*

Figure 2:

Map of Karasuwa local Government showing the sample wards



Source: GIS Lab, Department of Geography, Yobe State University, Damaturu (2023)

Method of Data Collection

The sources of data for this research are collected from secondary data. The secondary data was collected from NIMET office, Nguru station. The data is for mean monthly rainfall from 1992-2022. Also the study used other materials such as journals, records, textbooks, maps, and any related note on the concept.

Method of Data Analysis

Method of data analysis for this research was analyzed using Walter 1967 formula method of calculating pattern of rainfall onset, cessation and length of the growing season, which is express as:

Onset Date = D (50.8-F)/R

Where; O.D= Onset Date

D= the number of days in the first month with effective rainfall threshold of 51mm

F= is the accumulative total rainfall of previous month

R= the total rainfall of the month with rainfall equal or greater than 51mm

Cessation = D (50.8-F)/R

Where; C= cessation

D= the number of the days of the last month of the year on which a total rainfall of equal or greater than 51mm is recorded

F= is the subsequent month amount of rainfall that proceed the last month record 51mm

R= is the total amount of rainfall recorded in the last month that record a rainfall amount of equal or greater 51mm

Length of the growing season = is the number of days between onset and cessation date.

Results and Discussion

Table 1

The table showing the onset date, cessation *date and length of the growing season in the study area*

Year	Onset Date	Cessation Date	Length of the growing season (Days)
1992	9 July	17 September	70
1993	9 July	8 September	61
1994	18 June	5 September	79
1995	7 July	10 September	65
1996	24 June	19 September	87
1997	3 July	13 September	72
1998	6 July	9 September	65
1999	2 July	24 September	84
2000	27 June	9 September	74
2001	2 July	7 September	67
2002	30 May	8 September	101
2003	16 June	17 September	93
2004	19 June	4 August	46
2005	10 June	23 September	105
2006	9 June	27 September	110
2007	3 July	23 August	51
2008	5 July	11 September	68
2009	9 July	13 September	66
2010	17 June	13 September	88
2011	5 June	3 August	59
2012	1 July	12 September	73
2013	3 June	22 August	80
2014	13 June	6 September	85
2015	9 July	3 September	56
2016	3 June	14 September	103
2017	13 June	19 September	98
2018	12 June	17 September	97
2019	5 June	28 October	145

2020	3 July	3 September	62
2021	6 July	22 October	108
2022	24 June	20 September	88

Source: Author's Analysis 2023

The presented data detail the onset date, cessation date, and duration of the growing season for each year spanning from 1992 to 2022. A thorough analysis of these results yields several key insights relevant to understanding the dynamics of the growing season and its implications for agricultural practices and ecosystems.

The dataset reveals notable variability in both the onset and cessation dates of the growing season across the examined years. Onset dates range from May 30th, observed in 2002, to July 13th, recorded in 2017. Similarly, cessation dates vary from as early as August 3rd in 2011 to as late as October 28th in 2019. Such fluctuations underscore the dynamic nature of seasonal transitions and the influence of climatic factors on the timing of favorable conditions for plant growth.

The length of the growing season exhibits considerable diversity, with durations ranging from a minimum of 46 days in 2004 to a maximum of 145 days in 2019. This wide range underscores the variability in the availability of suitable conditions for agricultural activities and ecosystem processes. Understanding these variations is paramount for effective agricultural planning and resource management.

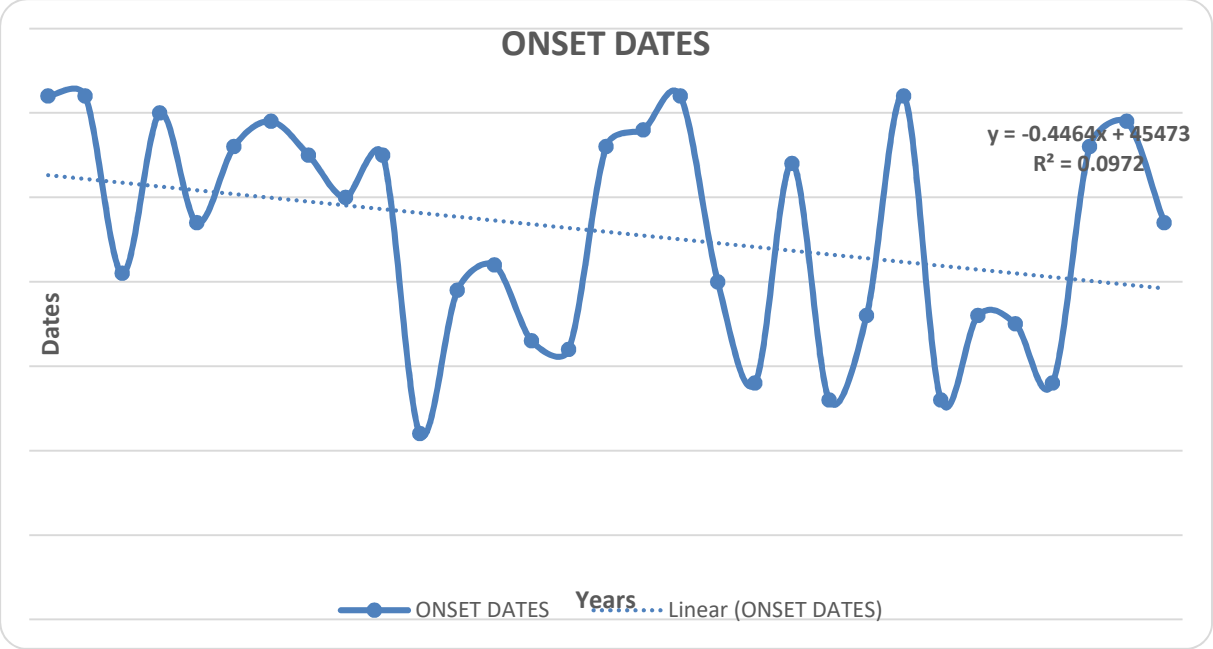
An examination of temporal trends suggests the presence of fluctuations in the onset, cessation, and length of the growing season over the studied period. Further analysis is warranted to discern any discernible long-term trends and their implications for agricultural productivity and ecosystem dynamics. Identifying patterns in seasonal transitions can provide valuable insights into the influence of climate variability on regional agricultural systems.

The observed variations in the growing season parameters underscore the significant impact of climate variability on agricultural practices and ecosystem dynamics. Factors such as temperature, precipitation patterns, and climatic anomalies likely play a crucial role in shaping the timing and duration of the growing season. Understanding these relationships is essential for developing adaptive strategies to mitigate risks associated with climate change and optimize agricultural productivity. The insights gleaned from the analysis of growing season dynamics have direct implications for agricultural planning and management. Farmers and policymakers can utilize this information to tailor planting and harvesting schedules, optimize resource allocation, and enhance resilience to climate variability.

By aligning agricultural practices with the prevailing seasonal patterns, stakeholders can mitigate risks and capitalize on opportunities for sustainable agricultural development. In conclusion, the presented results offer valuable insights into the spatiotemporal dynamics of the growing season and its implications for agricultural systems and ecosystems. Further research is warranted to explore the underlying mechanisms driving seasonal variability and to develop targeted strategies for climate-smart agriculture and natural resource management.

Figure 3:

Trend of onset date in the study area from 1992-2022



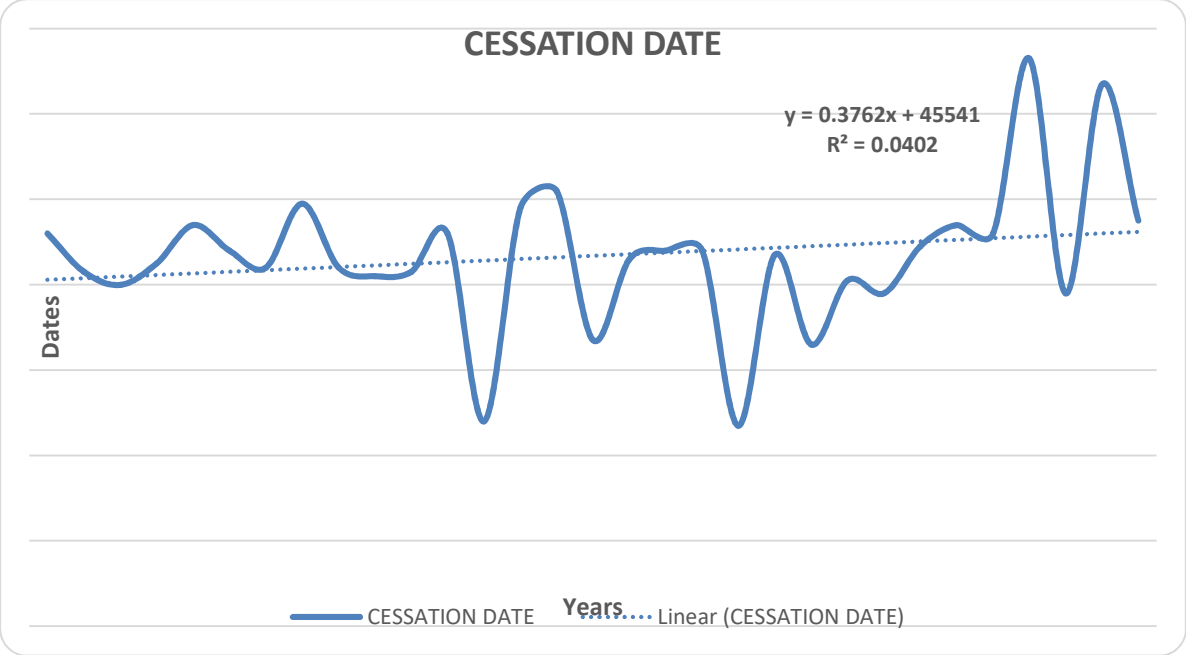
Source: Authors Analysis, 2023

The analysis of the onset dates of the rainy season reveals a significant trend, as evidenced by the best fit line equation y = -0.4464x + 45473. This equation indicates a negative slope, indicating a decreasing trend in the onset dates of the rainy season over time. With an R-squared value of 0.0972, approximately 9.72% of the variability in the onset dates of the rainy season can be explained by the linear relationship with time. While the R-squared value is relatively low, it still suggests a discernible trend in the data. The negative slope of the trend line indicates that, on average, the rainy season has been starting earlier in recent years in the study area. This shift in onset dates can have significant implications for agriculture, water resource management, and socio-economic activities that rely on seasonal rainfall patterns.

Various factors may contribute to the observed trend, including climate change, land use changes, and natural climate variability. Climate change, in particular, can alter precipitation patterns, leading to shifts in the timing and duration of the rainy season. Land use changes, such as deforestation or urbanization, can also influence local climate patterns and impact the onset of the rainy season. While the linear model provides valuable insights, it's essential to acknowledge the complexity of climate systems and the limitations of linear regression in capturing all relevant factors. Future research may involve more sophisticated modeling techniques, incorporating additional variables, and conducting detailed spatial and temporal analyses to better understand the drivers behind the observed trend. In conclusion, the decreasing trend in the onset dates of the rainy season underscores the dynamic nature of climate patterns and emphasizes the importance of adaptive strategies to address potential impacts. By enhancing resilience and implementing proactive measures, stakeholders can better cope with changing rainfall patterns and ensure sustainable development in the study area.

Figure 4:

Trend of Cessation date in the study area



Source: Authors Analysis, 2023

The analysis of the cessation dates of the rainy season reveals a notable trend, as indicated by the best fit line equation y = 0.3762x + 45541. This equation demonstrates a positive slope, suggesting an increasing trend in the cessation dates of the rainy season over time. With an R-squared value of 0.0402, approximately 4.02% of the variability in the cessation dates of the rainy season can be explained by the linear relationship with time.

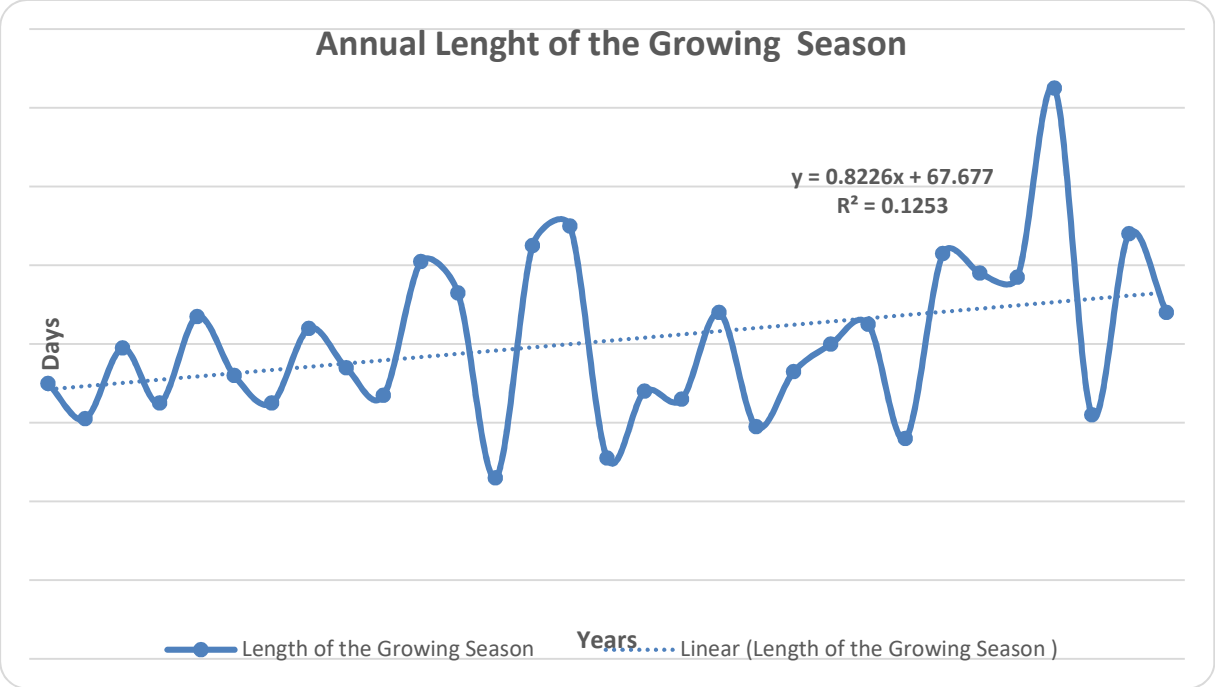
Although the R-squared value is relatively low, it still indicates a discernible trend in the data. The positive slope of the trend line implies that, on average, the rainy season has been ending later in recent years in the study area. This shift in cessation dates can have significant implications for agricultural practices, water resource management, and ecological processes dependent on seasonal rainfall patterns.

Multiple factors may contribute to the observed trend, including climate change, land use changes, and natural climate variability. Climate change can alter precipitation patterns, leading to shifts in the timing and duration of the rainy season. Changes in land use, such as deforestation or urbanization, can also affect local climate patterns and influence the cessation of the rainy season. While the linear model provides valuable insights, it's essential to recognize the complexity of climate systems and the limitations of linear regression in capturing all relevant factors. Future research may involve employing more advanced modeling techniques, integrating additional variables, and conducting detailed spatial and temporal analyses to better understand the drivers behind the observed trend.

In conclusion, the increasing trend in the cessation dates of the rainy season underscores the dynamic nature of climate patterns and emphasizes the importance of adaptive strategies to address potential impacts. By enhancing resilience and implementing proactive measures, stakeholders can better adapt to changing rainfall patterns and ensure sustainable development in the study area.

Figure 5:

Trend of length of the growing season in the study area from 1992-2022



Source: Authors Analysis, 2023

The analysis of the length of the rainy season indicates a discernible trend, as evidenced by the best fit line equation y = 0.8226x + 67.677. This equation demonstrates a positive slope, suggesting an increasing trend in the length of the rainy season over time. With an R-squared value of 0.01253, approximately 1.25% of the variability in the length of the rainy season can be explained by the linear relationship with time. While the R-squared value is relatively low, it still suggests a noticeable trend in the data. The positive slope of the trend line implies that, on average, the rainy season has been lengthening in recent years in the study area. This extension in the duration of the rainy season can have significant implications for various sectors, including agriculture, water resource management, and ecosystem dynamics.

Several factors may contribute to the observed trend, including climate change, land use changes, and natural climate variability. Climate change can influence precipitation patterns, leading to changes in the timing and duration of the rainy season. Land use changes, such as deforestation or urbanization, can also impact local climate patterns and affect the length of the rainy season. While the linear model provides valuable insights, it's essential to acknowledge the complexity of climate systems and the limitations of linear regression in capturing all relevant factors. Future research may involve employing more advanced modeling techniques, integrating additional variables, and conducting detailed spatial and temporal analyses to better understand the drivers behind the observed trend.

In conclusion, the increasing trend in the length of the rainy season underscores the dynamic nature of climate patterns and highlights the importance of adaptive strategies to address potential impacts. By enhancing resilience and implementing proactive measures, stakeholders can better adapt to changing rainfall patterns and ensure sustainable development in the study area.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The study concludes that, result of the study reveals that the pattern of the rainfall in the study area is late onset, early cessation and shortened the length of growing season, which indicate that there is variation in the pattern of rainy season in the

study area and this it leads to affect crop production and farming activities in general.

The study therefore recommended that the Farmers should change/shift their planting period to appropriate time since the onset date has changed in order to avoid crop damage at the early stage. Government should provide the farmers with improved seeds. Government should provide Agricultural extension workers to rural areas to train farmers on how to improve their farming activities. Mitigation/Adaptation measures are necessary and urgent action and coping strategies to cope with the effect of rainfall variability.

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THE POLITICAL SYMBOLISM OF UNMARKED GRAVES: THE KILLING AND SECRET BURIAL OF THE NIGERIAN LEADER OF BOKO HARAM, MUHAMMAD YUSUF

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KEYWORDS
Grave, Boko Haram, Shi'ism, Mahdism, terrorism and revivalism

ABSTRACT
Fewscholarly articles show interest in the study and impact of the dead-on politics and society, especially in Nigeria. This paper is a breakaway from the norm into an unharnessed field of political inquiry, the perceived possible influence of the dead. History shows that the socio-economic standing of an individual shapes the final disposition of his body either in a marked or an unmarked grave. The dead has now overridden ideological significance in domestic and international politics. Some were given recognition and respect even in death by having deserving monuments, as witnessed in Ancient Egypt, for example, while others died with their history completely erased and buried with them in an unknown or unmarked place for fear of influencing the living. Thisessay discusses the strategies adopted in disposing the dead body ofMuhammad Yusuf, the leader of Boko Haramin an unmarked and unknown graveyard outside Maiduguri, Borno State and its political implication. This research uses the public safety theory to explain the denial of a burial ground to the leader of Boko haram, Muhammad Yusuf.

Introduction

Graves embody the power of the past to shape the present and endure even as civilizations evolve as symbols of the unredeemed ideals that have yet to be fully realized. Thus, burying the dead is one of the earliest signs of human capability of executing multifacetedemotiveand rational behaviours. Digging the ground to bury a fellow, which seems to be an easy task nowadays suggests the earliest development of the human faculty of thinking, love, grief and loss. Thus, the graveyard is one of the sources of preserving human history. The culture of burying the dead is ahistorical and, therefore, cannot be easily dated. It predates religion and humanity's 'hunter-gatherers' era.' Homonaledi, an extinct species of archaic humans, were known for burying their dead underground in a cape system, which dates back to 200,000 BC.Efforts are, however, being made by archaeologists to understand this culture through the excavation of grave sites all over the world.The oldest and earliest known graveyards, such as the Mount of Olives (Israel/Palestine, 3000 years old), Odigram (Pakistan, 3000 years old), Kerameikos (Greece, 5000 years old), Gross Fredenwalden (Germany, 8000 years old), Tanana River House (Alaska, USA,11,500 years old) Raqefet Cave (Israel/Palestine, 11,700-13,000 years old), PangayaSaidi Site (Kenya, 78,000 years) and The Levant (Middle East, 55,000-120,000 years old).These findings are not conclusive as of a recent excavation spot in South Africa that dated the grave site back to 200,000 BC.(Day, 2021, Doyen, 2023, Crowther and Faulner, 2021 and Milano, 2018) Thus, the grave symbolizes the past and shapes the present. It endures the rise and decline of civilizations as a memorial cherished by societies and a mark of respect for the dead.

Despite the efforts and successes of archaeologists in the excavation of burial grounds, the graves of renowned historical figures, such as Alexander, the Great (King of Macedonia), Genghis Khan (the Mongol leader), Queen Cleopatra VII Philopator (the last queen of Egypt), Mark Anthony (the Roman General), Attila, the Hun (the founder of Hunnic Empire(Hungary), King Khufu (the Egyptian King), Pharaoh Thutmose II (Egypt), Ramesses VIII (the Pharaoh of Egypt), Queen Boudica (the Iceni tribe of Britons), Alfred, the Great of Wessex(the King of Anglo-Saxons), King Harold II (England), Emperor Montezuma II (Aztec, Mexico), Christopher Columbus (the European Explorer), Leonardo da Vinci (the Italian Artist, Engineer and Proto-scientist)Vlad Dracula (a Romanian National hero), and Mansa Musa (the Emperor of Mali Empire) are still unknown. Time has erased the grave sites, although their history and memories still linger today.

This can be explained as some of the great historical figures arranged and prepared to go with their glories and reminiscences, such as Emperor Genghis Khan. Tradition has it that the emperor's last wish was to be buried in an unidentified site. Thus, when he was laid to rest, his soldiers rode 1000 horses over his grave to destroy any remaining trace of its specific site (Craig, 2022). While others likeJulius Caesar, a Roman General and a statesman, who was assassinated while holding a meeting with Senators on theconcern about his grip on power in 44 BC, was cremated as the custom then. Thus, Caesarhad no burial site nor a tomb or gravestone, although a funeral pyre was constructed at the site of cremation as ahonour at the south-eastern quarter of the Roman Forum (Natalie, 2011).

Thus, history has shown us cultural differences of how societies dispose the dead. The most popular ones areearthlyburial, water burial, Zoroastrian body exposure, entombment and the cremation of the remains. Earthly burial is the oldest method based upon the archaeological evidence cited above. This method provides the deceased a burial site and even a tomb stone for easy identification. The early Romans and present-day Hindus are known for the culture of cremation. However, this process is now becoming more prevalent in the developed countries, such as the United States of America. The cremated remains are buried, placed in a crypt or niche or scattered, aswished by the dead and his relatives or religious dictum. Water burialis hardly practicednowadays. The method involves laying the remains on a raft or canoeto drift on a river until it sinks or eaten by sharks, crocodiles, and fishes. Ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome were known for such practices. Body exposure is widely practiced by the followers of Zoroastrianism, who are found majorly in Iran and India. Under this, the dead body is placed where scavenging birds and animals devour it.

However, no society has an elaborated treatment of the dead as the Ancient Egyptians. The numerous magnificentpyramids dotting the land of Egypt situated at Giza and the Nile Valley were built more than 4,600 years ago as monuments to house the tombs of Pharaohs (and sometimes with membersof their families). Such structures were meant to glorify life after death. This explains the treasure items found inside the tomb, such as gold, jewellery, pottery and the mummified body and statue of the Pharaohafter excavation by archaeologists. The Egyptians believed in the afterlife. The pyramids were meant for the spirit of the Pharaohto pass over to the next life. The Pyramid of Djoserin Saqqara was built in 2650 BC (to house the remains of KingDjoser), the Great Pyramid of Giza built in 2589 BC (to house the remains of King Khufu and his wife), the Pyramid of Khafrewas built in 2494 BC in honour of King Khafre and the Pyramid of Menkaure (has the remains of King Menkaure) (Lesso, 2022, Tomorad, 2009, and Barnes and Lacovara, 2002).

Behind the Egyptians'attachment to the dead are the*Shi'ites*,the followers of the fourth Caliph, Ali ibnAbiTalib and his family dominant in Iran, Iraq, Azerbaijan, Bahrain and Lebanon.This sect is the first ideologically based Islamic group that came into existence after the death of Prophet Muhammad in 632 AD. *Shi'ism*is populated by those with the belief that Ali and his progeny were the rightful authority to lead the Muslim Community.The sectflourishes and survives for centuries through its numerous rites and shrines built in Najaf and Karbala (in Iraq) for its deceased religious leaders, such as Ali IbnAbiTalib, Imam HusaynIbn Ali, Al Abbas, Al Askari, Imam Abu Hanifa, Al-Mukhayam, Tal Al Zainabeiah and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. *Shia* Muslims hold a special reverence for Imam shrines, considering them the centre and focal points of spiritual guidance and intercession. These shrines function as places of rituals and arecentral points of the Imam's life and teachings. Furthermore, theyserve as ideological brainwashers and rallying points for theirsupporters. The temples are at the centre ofthe sect'sdynamism, influence and expansion throughout the world. Millions of *shi'as*visit such shrinesas pilgrims, thereby strengthening their religious and political solidarity (Price, 2001, Karimitar, 2019).

Shi'a shrine building practices and veneration of the dead for their Imams and other holy figures influence other sects, such as the Tijaniyya,

Qadiriyya, Muridiyya andAhmadiyya. Magnificent shrines and mosques dot everywhere in Muslims' society from Asia, the Middle East to Africa as memorials and rallying points for followers. Renowned Islamic scholars, such as Abdul QadirGilani (1077-1166) (the founder of Qadiritariqa, Iran);MirzaGhulam Ahmad (1835-1908) (the founder of Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at, India),UthmanIbnFodio (1754-1817) (the founder of Sokoto Caliphate, Nigeria), Shaykh Ahmad Bamba (1853-1927) (the founder of Muridiyya sect in Senegal), Ahmad al-Tijani (1735-1815) (the founder of Tijaniyya Sufi Order in Fez, Morocco) Shaykh Ibrahim Nyass (1900-1975) (a TijaniyyaIbrahimiyyasufi of Kaolack, Senegal) and Sheikh Muhammad Nasir al-Din al-Kabara(1924-1996) (a Qadiritariqa leader in Kano)are just a few whose gravesites are now shrines for pilgrimage and political and cultural rites(Rahim, 2008, Mutrofin, 2022, Roman, 2011, Wright, 2005 and Brigaglia, 2000). Maintaining such shrines has kept fresh the memory and influence of the deceased. They serve as sites for pilgrimage and the dead in such shrines are seen as intercessors with God and visiting the shrines is believed to bring to followers' blessings and spiritual connection. They offer and provide a sense of spiritualism and a place for education and learning of the belief. The shrines also function as the promoters ofa sense of belonging and identity for the followers.

Theoretical Framework

While scholars may not focus specifically on our topic of discussion; the denial of a final resting place for some individuals, such as criminals, terrorists and extremists due to their acts when alive, there are works on punishment, social control, morality, criminology and societal control and reactions to deviance that are valuable perspectives that can be applied to our case study. Psychologist and criminologist theorists, such as Sigmund Freud (the theory of repression), Elisabeth Kůbler-Rose (the five steps of grief), Ernest Becker (the terror management theory), Sheldon Solomon (the mortality silence hypothesis), Ewald W. Busse (the theory of bereavement), Emile Durkheim (the theory of collective consciousness), George M. Kelling (the broken widow theory), Albert Bandura (the social learning theory), Carl Jung (the shadow archetype theory), Viktor Frankl (the logotherapy) and Erving Goffman (the social stigma theory) have contributed directly or indirectly in explaining the different perspectives of this phenomenon.

However, despite the popularity of the cited theories, others such as the retributive justice theory, the social control theory, the social panic theory, the risk theory and the public safety theory are becoming more dominant in the field nowadays. The retributive justice theory (Kant, 2017) sees such an action as a way of ensuring that the individual receives the ultimate punishment for his acts while aliveand even in death. The Social control theory (Hirschi,1969) suggests that punishing an offender is the way for society to maintain order and control. It is a means of maintaining social stability and upholds the values and beliefs of the community. Social panic or the moral panic theory (Cohen, 2011) explains how societies respond to apparent present and future threats posed by the dead.

Nevertheless, the central model utilized by this research is the public safety theory (Wilson, 1975, Kelling, 1982, Sherman, 2018, Goldstein, 1990) to explain the denial of a burial ground to the leader of Boko haram, Muhammad Yusuf.From this theoretical perspective, denying him a grave site is for the safety of the society, (Foucault, 1977, Durkheim, 1984, Becker,1966, Sutherland, 1940, Garland, 2003, Elias, 1982, Guffman, 1963 and Mills, 2000). It is a means of preventing the grave from becoming a site of martyrdom or worship for others who share similar extremist tendencies. In the context of this theory, denying a grave is to mitigate the risk of glamorizing or glorifying Yusuf and his group actions, which could inspire others to engage in similar terroristic rebellion. By refusing such a privilege to Yusuf, the society has signalled a rejection of his behaviour. It is a clear message that his group actions are not welcomed for emulation. Thus, the fear of the probability of an unwanted event that may occur in providing a resting site for an extremist, such as Yusuf, led to the decision of the authorities to bury him in an unmarked grave to erase his history and eliminate the possibility of the site becoming a rallying point for his supporters and new converts that may lead to future uprisings. It is a way of stigmatizing, marginalizing and out-casting Yusuf and his followers. It also reinforced the societal disapproval and retribution against Boko Haram's extremism. Through such actions, Muhammad Yusuf was punished even in death and his existence erased and dishonoured.

Denial of A Resting Place

However, from time immemorial there are instances where some of the dead are denied the benefits of a burial. Such denial may be linked to the acts of the dead when living, which was considered repugnant by the society or authorities. It is an open act of condemnation and renunciation of the historical existence of them. It is meant to erase that individual memory from the surface of the earth. Denial of the leisure of a grave can also have political and religious motives. Certain individuals with political and anti-establishment principles and

religious or *jihadist* tendency and influence suffered the fate of not having graves. Case examples are Muhammed Marwa Maitatsine, Che Guevara, Patrice Lumumba, Osama Bin Laden, and Muammar Gaddafi. Maitatsinewas born in 1927 atMaroua, Northern Cameroon. He settled in Kano around 1945 and started his propagation of the tenets of Islam by condemning modernization. British colonialauthorities early enough identified his extremism, leading to exiling him to his country of origin, Cameroon, which was then a French colony. With Nigerian Independence in the 1960, he returned to Kano and reenacted his propagation with vigor, leading to numerous confrontations with the police. He was adherent and the promoter of the *Qur'aniyyun*sect. He was known for his anti-modernization stance. Maitatsine led a religious uprising in Kano and was killed and cremated by the security on December 18, 1980 (Braji, 1998, Hiskett, 1987 andDanjuma2010). His remains are preserved in a bottle kept at BompaiPolice Station, Kano State.Che Guevara, a communist revolutionary, was executed, dismembered and buried in a mass grave in Bolivia on October 9, 1967 (Ratner and Smith, 2011 and Castañeda, 1998). Patrice Lumumba, an elected Prime Minister, was killed and burned to ashes with two of his Ministers in the Democratic Republic of Congo on January 17, 1961 (De Witte, 2001, Robert, 1971 and Robin, 1969) by the CIA and local collaborators for being Pro-Soviet Union and a communist. Osama Bin Ladin, a Saudi Arabian citizen and a pan-Islamist *jihadist,* was hunted and killed by the United States (US) Marines in Pakistan on May 2, 2010 and his corpse buried in the northern Arabian Sea (Bowden, 2012; Hersh, 2017) for masterminding the September 11, 2001 bombings in the US and the Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, was killed in Sirti, Libya, on October 20, 2011 and buried in an undisclosed location in the desert with his son, Mutassim, and his Military Chief, Abu BakrYounes (Netto, 2014; and Davidson, 2017). These individuals shared the same fate and ended without a marked gravesite for fear that such a luxury may rally for them sympathy, support and instigate an uprising against the system.

Muhammed Yusuf

The history of Islam in KanemBorno is linked with the arrival of explorer, traders and scholars from the northern part of Africa around the second half of the 7th century (Tijani, 1993, Zanna, 1993, and Shehu, 2018). Since that era, Islam has shaped the socio-economic and political setup of the region and its surroundings by becoming the state religion after the conversion of traditional rulers, the *Mais.* The acceptance of the religion by *Mais,* such as *Mai* Dunama, *Mai* Bulu*, Mai*Aiku, *Mai*Kadi and *Mai* Ummi, led to its dominance and expansion within the Kanem-BornoEmpire and the neighboring territories covering the entire Lake Chad Basin. The *Mais*were not only practicing Muslims but showered respect and honor to the *Ulama* (Islamic scholars) by bringing closure to the throne and appointing them to sensitive positions as judges and advisers. The area was known for its Islamic knowledge, literature and culture. Renowned scholars and jurists, such as Sheikh Al-Bakari, Sheikh al-Najib al-Takiddawi, Sheikh Abu Bakar Al-Bakumi, Sheikh Tahirbn Ibrahim, and Sheikh Tahir, flourished and taught the religion to the local people (Yusuf, 2016). However, Islamic scholarship is embodied in the struggle to follow and return to authentic tenets and the abandonment of non-Islamic practices. Thus, for decades many sects, such as *Qaddriyya*, *Tijjaniyya*, *Shi'a, Muridiyya, Ahmadiyya, Kala-Kato, Qur'aniyyun, Muhammadiyyu, Fiffikayyu, Salafism*and *Sufism* struggled to have more adherents, as the roots of revivalism are part and parcel of the traditional learning system of the religion in the region, where thoughts and ideas are changed from intellectual differences to warfare. The region witnessed numerous Islamic revivalist movements for centuries. Mai Dunama Dabbalemi reigned Kanem Borno from 1210 to 1259 and waged a *jihad* against surrounding tribes and incorporated and expanded the influence and reach of Islam. The victory of Sultan Ali Yaji of Kano after the battle of Santolo led to the transformation of the Hausa Kingdom into an Islamic Sultanate around 1359–1385. Thus, Islam and Islamic revivalism had been part of the history of these areas even before the arrival and propagation of the religion by Usman Dan Fodio and the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. It is therefore wrong to assert that Dan Fodio's 1804 *jihad* was the first seed of an Islamic revolt in Northern Nigeria. It is, however, true to say that the 1804 Sokoto revivalism is more studied for its reformist agenda against polytheism in Northern Nigeria and for the establishment of a theocratic state, the Sokoto Caliphate. Dan Fodio used the religion to recruit the peasantry, who had been under the exploitation and corrupt system of Habe Kings. The Sheikh succeeded in uprooting the Habe hereditary system of governance and substituted it with another under his lineage, the Fulani (Phillips, 2017). Nevertheless, the *Mais*of the Kanem-Borno Empire had Islamized most of Northern Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin area decades before Dan Fodio's uprising. Despite this cementation, the areas had witnessed violent uprisings led by Islamic fundamentalists, such as MalamDubaba (alias Sheriff ad-Din), who declared war against Baghirmi; MalamIbrahimu (of the 1870 uprising in Kano); Hayatu bin Said (1878–1898), a *Mahdist* opponent of the Sokoto Caliphate, who waged war against the

Shehu of Borno with the help of a rebel, RabehZubayr; Alfa Saibu or Shuaibu Dan Makaho (of the uprising of 1906 inDosso, Niger); Malam Isa (a *Mahdi* rebel of 1914); Miji-n-Aoun of Katsina (1927) and the 1967 revolt of Youra Bourdon from Ladou of South Geidam, Yobe State (de Montclos, 2021). The most recent were Annabin (Prophet of) Doko (a town in the present Jigawa State), the Maitatsine uprising in Kano in 1980, Kaduna and Bulunkutu in 1982 and Yola in 1984, the Kala-Kato crisis in Bauchi in 1985 and Muhammad Ali's Kanamma uprising in 2003 (Adesoji, 2010, Braji 1998, and Walker, 2016).

Muhammed Yusuf's Ideological Basis

MuhammedYusuf was born and grew up under this atmosphere and culture shrouded in confusion from his birth to his struggle for Islamic knowledge and relationship with diverse sectarian scholars in northern Nigeria. TheYobe State native's father was a staunch supporter of Maitatsine and a participant of the 1980 Kano religious uprising, which led to the death of hundreds. He was born in Girgi, a village in Jakusko Local Government, which is populated by a conservative Muslim community committed to practicing *Almajirinci*system of education. Thesystem is the traditional and non-formal meansof educating children in Islam and Qur'anic knowledge under the guidance and supervision of a Qur'anic*Mallam*(cleric) (Edinyang et al., 2020; Abdulgadic, 2003 and Zubairu and Yahaya, 2020). Yusuf as the other children of the area, sought knowledge from one itinerant *mallam* and *AlmajiriTsangaya*(schools) to another as the system allowed.

Yusuf grew upin the Kanem-Borno Empire famous for its rooted *Sunni* Islamic tradition (Monguno, 2017) and its role in the dissemination of knowledge, literature and scholarshipfor those seeking knowledge in the "the East" (*Gabas*) that saw the emergence of "Islamic revivalist movements" under the persuasive conviction of the imminent apocalypse and the rise of the *Mahdi* (Islamic Reformer) (Brakoniecka, 2016; Thurston, 2016 and Sani, 2007). Scholars believedhe would appear and resort to armed struggle to establish a *Daula*(Caliphate) (Yusuf, 2016).

Yusuf's Maturity

As he matured in age and scholarship, Muhammed Yusuf began to move from one renowned scholar or sect to another (Gari, 2017). Although a *Sunni* adherent, he, however, found himself with the *Shi'ite* sect under the leadership of an Iranian-inspired, influenced and funded leader of the Islamic Movement in Nigeria (IMN), Sheikh Ibrahim El-Zakzakky (Hassan, 2015). The group believes in the creation of an Iranian-style Islamic state in Nigeria and acknowledges the authority and pledges its loyalty to Ayatollah Khomeini, the Supreme Leader of Iran. IMN views itself as a government, with Sheikh El-Zakzaky as the only source of authority, leading it to have running battles with constituted authority andsuffer the imprisonment of its leader in numerous prisons and the killing of around 300 members between December 12 and 14, 2015 in its clash with the Nigerian Army (Tijani, 2015). Yusuf's affiliation with Sheikh El-Zakzaky was brief and disagreements with some of the Sheikh's ideas led him to join *Jama'atuTajdidi Isl*am (JTI), one of the sect's breakaway groups (Salaam, 2013). The *Al-Thaqalayn* Cultural Foundation and the *RasululA'azam* Foundation are two other notable Shi'ite factions in Nigeria that oppose El-Zakzkkay and the IMN's ideology and propagation techniques. Yusuf, on the other hand, could not remain with JTI and its brand of *Shi'ism* for long because his ambition to lead could not easily be achieved through the sect (Braji, 2023) and returned to the *Sunni* doctrine by joining *Jama'at Izalatil Bidia waIqamatus Sunnah* (in short: *Izala*) (translation: Society for the support of the Prophet's tradition and against innovations), the dominant and most influential popular Islamic movement in northern Nigeria.

Yusuf joined *AhlSunnaWalJama'ahHijra*, a Maiduguri-based *Izala* group created in 1995 by a relatively unknown preacher, AbubakarLawan (Oyegbile and Lawan, 2007). Seizing a vacuum created by AbubakarLawan's relocation to Saudi Arabia for further studies in 2002, Yusuf propelled himself to prominence as the leader with a large following. His ascension to the leadership was not smooth, as followers like AminuTashenIllimi opposed him for being too liberal (Gusau, 2009). *Izala*, on the other hand, provided him with the benefits of developing rapport with and receiving guidance from great *Sunni Salafist* Islamic scholars and members of the group, such as the late Sheikh Ja'afar Mahmud Adam and Sheikh Muhammad AuwalAlbani, Sheikh Muhammad Abba Aji, Imam Ali Gabchiya and Sheikh AbubakarMujahid (Kassim, 2015 and Braji, 2023). This allowed him to broaden his horizons and garner followers from Borno, Yobe, Adamawa and Bauchi States, as well as neighboring nations like Niger, Mali, Chad and Cameroon.

The Initial Stage of Jihadist Propagation

Showing no signs of extremism, fanaticism or a violent temperament throughout the early stages of his development as a scholar, Yusuf had a friendly demeanor and was eager to learn and share views with experts, such as Sheikh Muhammad Albani or even debate with other religious intellectuals. The debate he held with Sheikh Isa Ali Pantemi on June 25, 2006 (Abubakar, 2017, Cook, 2018i) was one of

many conducted from 2004 to 2006 between him and Idris Abdul Aziz Bauchi in February 2008 (Mohammed, 2014 and Braji, 2023). However, as his ideas grew and his violent *jihadist* tendencies became more obvious, gaps appeared between him and the *Izala* scholars and political leaders in his home state of Borno. Heregularly attended Sheikh Ja'afar Mahmud Adam's *tafsir* at Indimi Mosque in Maiduguri, Borno State (Smith, 2016). Differences of opinions and tendencies between them led to the murder ofSheikh Ja'afaron April 13, 2007 while conducting the Subh morning prayers at DorayiJuma'at Mosque in Kano (Brigaglia, 2012b and Braji, 2023i) "carried out on the orders" of Muhammad Yusuf in response to his criticism of the group's hardline views on many Islamic issues (Walker, 2012:4).

With the murder of Sheikh Ja'afar and severing the relationship with the *Izala*group, *Yusufiyya,* an Islamicrevivalist group following his teaching, evolved (Fasure, 2009). It transited to what is known globally as Boko Haram. However, the moniker "Boko Haram" is a crude representation of the group's opposition to the corruptive effect of Western culture and influence on Muslim society. However, no leader of the group has ever referred to the religious movement as Boko Haram (translated: Westernization (Education) Is Sacrilege or Western Education is a Sin or Sinful). It is a name popularized especially by the press worldwide and accepted by international community.However, the names preferred by the leadership and membership of the group are *Jama'atAhl al-Sunnah li-l Da'awahwa al-Jihad, Jama'atulAhlisSunnahLidda' AwatiWal-Jihad* or *Jama'atAhl al-Sunnali'l-Da'wawa'l-Jihad 'alaMinhaj al-Salaf,* which translate as "People Committed to the Prophet's Teachings for Propagation and *Jihad*" or "The Association of the People of the *Sunna*(i.e., tradition of the Prophet) for Preaching and Jihad according to the *Salafi* Method". By claiming these names, the group can be categorized as a revivalist movement intending to reform the old entrenched traditional system in society to the genuine tenets of Islam.

Yusufiyya became a revivalist crusade in search of regime change. Revivalism is a revolutionary movement that seeks to overthrow the existing system. Islamic revivalism is an attempt to rediscover Islamic identity and heritage. It is a defensive tactic aimed at combating social vices, foreign influence and culture and domestic tyranny. Although it is not a unified movement, all Islamic revivalists share a common goal: the Islamization of society. Their techniques and emphases varied, depending to the era of existence, ideology and sectarianism, environment or the primary issue confronting society at the time of inception and development. Numerous scholars tried to strengthen Islam through peaceful means, while others preferred the outright destruction of the existing system through violence. Militant hardliners consider violent uprisings as the central means of cleansing the system by engaging in vicious extremism for the establishment of a new social order.

Yusuf revivalism, however, is not spontaneous spiritual renascence of a messianic type, as seen in Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini rebellion, but rather a moderately reformist movement seeking followership in order to lead people back to what he thought to be the real Islam. He was more of a follower of Syed Abu Al'aMaududi than a radical Islamic propagandist. Maududi was a Pakistani religious leader and Islamic philosopher, who moved Pakistan through politics and political involvement from a secular to an Islamic Republic. He was not a revolutionaryor an instigator of violence in his project to establish an Islamic state in Pakistan. Yusuf attempted to implement his theological program within the democratic political framework. That explains Yusuf's and his group's 2003 election involvement and the installation of Ali ModuShariff as the Governor of Borno State. The group was rewarded with a slot in the State Executive Council. A staunch member of the group, AlhajiBujiFoi, occupied the seat as Commissioner for Religious Affairs.

The Germination of *Yusufiyya* Ideology

Yusuf found fertile ground for the propagation of his tenets of Islam. The youth and the poor under economic privation followed and saw in him a savior (Salkida, 2012) against the nation's injustice and maladministration. The area has a history of believing in the rise of *Mahdi,* a redeemer, (i.e., the rightly guided reformer/revivalist or eschatological redeemer) who would restore the religion to its pristine beginnings (Brakoniecka, 2016). His ability to speak to his audience in their dialects and provide instances of the situations around them, such as widespread poverty, class exploitation, injustice and dominance, endeared him to them enormously (Cilliers, 2010). Thus, without means of subsistence, the destitute, the dispossessed and the uprooted without genuine prospects to lead a good life took refuge in the extreme stance of Boko Haram. The majority of its foot soldiers are members of the lumpen proletariat class, motorcycle and taxi drivers, manicurists, shoe-shiners, laborers, school dropouts, *Almajirai* (Qur'anic students), wanderers and the majority of the unemployed youth suffering from economic hardships or loss of livelihood due to the drying of Lake Chad and the effects of wars in neighboring Chad, Niger, Mali and Libya.

Yusuf's lectures emphasized armed *jihad* as an essential responsibility for all Muslims, as he was very critical of westernization thathe regarded not just as a continuation of foreign dominance but also a breach of Islamic Law. His sermons and lectures were distributed via audio, video and social media platforms and his writings, such as *HadhihiAqidatunawaManhaajuDa'awatin* (This is Our Creed and the Method of Our Preaching), preached the precise implementation of Islamic Law, therefore building an intellectual base. This text (which was the outcomes of the numerous debates he had with other scholars) laid the intellectual foundation for a more extremist movement bent on transforming the Nigerian society into a Caliphate through violent uprisings (Cook, 2018). However, this manuscript is not an original thought but a reflection of a *jihadist* scholar, Abu Muhammad Essam al-Maqdisi's book, *this is Our Agenda*.

Though his sermons instigated revivalism, he was never openly confrontational except for a few schismsuntil his group clashed on July 26, 2009 with the security forces in Maiduguri, Borno State, which spread across the neighboring states of Yobe, Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna, Adamawa, Gombe, Niger and Plateau. The insurrection led to the deaths of scores of people. Yusuf was arrested by the military and handed over to the police. He was killed while under their custody. This murder was the 'smoking gun' (to use the Condoleezza Rice (2001-2005), President W. G. Bush's National Security Adviser's words) (Wolf, 2003) that transited the group to become one of the most extremist, militant, dreaded and violent terrorist units in the world.

Unmarked and Unknown Grave Site

The bullet-ridden body of Muhammad Yusuf was displayed to the public and his remains and those of hundreds of his supporters killed during that week's upheaval on July 30, 2009 were buried not in any known cemetery inside the Borno state capital, Maiduguri. The State capital isknown for its numerous graveyards, such asthose of Sheikh Ahmad Abulfathi's family, Moduganari, GoniKachallari, Kwawarmaila, Maximum Security, Bolori II, Zajeri, MakabartarBullunkutu, Army, Kululluri, Bolori, Dalaand Shehuri North. Yusuf and those killed with him were buried at the outskirts of Dolari Village along Bama Road, close to where sand and gravel areexcavated for building. The site is not a normal gravesite but abackveld land. Yusuf's grave has neither mark nortombstone to indicate someone of significant influence and religious standing laid there. This decision by the government may have been motivated by the apprehension that Yusuf's grave could end up being used as a shrine or a rallying point by his supporters for future uprisings.

A marked grave should have given the group a relying field to galvanize and mobilize support for followers. The grave, which is a symbol of death and also a memorial to the countless historical figures that have shaped our world, was denied to him. Extremists, such as Yusuf, were denied a burial site or a marked grave because their acts were so contested that they could not be buried, as if their souls were forever condemned to the eternal realm of chaos. The graves of those who die for extremism are denied to them as a symbol of the condemnation of their cause. While the graves of the dead may be physical reminders of loss, they serve as poignant reminders of the dearly departed and the enduring impact they left on our lives, transcending mortality to connect us across generations. However, the unmarked grave has not removed the symbolism of his ideology, as his radical teachings still reverberate through the minds of disillusioned youth, leading to extremism and terrorism. Though denied a martyr's shrine, his message has continued to inspire new recruits to his distorted cause. The unmarked grave symbolizes a loss sense of identity and connection to one's ancestors, reflecting the disregard for the dead that has been perpetuated throughout history.

Conclusion

The denial of a grave is meant not only to refute the existence of the dead but also downgrade his significance and punish him for the heinous crimeslinked to him while alive. It is a punishment beyond death. This behavior is not of recent but has been around since the era of pre-Roman Greece. History has it that in classical Athens and Sparta individuals that wronged the society were cast away into the sea or deposited in a solitary and unmarked grave far away from the communityas punishment. It was a tradition that aimed at disgracing and ostracizing undesirables. Thus, burial was an honor in itself in such societies. It is, therefore, understandable if in the present era *jihadists*, revolutionaries and nationalists, such as Osama Bin Laden, Che Guevara and PatriceLumumba respectively, were denied such luxuryof having a resting place. Such action is meant to erase their history and influence even after their death.

Nevertheless, the killing and secret burial of Muhammed Yusuf has not achieved the required results, as Boko Haram transited to become the world's deadliest terrorist and pseudo-*jihadi* organization under the leadership of his lieutenant, Muhammad Yusuf, Abu Mohammad Abubakar al-

Sheikawi (Shekau). In spite of Shekau's suicide, the group extremism is still destructive. It has internationalized its terrorism. Most of the Lake Chad Basin has become a war zone.Although the group has no gravesite ofMuhammed Yusuf to use as a shrine for pilgrimage, spiritual support and as a rallying point,the ideology he left behind is still attracting sympathizers, who are more committed to the cause of transforming the nation to a caliphate under the*Shari'a*.Although, now leaderless, Boko Haram's strike on public and private installations and civilian population has intensified leading to the displacement of millions thereby aggravating food and health insecurity. However, intra-group struggle for leadershiphascompounded the already tensed situation in the North eastern Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin. Fractionalization leads to violence as the groups have turned their arms on each otherleading to the killings of factional leaders, such as BakuraSahalaba and the surrendering of thousands of its members to authorities. Despite the negative effects of fractionalization, Yusuf's ideological indoctrination is still vibrant and influencing a rat-tag group to be a formidable force threatening West African nations. Thus, it is not easy to uproot ideological indoctrination. The nation is now transiting into a new phase of waging a war against a leaderless enemy.

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"FREQUENT FARMERS AND FULANI-HERDSMEN CLASH IN EDO NORTH SENATORIAL DISTRICT"

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Edo North, Farmers, Fulani-herdsmen and Clashes

ABSTRACT
The Fulani by nature are nomadic pastoralist people, in the past the pastoralist nomadic often come into clashes with the farmers as a result of search for natural resources like land, water and gasing land for the survival of their cattle from their original home to other parts of the country. The focus is to critically examine the Farmers and Fulani-herdsmen clashes in Edo North Senatorial District, which are structural and procession factors to causes the Farmer and Fulani-herdsmen conflict in Edo North of the State. This research work will use primary and secondary sources to explain the major causes of frequent clashes between the Farmers and Fulani-herdsmen in Edo North Senatorial District, like poverty/unemployment, poor infrastructural development, climate change, migration and population growth struggle for natural resources and land dispute. This study investigated the major factors responsible for Famers and Fulani-herdsmen clashes in Edo North Senatorial District of Edo State. Violent clashes between Farmers and Fulani-herdsmen have for a long period been the struggle foe economic livelihood in the country with consequences. As a result of climate change and migration by the Fulani-herdsmen from the Northern part of the country to the Southern part in search for water, land and gasing land, which often resulted in destruction of farm land, farm produce, loss of life of farmers and food shortage. This research contribution to knowledge is on the importance of the activities of local vigilante, youth groups and community rulers in security management The Government should encourage them to build more on peace, growth and development in Edo North Senatorial District of Edo Stat for safety purpose.

Introduction

One major crisis affecting farming activities in Nigeria today is the farmer-herdsmen crisis, the Edo North Senatorial District of Edo State in Nigeria is a home to multi-ethnic group with different language vast population who are pre-dominantly tamers any have interaction among themselves as one in colonial and, pre-colonial era. The phenomenon of insecurity and crisis between the farmers Fulani herder in the area stated to surface in the wake of 21st century. The dynamics of Farmers-Fulani herd's relation had resulted in unending destruction of lives and property and their farm land or produce in the process, which call for concern as a result of secured resources for farming activities.[1]

The security as a result of Famers-Fulani herdsmen has increased in the region, because of their easy access to small and light weapons has encouraged anarchy in Edo North Senatorial District as armed-herdsmen, armed banditry and kidnapping has increased. The proliferation of farms in the country has jack up the Farmer-Fulani herdsmen in the area because Fulani herdsmen now move with about with AK 47 gun in this 21st century. Whenever their cattle destroy farmland and they are query by the farmers this usually resulted to violent and crisis.[2]

They use these fire-arms to destroy lives and property at any slide provocation or argument. In this few years this negative activities of Fulani-herdsmen had increased gradualically as they kidnap for money, born down houses, villages, rape and kill people in the Edo North Senatorial District for example the online news of April 2022 which led to protest by the Afuze youth over the unwholesome activities of armed Fulani herdsmen using cattle to destroy their farmland raping and killing of a woman in the community by Fulani-herdsmen.

As a result of the failure government institutions and machineries to guarantee the life and property of the citizenry in Edo North Senatorial District, for example of Fulani-herdsmen attack on the people of Edo north over the recent murder of Catholic-Priest. Rev. Fr. Christopher Odia, the Administrator of St. Michael Catholic Church, lkabybo and also the Principal of St. Philip Catholic Secondary School lkabybo, Uzairue, Edo North Senatorial in Edo state. Who was abducted and killing by Fulani-herdsmen in the early hours of Sunday, 26th June, 2021 in Ikabigbo Community of Etsako-west Local Area of Edo State.[3]

The people of Edo North Senatorial District are reacting to the gruesome murder of the Reverend Father Odia, e.g Hon Paschal Ubgome Esq., alias Ominimini PDP Senatorial Candidate in the 2023 election said: "It is one death too many" and declared that herdsmen and other Marauders have declared war against Afenmai-land and other parts of Nigeria, but unfortunately the Government seems to have lost the ability to protect our nation.[4] Ugbome called on Afenmai People to brace up and defend our Father's land, he lauded the effort of the Amalgamated Afenmai forum which has established a vigilante group named "Oduma Protection Squad" to assist in providing security for Afenmai-land which is part of Edo north senatorial district and called in all Afenmai sons and daughters to support this noble effort.[5]

Finally, according to Williams Shakespeare, "i always feel happy, do you know why? Because i do not expect thing from anyone; waiting always hurts. Problems are not external, they always have a solution, and the only thing that cannot be cured is death. Do not allow anyone to insult humiliate or diminish your self esteem. Shouting is an instrument of the coward, of those who do not think we will always meet people who blame us for their problems and everyone will get what they deserve. We need to be strong and reanimate the downfalls that life impose on us to remind us that after a dark tunnel full of loneliness come very good things.

Before you talk ---------- Inhale

Before you say ----------Listen

Before you criticize -------- Look at your self

Before you write ---------- Think

Before you hurt ---------- Look

Before you give up--------- Try it

Before you die---------- Enjoy.[6]

Farmers and herdsmen crisis remain the most predominant 'resource-use' conflict and a growing concern to national insecurity in Edo North Senatorial District, with emphasis on the rate of insecurity across Nigeria geo-political zone; the Northeast, Northwest, North central, Southeast, South south and Southwest regions, especially in Maiduguri, Kaduna, Benue, Taraba, Zamfara, Adamawa, Cross-River, Niger, Kwara, Imo, Enugu, Delta and Edo States with more on Edo North.[7] However, it is worthy to note that there has been a

significant reduction in reported cases of clashes between farmers/herdsmen in recent times in Edo North Senatorial District. But the crisis has demonstrated a high potential to exacerbate food crisis, particularly in rural communities where most of the insecurity are localised, with reverberating repercussions on the people of Edo and Nigeria at large.

Causes

Poverty/Unemployment: The severity of poverty in Edo North Senatorial District when examined with the indicators such as the rate of standard of living, per-capital income, life expectancy, birth rate, infant mortality rate, death rate demonstrates the challenging nature if the situation in Edo North Senatorial District.[8] This on its own contributed to serious insecurity and socio-economic threat to the people of Edo North Senatorial District of Edo State and Nigeria at large. Central to our present experiences are the worsening crises of unemployment in Nigeria. In a society where youths graduate for over ten years and remain unemployed, it takes the intervention of the divine will to foster order in that social system. A social order in which examination malpractices becomes the norm produces youths with a constricted mindset. When these youths are confronted with poverty arising from the incapacity of the state, their indulgence in criminal activities for the purpose of survival becomes predictive.

Poor Infrastructural Development: The detract in the distribution of infrastructure by the Federal, state and local government authority in Edo North Senatorial District is one of the causes of insecurity. For example lack of good road, electricity, market, pipe born water, light, school, hospital and so on. These results to insecurity as the people see it as government failure and unfair treatment and insult to their sensibility.

Poor Educational Backgrounds and Orientation: Education is the bedrock of any society that wants to leap into future greatness and develop along the globe for economic, social, political and cultural advancement. This is because education breeds an enlightened citizenry with bright ideas to develop the country and create self-empowerment in order to increase the growth and development of the society.[9] Thus, free and compulsory education is germane to address the challenge of poor basic education and to reduce the level of illiteracy and underdevelopment. This will help to reduce the level of farmers/Fulani-herdsmen clashes by building mutual relationship and peaceful co-existence between the Farmers and the Fulani-herdsmen in Edo North Senatorial District for growth and development.

Climate Change, Migration, and Population Growth: The far North of Nigeria which is an arid and semi-arid region experiences lesser rainfall compared to other regions in the country. This position is clearly explained with the National Meteorological Agency (NMA) reported that the annual rainy season dropped from an average of 150 to 120 days over the course of the last 30 years.[10] Again the International Crisis Group Report alerted our minds to the fact that states like Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara, were gradually becoming deserts with 50-75 percent of the land area drying up progressively.[11]

These environmental changes according to the report have affected human livelihoods and also been a factor contributing to pastoralist's southward migration,[12] particularly Edo North Senatorial District in search for pastures for their cattle which often result in clashes between Farmers and Fulani-herdsmen. Migration activities were seasonal, with Fulani-herder men searching for garsing land, water for their cattle from the period of November to January in Edo North Senatorial District.

According to Isola, this forced migration has led to the massive influx of herdsmen in the region, which has given rise to the increase in violent clashes between herdsmen and residents of the community where they migrate to especially the farmers.[13] From the findings, climate change remains one of the major causal factors that led to the increase in hostility between the Fulani herdsmen and the farmers in Edo North Senatorial District.

From the interaction with Mr Ahonsi, a 51 years old farmers, it was revealed that the desertification and irregular rainfall in the North as the result of climate change changed the migration pattern of the Fulani herdsmen which in turn have significant effect on the increase in population of herdsmen that compete with farmers for land in the community.[14] According to Ahonsi "Before, you have like two groups of Fulani herdsmen coming and going out of the community, they don't stay for long. But later the number increased to like 10 different herds, if you ask me now, the numbers of herds are uncountable.

This has effect on the land resources because they are not only competing with farmers for grazing lands but also compete among them. So, it is first come first serve, as a result, those that comes

late will rather graze their cattle on people's farms which usually lead to conflict when the farmers attempt to stop them".[15] In an attempt to confirm the statement of Ahonsi and other farmers, the position of the officials of the Local Government Area Council of the Senatorial District on Farmers and Fulani-Herders clashes was that there is a general public misconception about all herdsmen to be Fulani.

To Blench and Braukamper, that documented evidence has showed that herdsmen in Nigeria is not limited to Fulani extractions because there are more than 12 other ethnic groups such as the Kanuri, Arab, Shuwa, Manga, Kanembu that are predominantly pastoralist, although, the Fulani are more visible due to their large population in Nigeria.[16] The people of Edo North Senatorial District maintained that there are many ethnic groups that are predominantly normads and pastoralist that usually don't venture deep into the zone, but because of the fact that they are looking for the same thing as the Fulanis, they now move deep down zone. So when the farmers see herders trampling on their farms with cattle, they quickly spread the news to the villages and towns that Fulani herdsmen are damaging their crops which in real sense might not be Fulani herdsmen".[17] The climatic conditions such deforestation, drought, spatial rainfall and drying of rivers/seas, desertification and high heat waves resulting from global warming account for the biggest cause of Farmers and Fulani-herdsmen conflicts in Edo North Senatorial District of Edo State.

The Struggle for Natural Resources: The struggle for resources such as water, land farmland, gasingland, gasing-route and forage in Owanland, Edo State of Nigeria has resulted in the constant clashes between the Farmers and the Fulani-herdsmen in Owanland. In recent time nomadic pastoralist and farming have continued to evolve in Owan, this is referring to the traditional way of life in which nomadic communities keep large numbers of animals moving from place to place in search of forage and water depending on where the rain falls. The pastoralists have to adapt to climate change and increase in population, which affect the availability of water, land and pasture which eventually led to clashes as the competition for resources with farmers becomes fierce. To Reenberg et al., argued that the increase in population has, in turn, had drastic effects, like shortage in food, land conflict and the expansion of agriculture that give rise to competition for natural resources[18]. The struggle for natural resources like water and land, gasingland and with the growing population of sedentary crop farmers has triggered clashes between Farmers and Fulani-herdsmen in Edo North Senatorial District of Edo State.

Porous Border: Porous borders are one immediate factor that enhances Farmer and Fulani-herdsmen clashes in Edo North Senatorial District of Edo State. Edo State is bounded by Kogi State in Northeast and East, Anambra to the East, Delta to the Southeast and South, and Ondo to the West and Northwest, the River Niger flows along the Eastern boundary. Therefore, Edo North Senatorial District is boarded by Kogi State in North-central and Ondo State in the Southwest. In a situation where people or individual's movements are largely unchecked, this poses serious security challenge and threat to the locals in their various communities and the country at large. The porosity of the borders of Edo North Senatorial District has negative impact of inflow of Faluni-herdsmen with their cattle for the purpose of gasing which in clashes between the Farmers and Fulani-herdsmen. The Fulani-herdsmen move about with AK 47 riffle and the easy access to these weapons have enabled Fulani-herdsmen move around with their cattle and often result to crisis over destruction of the Farmer's farmland, farm produce, and crops.

Again, this Fulani-herdsman moving around with AK 47 riffle and their cattle increase movement of small arms and light weapons in Edo North Senatorial District, because their safety is being threaten and competition or struggle for natural resources such as water, farmland and gasingland between the original locals and Fulani-herdsmen. According to, Adeola and Oluyemi, argued that "the porosity of the Nigerian borders has made it possible for unwarranted influx of migrants from neighboring countries with their cattle such as Republic of Niger, Chad and Republic of Benin".[19] This migrant are mostly young youths who are the brain-child behind this destruction of farmland, farm produce, crops, banditry, kidnapping for ransom, burning of house, killing and raping of women and its terror related activities in Edo North Senatorial District of Edo State and the Country in general.

Land Tenure / Land Act in Nigeria: According to the land Act where land was owned by lineages or extended families, individuals or persons have only right of use on such family land and cannot be sold without consents from the king or family head. Most of the villages who are not aware of the selling of land just go to the farm unaware and are killed in the bid to challenge the activities of the Fulani's on their farm. Before the advent of the British colonizing Nigeria, the land tenure system was different across the country.

To Meek opined that apart from the land system in the Lagos colony where an English freehold system was established following its annexation in 1861, alongside the use of the customary land law system in rural areas.[20] According to Mabogunje, the freehold system was evident in northern Nigeria where land was placed under the Governor by the colonial administration.[19] According to the Land Use Act of 1978, the ordinance of 1910 allows the Governor to administer and hold the land for the benefit of this people via a trusteeship. Any native or native community lawfully using and occupying land following native law and custom enjoys a full right of occupancy with the protection of the Ordinance of 1910, and no rent is paid in respect of such rights.[21]

Mabogunje posit, some factors that guided the Land Use Decree of 1978, listed below are the seven factors;

i. All land situated in the territory of each state in the country is vested in the Governor of the state. For southern Nigeria in particular, this means state appropriation of land from families and communities without any compensation except for economic crops and other betterment on the land.

ii. All land control and management, including land allocation in urban areas come under the Governor of each state while land located in rural areas becomes the responsibility of the various local governments. Only the Governor can declare parts of the state territory governed by him as an urban area by an order published in the state gazette;

iii. All land in urban areas is to be administered by a body known as the Land Use and Allocation Committee which has the responsibility of advising the Governor on the management of urban land; similarly, a Land Allocation Advisory Committee is provided to advise local governments in like manner;

iv. All land which has already been developed remained the possession of the person in whom it was vested before the Act became effective;

v. The Governor is empowered to grant statutory certificate of occupancy (C of O) which would be for a definite term to any person for all purposes and rights of access to land under his control;

vi. The maximum area of undeveloped land that any person could hold in any one urban area in a state is one half of a hectare; in the rural areas this must not exceed 500 hectares except with the permission of the Governor;

vii. The consent of the Governor must be secured for the transfer of a statutory right of occupancy through either mortgage or assignment. The consent of the Local government or that of the Governor in appropriate cases must also be obtained for the transfer of customary right of occupancy. To ensure the validity of this decree it was enshrined as an integral part of the 1979 constitution and later in the 1999 constitution.[22]

Lack of Trust: The phenomenon of Farmers and Fulani-herdsmen frequent conflicts pose grave threat to the corporate existence of the people of the zone especially in area of co-existing with Fulani-herdsmen because of the fact that the Fulani-herdsmen ranks as the fourth deadliest terrorist group in the world and their negative activities other parts of the country, such as Benue, Kunada, Zamfara, Bornu and so on.

Lack of Government Good will/Corruption: Government inability to investigate, arrest and prosecute the perpetrators of the Farmers and Fulani-herdsmen conflict over the years in the country.[23] The failure of Government in her primary responsibility in the area of protection lives and property of the citizenry and her inability to effectively tackle the Fulani-herdsmen menace has resulted to incessant loss of lives and property of local people in the Edo North Senatorial District. It also, contributed to embolden the culprits to continue to carry on with their evil act, this have negative effect on the people of Edo North Senatorial District of Edo State and Nigeria in general in aspect of food shortage or food insecurity resulting from disruption of agricultural production, destruction of farmland, farm produce, crops, displacement of arable crop farmers, killing, rape, kidnapping, burning of houses due to frequent clashes between rural Farmers and Fulnai-herdsmen.

Conclusion

This has resulted in slow space of the development and growth of the Edo North Senatorial District over the time. This research has shown empirically that insecurity impact negatively on economic growth and development in the area.

It has result in many negative impacts to the people for example; many had been rendered homes, children become orphans with no hope of the future, many lives and properties have been lost, food shortage, fear, tension, destruction of farmland, farm produce, crops, displacement of arable crop farmers, killing, rape, kidnapping, burning of houses and many women rendered widows.

However, government had made reasonable effort to tackle these insecurity problems in Edo north senatorial district of Edo State, by putting in place checking points of Nigeria army, Police, Civil defence, Local vigilante and other sister agency in strategic places in Edo north senatorial district. But the rate of insecurity is still alarming, therefore the following recommendation should be put in place for the area to experience relatively peace, growth and development for the people to enjoy the dividend of democracy. For the communities in Edo North Senatorial District to experience relatively peace, growth and development for the people to enjoy the dividend of democracy, the Government should ensure that nobody leaves inside the forest any part of Edo North Senatorial District, employment more youth into local security out-feet or local vigilante and forest guard.

The Government should beef up security in Edo North Senatorial District of Edo State and the country in general and should declare war on all of form of insecurity in Edo North Senatorial District and Nigeria at large. There should be increase in the employment of security agents for more personnel, arms and welfare to fight insecurity or insurgency as the case may be. Finally, there should be inter-security agency, cooperation, collaboration and synergy and the role of traditional ruler should be taken into serious consideration or emphasis should be on role of traditional ruler in maintaining peace and harmony in their domain.

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EDUCATIONAL PLANNING AND PEDAGOGICAL DIGITALISATION IN NIGERIA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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ABSTRACT
This paper explores the critical aspects of educational planning and pedagogical digitalization within the context of Nigeria's educational system. It provides an overview of the historical background and current challenges in educational planning, highlighting the government policies and initiatives aimed at addressing these issues. Additionally, the paper delves into the significance of pedagogical digitalization, examining the integration of technology in the Nigerian educational landscape and the associated opportunities and challenges. Furthermore, the paper discusses the potential impact of educational planning and pedagogical digitalization on improving access to quality education and enhancing teaching and learning processes. It also presents case studies and best practices, showcasing successful initiatives and innovative approaches in Nigeria. The paper concludes with recommendations for effective educational planning and sustainable pedagogical digitalization, emphasizing the need for collaborative efforts and future research directions. Overall, this paper contributes to the discourse on educational development in Nigeria, shedding light on the importance of strategic planning and digital innovation in advancing the country's educational system.

Introduction

Educational planning and pedagogical digitalisation play crucial roles in transforming Nigeria's educational system, enhancing learning outcomes, and preparing students for the challenges of the digital age. Nigeria, like many countries, is increasingly recognizing the importance of integrating technology into education to improve teaching methods, student engagement, and overall educational quality.Olaniyonu and Gbenu (2016) presupposes that, educational planning must be in-line with the need and aspiration of citizens and the society. Effective educational planning is the foundation for building a strong, sustainable educational system. In the Nigeria context, comprehensive educational planning involves setting goals, allocating resources efficiently, developing curriculum frameworks, and ensuring equitable access to quality education for all students. With the right planning strategies in place, educational institutions can adapt to the changing needs of students and the demands of the modern workforce.Nigeria's educational system has undergone various transformations since gaining independence in 1960. The country has implemented several educational policies and

initiatives to improve access to quality education, enhance learning outcomes, and address the diverse needs of its population. However, challenges such as inadequate funding, infrastructure deficiencies, curriculum gaps, corruption and disparities in educational quality persist, hampering the overall effectiveness of the educational system.

The history of educational planning in Nigeria has evolved over time, influenced by various factors such as colonial legacies, post-independence development goals, political changes, socio-economic challenges, and shifting educational priorities. Here is a brief overview of key signposts in the history of educational planning in Nigeria considering these phases:

Colonial Era (Pre-1960s) Phase: Before Nigeria gained independence in 1960, education was primarily under the control of British colonial authorities. The educational system was structured to serve the needs of the colonial administration, focusing on basic literacy skills and training a small elite class to assist in governance. The curriculum was largely tailored to British educational standards, with limited opportunities for indigenous languages or cultural content.

Post-Independence Period (1960s-1970s) Phase: After gaining independence, Nigeria embarked on a series of educational reforms to address the disparities inherited from the colonial era. The government aimed to expand access to education, promote national unity, and foster socio-economic development. The 1969 National Policy on Education outlined key principles and objectives for the educational system, emphasizing the promotion of Nigerian identity, the development of skilled manpower, and the eradication of illiteracy.

Oil Boom Era (1970s) Phase: During the oil boom of the 1970s, Nigeria experienced increased revenue from oil exports, leading to significant investments in the education sector. The government focused on expanding educational infrastructure, increasing teacher training programs, and enhancing access to education at all levels.

Structural Adjustment Programs (1980s-1990s) Phase: In response to economic challenges and pressures from international financial institutions, Nigeria implemented structural adjustment programs in the 1980s and 1990s. These programs led to austerity measures, budget cuts, and challenges in funding education, affecting the quality and accessibility of education in the country.

Democratic Transition and Education Reforms (2000s-Present): Nigeria's return to democracy in 1999 ushered in a period of education reforms aimed at improving access, quality, and relevance of education. The government introduced initiatives such as the Universal Basic Education (UBE) program, which aimed to provide free and compulsory basic education for all children. Various policies and programs have been implemented to address challenges such as high out-of-school rates, inadequate infrastructure, teacher shortages, and curriculum deficiencies. Efforts have also been made to strengthen technical and vocational education, promote digital literacy, and enhance teacher training.

Current Challenges in Educational Planning and Future Directions:

Despite progress in educational planning and reforms, Nigeria continues to face challenges such as:

1. Inadequate statistical data
2. Low educational quality,
3. Insufficient teacher training.
4. Inadequate Funding: Insufficient budget allocations to the education sector have resulted in underfunded schools, limited resources, and challenges in implementing quality education programs.
5. Infrastructure Deficiencies: Many schools in Nigeria lack basic infrastructure such as classrooms, libraries, laboratories, and internet connectivity, hindering effective teaching and learning.
6. Curriculum Gaps: The existing curriculum may not align with the changing needs of students and the demands of the workforce, leading to a mismatch between education and industry requirements.
7. Disparities in Educational Quality: Disparities in educational quality exist between urban and rural areas, public and private schools, and different regions of the country, limiting equal access to quality education for all.

Furthermore, Olaniyonu and Gbenu (2016), identify the following as challenges facing education planning in Nigeria.

1. Rapid population growth
2. Inconsistent educational policies
3. Politicization of Education
4. Economic Constraint
5. Insufficient financial public support
6. Corruption
7. Inadequate man power
8. Administrative bottleneck
9. Poor planning technique

Addressing these challenges will require sustained investment, effective policy implementation, stakeholder collaboration, and innovative approaches to education which in the word of Ola *et al* (2022) acclaimed that, this can only be achieved through evidence based policy.

Government Policies and Initiatives Aimed at addressing these issues are as follow:

1. **Establishment of Universal Basic Education (UBE) Program**: The UBE program was established to ensure free and compulsory basic education for all Nigerian children. The initiative aims to improve access to quality education at the primary and junior secondary levels.

2. **National Policy on Education:** The National Policy on Education guides educational planning and development in Nigeria. It defines the goals, objectives, and strategies for enhancing the education system and outlines measures for achieving educational excellence.

3. **Tertiary Education Trust Fund (TETFund):** TETFund is a government agency established to provide funding and support for the development of tertiary education institutions in Nigeria. The agency focuses on improving infrastructure, research, and teaching quality in universities, colleges, and polytechnics.

4. **Teacher Training and Development Programs:** The government has implemented various teacher training programs to enhance the skills and competencies of educators. Initiatives such as the Teachers' Professional Development Program aim to improve teaching quality and promote effective pedagogical practices.

5. **National Digital Literacy Program:** The government has launched initiatives to promote digital literacy skills among teachers and students. Programs such as the National Digital Literacy Program aim to equip educators with the necessary skills to integrate technology into teaching practices and enhance learning outcomes.

Throughout its history, Nigeria has navigated a complex landscape of educational planning, policy development, and implementation to address the diverse needs of its population and drive sustainable development through quality education. Continual efforts to reform the education sector, improve access, enhance quality, and ensure inclusivity will be critical for Nigeria's socio-economic advancement and human capital development in the future.On the other hand, Pedagogical digitalisation refers to the integration of digital technologies into teaching and learning practicesto enhance educational outcomes, engage students, and adapt to the demands of the digital age. Pedagogical digitalization refers to the integration of digital technologies and tools into teaching and learning practices. Gbesoevi and Adeleke (2021), pointed out that, looking back at the recent past, there has been a dramatic change and a new phase has evolved where new pedagogies are finding a way to replace age-old methods of teaching and learning. Student-centric learning approaches, increased use of technology and integration of eclectic delivery platforms have created a new ecosystem of education.In the context of Nigeria's educational system, it is necessary to submit that pedagogical digitalisationwill presents an opportunity to enhance the delivery of education, improve student engagement, and foster innovative teaching methods. By leveraging on digital tools such as interactive learning platforms, educational apps, virtual reality simulations, and online resources, educators can create dynamic and personalized learning experiences for students.This process involves more than just using technology in the classroom; it encompasses a thoughtful and strategic approach to leveraging digital tools to transform teaching methods, student experiences, and overall educational processes. Equally too, the

inclusion of the use electronic book is a book in digital form, consisting of texts and images and readable on a computer or other electronic devices will improve the educational system. (Gbesoevi et al, 2022). More so, some key aspects and benefits of pedagogical digitalizationcould include the following among others:

1. Personalized Learning: Digital tools enable personalized learning experiences tailored to individual student needs, interests, and learning styles. Adaptive learning platforms, online assessments, and data analytics can help educators customize instruction and provide targeted support to students. Also, the integration of electronic books and learning in the field of education demonstrates the growth of learning and the creation of the possibility for everyone to study anywhere and anytime.

2. Interactive and Engaging Lessons: Digital resources such as educational apps, interactive simulations, multimedia content, and virtual reality can make learning more interactive, engaging, and immersive. These tools can enhance student motivation, curiosity, and active participation in the learning process.

3. Collaborative Learning: Technology enables collaborative learning experiences where students can work together on projects, share ideas, and communicate virtually. Platforms like Google Classroom, Microsoft Teams, and online discussion forums facilitate collaboration and communication among students and teachers.

4. Accessibility and Inclusivity: Digital tools can improve access to education for students with diverse learning needs, disabilities, or geographical constraints. Features like closed captioning, screen readers, text-to-speech tools, and video subtitles can enhance accessibility and inclusivity in the learning environment.

5. Real-World Connections: Digital resources allow educators to integrate real-world examples, global perspectives, and current events into their lessons. Virtual field trips, guest speakers via video conferencing, and online research opportunities can help students make connections between classroom learning and the world beyond.

6. Data-Driven Instruction: Digital technologies provide valuable data and insights on student performance, engagement levels, and learning progress. Educators can use learning analytics, assessments, and feedback mechanisms to track student growth, identify areas for improvement, and adjust instructional strategies accordingly.

7. Professional Development: Pedagogical digitalization also involves ongoing professional development for educators to enhance their digital literacy skills, technology integration capabilities, and knowledge of effective pedagogical practices. Training programs, workshops, and peer learning communities can support teachers in using digital tools effectively in their teaching practice.

8. Lifelong Learning: Digitalization of pedagogy promotes a culture of lifelong learning by providing opportunities for students and educators to access online courses, self-paced learning modules, and continuous skill development resources. This approach prepares individuals for the evolving demands of the digital economy and fosters a mindset of continuous growth and adaptation.

Overall, pedagogical digitalization offers a pathway to transform traditional teaching practices, engage students in meaningful learning experiences, and prepare individuals for success in a digitally driven world. By harnessing the potential of digital technologies and adopting pedagogical best practices, educators can create dynamic, inclusive, and innovative learning environments that empower students to thrive in the 21st century.

Significance of Pedagogical Digitalisation in Nigeria's Educational System: Opportunities and Challenges

In an increasingly digitized world, the integration of technology in education, known as pedagogical digitalisation, is becoming vital to enhance teaching and learning practices. In Nigeria, leveraging digital tools in education presents significant opportunities for improving educational outcomes, fostering innovation, and preparing students for the demands of the 21st-century workforce. However, despite its potential benefits, pedagogical digitalisation in Nigeria faces challenges that must be addressed to maximize its impact on the educational landscape.

Significance of Pedagogical Digitalisation in Nigeria:

1. Improved Learning Outcomes: Integrating technology in education can enhance student engagement, promote interactive learning experiences, and cater to diverse learning styles, ultimately leading to improved academic performance and outcomes.

2. Access to Quality Education: Technology can bridge the gap between urban and rural areas in Nigeria, providing students in remote locations with access to quality educational resources, courses, and learning opportunities.

3. Skills Development: Pedagogical digitalisation equips students with digital literacy skills, critical thinking abilities, problem-solving competencies, and technical skills essential for success in the digital age and future careers.

4. Teacher Empowerment: Digital tools empower educators to create dynamic learning experiences, personalize instruction, collaborate with peers, and access professional development resources to enhance their teaching practices.

5. Global Connectivity: Technology enables Nigerian students to connect with peers, educators, and resources globally, fostering cross-cultural understanding, collaboration, and exposure to diverse perspectives.

Opportunities and Challenges of Integration of Technology in the Nigerian Educational Landscape:

Opportunities:

1. E-Learning Platforms: Online learning platforms offer opportunities for distance education, skill development, and continuous learning for students and professionals across Nigeria.

2. Interactive Learning Tools: Digital tools such as educational apps, virtual reality simulations, and multimedia resources enhance engagement, comprehension, and retention among students.

3. Teacher Training Programs: Professional development initiatives focused on technology integration empower educators to leverage digital tools effectively in their teaching practices.

4. Digital Content Creation: Teachers and students can create and share digital content, multimedia presentations, and e-books to enhance learning experiences and promote creativity.

5. Data-Driven Decision-Making: Technology enables educational institutions to collect, analyze, and utilize data to assess student performance, track progress, and inform instructional strategies.

Challenges:

1. Infrastructure Limitations: Inadequate access to reliable internet connectivity, electricity, computers, and digital devices in schools hinders effective integration of technology in education.

2. Digital Skills Gap: Limited digital literacy among teachers and students poses barriers to effectively utilizing technology for learning and teaching purposes.

3. Content Relevance: Ensuring that digital content aligns with local curriculum requirements, cultural sensitivities, and educational objectives is essential for meaningful integration.

4. Privacy and Security Concerns: Safeguarding student data, protecting online privacy, and ensuring cybersecurity measures are in place are critical considerations in a digital learning environment.

5. Funding Constraints: Insufficient funding allocation for technology procurement, infrastructure development, and teacher training initiatives can impede the successful implementation of pedagogical digitalisation efforts.

Equally too, despite the vast potential of pedagogical digitalisation, Nigeria faces several challenges in effectively implementing digital technologies in education. These challenges include inadequate infrastructure, limited access to technology in schools, gaps in digital literacy among teachers and students, and affordability issues for low-income populations. Addressing these

challenges requires a concerted effort from government authorities, educational institutions, and technology providers to bridge the digital divide and ensure equal opportunities for all students.

Potential Impact of Educational Planning and Pedagogical Digitalization on Improving Access to Quality Education and Enhancing Teaching and Learning Processes

Gbesoevi et al (2022), planning and integration of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) plays a significant role in impacting education in modern scenarios. Effective educational planning and the integration of pedagogical digitalisation play crucial roles in improving access to quality education and enhancing teaching and learning processes. By strategically designing education policies, leveraging digital tools, and fostering innovation in pedagogy, countries like Nigeria can address educational disparities, broaden access to learning opportunities, and enhance the overall quality of education for students and educators.

Improving Access to Quality Education:

1. Addressing Educational Disparities: Educational planning can prioritize resources to bridge the gap between urban and rural areas, underserved communities, and marginalized populations, ensuring equitable access to quality education for all students.

2. Enhancing Infrastructure: Through strategic planning and investment, educational institutions can improve infrastructure, including classrooms, libraries, laboratories, and digital resources, to create conducive learning environments that support student achievement.

3. Promoting Inclusive Education: Educational planning efforts should focus on inclusive practices that cater to the diverse needs of learners, including those with disabilities, special learning requirements, or those in remote areas, ensuring that no student is left behind.

4. Strengthening Teacher Training: By investing in professional development programs and pedagogical training, educators can enhance their teaching competencies, adapt teaching strategies to meet student needs, and effectively integrate digital tools into their instructional practices.

Enhancing Teaching and Learning Processes:

1. Personalized Learning Experiences: Pedagogical digitalisation enables educators to tailor instruction to individual learning styles, preferences, and pace, fostering personalized learning experiences that engage and motivate students.

2. Interactive and Collaborative Learning: Digital tools such as virtual classrooms, collaborative platforms, and multimedia resources facilitate interactive and collaborative learning experiences, encouraging student engagement, participation, and knowledge-sharing.

3. Real-Time Assessment and Feedback: Technology allows for real-time assessment of student progress, immediate feedback on performance, and data-driven insights that inform instructional decisions, enabling educators to address learning gaps and adjust teaching strategies accordingly.

4. Promoting Critical Thinking and Creativity: Pedagogical digitalisation encourages the development of critical thinking, problem-solving skills, and creativity among students through interactive learning activities, project-based assignments, and multimedia tools that stimulate innovation and inquiry.

5. Global Connectivity and Cultural Exchange: Digital platforms provide opportunities for students and educators to connect with peers globally, engage in cross-cultural exchanges, access diverse perspectives, and collaborate on projects that foster global citizenship and intercultural understanding.

Case Studies and Best Practices, Showcasing Successful Initiatives and Innovative Approaches in Nigeria

Some areas where successful initiatives and best practices have been found in Nigeria's educational landscape based on common trends and successful programs are as follows:

1. Bridge International Academies: Bridge International Academies is a social enterprise that operates low-cost private schools in Nigeria and other developing countries. Their use of technology, data-driven instruction, and standardized curriculum has shown positive results in improving learning outcomes for students.

2. BudgIT: BudgIT is a civic organization in Nigeria that focuses on making government budgets more transparent and accessible to the public. Initiatives like Budget Boot Camps for students and citizens have helped increase awareness about government spending and accountability.

3. E-Learning Africa: eLearning Africa is a conference that gathers educators, policymakers, and stakeholders to discuss and showcase innovative approaches to education in Africa, including Nigeria. This platform often highlights successful projects and best practices in digital education and pedagogy.

4. Digital Bridge Institute: The Digital Bridge Institute is a training and research institution in Nigeria that focuses on building digital skills and capacity among educators, students, and professionals. Their programs often incorporate innovative teaching methods and technology integration in education.

5. TEACH for Nigeria: TEACH for Nigeria is a nonprofit organization that recruits and trains exceptional graduates to teach in underserved schools across the country. Their efforts aim to improve educational outcomes and access in disadvantaged communities through innovative teaching practices.

6. Virtual Learning Environments: Some universities and institutions in Nigeria have implemented virtual learning environments and online course offerings to expand access to education, particularly in remote areas. These initiatives often utilize digital tools, multimedia resources, and interactive platforms to enhance teaching and learning experiences.

7. Teacher Professional Development Programs: Various organizations and initiatives in Nigeria focus on providing ongoing professional development opportunities for teachers to enhance their pedagogical skills, incorporate technology in their classrooms, and adapt to innovative teaching practices that improve student learning outcomes.

8. Eko Excel Tablet: the introduction of Eko Excel Tablet by the Lagos State government for all Lagos State primary schools' teachers to enhance their digital cum pedagogical skills in their classroom

These examples highlight a range of successful initiatives and innovative approaches in Nigeria's educational landscape. By further exploring these programs, collecting recent case studies, and identifying emerging best practices, stakeholders in the education sector can continue to drive positive change, foster innovation, and enhance access to quality education in the country.

Conclusion:

Educational planning and pedagogical digitalisation are essential components for driving positive change in Nigeria's educational system. By investing in comprehensive planning strategies and embracing digital technologies, Nigeria can equip its students with the skills and knowledge needed to succeed in the digital age. Through collaborative efforts and a commitment to innovation, Nigeria has the opportunity to transform its educational landscape and pave the way for a brighter future for generations to come.

Recommendation

To enhance educational planning and pedagogical digitalisation in Nigeria's educational system, stakeholders can consider implementing the following recommended strategies:

1. Develop a comprehensive national educational plan that prioritizes digital literacy, technology integration, and teacher training.

2. Invest in infrastructure development to provide schools with access to reliable internet connectivity, computers, and other digital devices.

3. Provide professional development opportunities for teachers to build their digital skills and facilitate the integration of technology in the classroom.

4. Encourage collaboration between educational institutions, government agencies, and technology providers to develop innovative digital solutions tailored to the Nigerian educational context.

5. Evaluate the impact of pedagogical digitalisation on learning outcomes and

make data-driven decisions to continuously improve educational practices.

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"JAPA" IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN SOCIETY, THE EXPORTATION OF NIGERIA's INDIGENOUS CHURCHES AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

It is remarkable to note that in recent times, the rate at which young people move to other country of their choice in startling. There have been little or no consideration to this move. It seems youths leave at a whim. They don't give it a deep enough thought. They were always eager to leave the shore of the country by all means. They want to "Japa". "Japa" euphemistic way to explain the departure of one's birth country, especially Nigeria. For several reasons, Nigerians have seen the need to leave the shore of the mother land in droves. Many of these "Japaist" have discovered, after getting to their dreamland, that it is not all Eldorado. Many have faced some inhumane treatment from their host country and society. Therefore, this phenomenon has brought to the fore some religious and ethical interrogations. Religion as an institution has teachings on how to treat foreigners in the land of their sojourn. Hence, this research employs descriptive method for the work which would help to examine some of the religious ethics this phenomenon negates, using the analysis of injunction in Deuteronomy 23:19-22.

Introduction

Japaism is a concept that has come to stay in Nigeria language. It is euphemistic way of explaining the departure of one's birth country, especially Nigeria. For several reasons, Nigerians have seen the need to leave the shore of the mother land in droves. In fact, the rate people leave the country has become alarming. It is an indiscriminate migration, there has been no clear cut demography of the people that migrate from Nigeria to the Americas and other European countries. The only perceived demography would be that youths between the ages of 22 years and 45years (Anyokwu, 2022).

Nigeria is renowned for its strong religious inclination as a nation. Nigeria, being the most populated nation in Africa, has a population of over 230 million individuals, with a relatively equal distribution between adherents of Islam and Christianity. According to the CIA World Factbook, slightly more than 50% of the population adheres to the Islamic faith, while around 46% identify as Christian. According to the 2021 Report on International Religious Freedom by the US State Department, the Muslim community comprises adherents of Sunni, Shia, and Sufi sects, among tiny Izala and Salafist factions. According to the aforementioned survey, it is estimated that over 25% of those who identify as Christians belong to the Roman Catholic denomination. Additionally, among the many Protestant denominations, the Anglican, Baptist, and Presbyterian Churches exhibit the highest numbers in terms of population. Additional groups that may be identified within the religious landscape including Baha'is, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Animists, as well as persons who adhere to a non-religious stance (Brooke Holland, et. al., 2023).

It is noteworthy that the aforementioned list only comprises faiths and their respective factions that have been imported from other sources. The African traditional religions are not mentioned in the given context. According to Ndemanu (2018), who cited Olupona (2007), Traditional African religions include the native religious beliefs and practices observed by the African people. These encompass many aspects such as worship, consultation with priests, rituals, symbolism, cosmology, arts, customs, and societal elements. The impact of traditional religions on Africans' cognitive processes, belief systems, and worldviews has been significant. Consequently, the emergence of African indigenous churches occurred. The emergence of Indigenous Christianity in Africa may be attributed to the efforts of indigenous Africans who saw the need for Christianity to be more aligned with African perspectives and worldviews. The purpose of this movement was to eradicate factionalism and foster unity among African Christians, encouraging them to embrace their African identity and perspectives in the context of Christianity. The use of this particular technique was deemed essential in order to bridge the divide that had emerged due to the presence of "foreign evangelists" who arrived with the intention of establishing a form of Christianity that clashed with the socio-cultural and political beliefs prevalent on the continent. The aforementioned religious institutions include the Celestial Church of Christ, Cherubim and Seraphim, Christ Apostolic Church, and the African Church – Bethel, among others.

It is remarkable to note that in recent times, there have been an explosion in the growth of these churches in the European countries and the Americas. The churches are seen to be growing at a very unprecedented rate. This essay would help to enlighten people on the roles of Nigerian emigrants in the exportation of African indigenous churches, in particular. The overarching research question is: How has 'Japa' helped in the propagation of Christianity, especially African indigenous churches and what has the mother country, Nigeria, gained from this exportation of religious culture? What are socio-economic implications of this on Nigeria? This chapter further explores the concept of 'Japaism' and attempts to distinguish between the concept and migration. Furthermore, the study shows ways in which these AICs have influenced the understanding of the western world about Africans type of Christianity. Researchersstand to benefit enormously from this paper because African indigenous churches in diaspora are extremely under researched.

Conceptualization

An overview of Emigration in Nigeria

Migration is a historical and enduring aspect of human behavior that has been seen across many periods of time. Over the course of history, human populations have gradually migrated and established permanent residences in locations that were previously unfamiliar to them. This also has relevance for those from Nigeria. Nigerians are well recognized for their propensity for migration. The historical records pertaining to migration within the region now known as Nigeria can be traced back to four concurrent slave trades that occurred in Africa from 1400 to 1900. Among these, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade stands as the most significant, involving the transportation of approximately 12 million enslaved individuals from West, West-central, and

Eastern Africa to European colonies in the Americas, commencing in the 15th century.

According to Mberu and Pongue (2010), Nigeria saw migratory movements at the international level throughout the period of colonial authority. Afolayan et al. (year) have identified empirical evidence of both immigration and emigration dating back to the year 1903. Between the years 1900 and 1902, it is believed that around 6,500 individuals from Nigeria migrated to the region known as the Gold Coast, which is now recognized as Ghana, as well as to Cotonou-Parakou in Dahomey, which is now referred to as Benin. These migrants sought employment opportunities mostly in the construction of rail lines and the extraction of gold from mines. Following the completion of the railway, a portion of the migrants transitioned into the role of merchants, while a significant number departed for Côte d'Ivoire subsequent to World War I. The need for labor in Côte d'Ivoire arose due to the establishment of cash-crop plantations at the beginning of the 20th century, with the development of infrastructure like as ports, warehouses, railways, and highways, which aimed to facilitate the exportation of agricultural products (Ajeli, 2019).

Based on the 1948 census conducted in Ghana, it was determined that around 46,800 individuals of Nigerian origin were residing in the country. Subsequently, in 1959, this figure increased to 100,000 as a result of Ghana's economic progress and the nation's active Pan-African movement subsequent to its attainment of independence (Ajeli, 2019). Following the attainment of independence, a significant shift occurred in the emigration trend of Nigerians. Following Nigeria's attainment of independence, a notable trend emerged whereby the country's affluent and privileged class began sending their children to Western nations mostly for educational pursuits, sometimes extending to administrative roles. Certain military personnel were also sent to get specialized training in foreign universities and military institutions. It was anticipated that Nigerian students will acquire essential skills necessary for the development of the country. It is evident that a significant number of Nigerian individuals who pursued their education overseas during the 1960s and 1970s promptly returned to their home country upon finishing their studies, since they were guaranteed lucrative employment opportunities in various areas such as the public service, military, and the rapidly expanding oil and private industries. There was no apparent rationale for this particular group of immigrants to remain in their current location.

Nevertheless, with the military's assumption of administrative control over the nation and the subsequent intensification of the political climate, a considerable number of immigrants opted to remain in exile. According to available data, it is estimated that by 1978, over 30,000 Nigerian individuals who had obtained their degrees from higher education institutions in the United Kingdom had chosen to reside outside of the African continent. Out of this population, around 2,000 individuals had settled in the United States. According to Afoloyan, et al. (1984), the Nigerian population residing in the United States saw a notable growth, reaching a total of 10,000 individuals. The study further highlights that a significant proportion of this group possessed advanced skills and qualifications (Mberu & Pongou, 2010).

Since the late 1980s, and particularly from the early 1990s, a significant influx of Nigerian individuals has been seen, as they have sought safety and asylum inside other African nations as well as industrialized countries. The number of Nigerian asylum petitions in the United Kingdom saw a significant increase from 20 in 1989 to over 4,000 in 1994. During the first quarter of 1995, a total of 1,700 individuals seeking asylum entered the United Kingdom from Nigeria, seeking refuge from the oppressive military dictatorship that had incarcerated political dissidents and perpetrated violence against pro-democracy demonstrators.

Between the years 1996 and 2005, the United States, being a preferred destination for Nigerian immigrants, facilitated the resettlement of a total of 13,863 individuals from Nigeria. During the period from 1996 to 2005, the United Kingdom resettled a total of 11,749 individuals, making it one of the leading nations in terms of resettlement. Germany followed closely with 10,406 individuals resettled, while Canada resettled 9,378 individuals, solidifying its position as another prominent resettlement country during this time frame. During the aforementioned time frame, individuals from Nigeria sought refuge mostly in Ireland (21,378), South Africa (14,107), Austria (8,244), and France (6,510) (United Nations High Commission for Refugee, 2018).

“Japaism” a New Strain of Emigration

The term "Japa" has not yet been incorporated into the vocabulary of the English language or any other widely spoken language. The term in question is derived from the Yoruba language and denotes the act of departing or relocating from one's own country whenever a favorable chance arises, primarily motivated by the oppressive economic

and political circumstances prevailing within. The term in question is often said with a sense of joy by those who have successfully traversed the boundaries of the nation of Nigeria. Nigeria, similar to several other African nations, has seen a significant outflow of its populace over the course of time, as individuals seek improved economic opportunities in European countries.

Emigration and the term "Japa" are often used interchangeably, but they do not possess identical meanings in a strict sense. These terms have distinct connotations and their underlying ideologies vary significantly. Liu provides a more comprehensive explanation in this manner;

> *"When I asked Michael, a journalist in his 20s who works in Lagos, why "Japa" had come to be the term for international migration, he corrected me, insisting that ""Japa" doesn't mean to migrate; it means to run for your life (Liu, 2023)."*
>
> *Pressed for clarification, Michael wryly explained that although "it [has long been] the Nigerian dream to leave Nigeria," a different feeling had taken hold today: "There wasn't the desperation…when I was growing up. People around me, they speak about leaving, [but] it wasn't that they need to run, that my life is in danger, shit I need to leave." Today, desperation is at the heart of talk about migration. As Aisha, a student in her 20s in Ibadan further clarified: "["Japa"] means I'm done. I'm not doing this anymore. I am running away. I can't cope"*

The topic of Japaism has gained significant attention and has become a subject of intense political discourse. Numerous scholarly deliberations have taken place over the impact of Japa on the socio-economic landscape of Nigeria. According to Falaiye (2023), the phenomenon known as the "Japa" syndrome has resulted in a significant transformation within the labor market, shifting its orientation from being employer-centric to one that is now centered on the needs and preferences of employees. Scholars have posited that the consequential phenomenon of brain drain resulting from the prevailing "Japa" syndrome would give rise to a depletion of prospective entrepreneurs and a dearth of proficient human resources. In recent times, Nigeria has seen a notable increase in the emigration of highly trained individuals to other nations. A significant portion of these migrants have obtained degrees from Nigerian colleges, which get substantial financial support from the government. Individuals who pursue opportunities overseas bring with them a wealth of experience and expertise obtained inside their native context**Error! Bookmark not defined.**.

According to a recent poll conducted by the Nigeria Social Cohesion poll, it was found that a significant proportion of the Nigerian population, namely seven out of ten individuals, express a want to transfer to other nations for a variety of reasons. Furthermore, a considerable number of these individuals have reported achieving positive outcomes as a result of their decision to relocate. Presently, the prevailing net migration rate in Nigeria is at -0.273 per 1000 population, signifying a higher number of individuals departing from the nation**Error! Bookmark not defined.**. Another point of consideration is the statistical data that positions Nigeria, with a total of 11,055 physicians who have received training, as the third-ranked nation in terms of the biggest number of foreign doctors employed in the United Kingdom (Ajimotokan, 2023).

Considerable concerns have been voiced with relation to the phenomenon known as "Japa". One of the most notable effects is that the export of human capital has resulted in a shortage of skilled labor in several areas of the Nigerian economy. The health industry has seen significant impact, particularly in terms of the migration of physicians and nurses, which has been observed in large numbers in recent years. The "Japa" syndrome has also affected the Information and Communication Technology and engineering industries to a significant extent.

One significant impact of the '"Japa"' condition on Nigerians is to the domain of family and familial dynamics. The current phenomenon of individuals seeking to leave their nation by whatever means possible is significantly undermining the fundamental structure upon which any community is constructed. Siblings who have been permanently separated, and couples who have experienced prolonged separation. There exists a subset of individuals who may never have the opportunity to reunite with their biological parents in the future. It has become more common to see instances when spouses and their children are separated, especially during celebratory periods. In contemporary times, the occurrence of weddings being held using digital platforms like as Zoom, Facebook, WhatsApp, and other social media applications, even among individuals who are unfamiliar with one another, has become more commonplace.

Nevertheless, despite the potential negative consequences of the "Japa" phenomena, it is crucial

to acknowledge the benefits and positive aspects it brings, particularly within Nigerian culture. For instance, by the reduction of the labor force in the nation of origin, emigration is anticipated to mitigate unemployment and enhance the earnings of the remaining workforce. A significant portion of individuals who engage in migration are young adults who lack work opportunities, while possessing either valuable skills and education or being engaged in positions that do not fully use their capabilities. Travel agencies are now seeing a higher level of patronage than in previous times. In accordance with the research conducted by Susan Akporiaye (2023).

> *"Migration does not affect airfares in any way. Migration itself is good for business because when lots of people migrate, which is not a luxury or holiday, they won't even mind the cost of the ticket because they know it is a migration. Somebody who just wants to go on a holiday and come back and you give him or her the price of N1m plus for a ticket, he or she will say, "No, I'm not going" and cancel the holiday. On the other hand, someone that is migrating won't really mind because he or she is leaving. There are no plans to come back. They have probably sold a lot of things and traded in a lot of things. So, they don't mind. Such people can pay N1.5m and go"*

Moreover, it is worth noting that immigrants originating from Nigeria often engage in the practice of remitting funds to their home country, so enhancing the quality of life for their respective families and concurrently stimulating domestic economies and trade balances. The volume of overseas remittances received by Nigeria has shown a consistent upward trend in the last several decades, mostly attributed to the increasing number of Nigerian immigrants. These remittances facilitate the generation of foreign currency income, foreign direct investment, assistance, and other private capital investments (Adeseye, 2021). Based on the most recent Migration and Development Brief report by the World Bank, it is indicated that there was an approximate growth of 8.85 percent in remittance flow to Nigeria in 2022, reaching a value of $19.2 billion, as compared to the previous year. The largest economy in Africa had a significant decline in diaspora remittances, with a decrease from $25.3 billion in the previous year to $17.2 billion in 2020, mostly due to the adverse effects of the COVID-19 epidemic (Business Day, 2022).

In the context of religion, the phenomenon known as the "Japa" syndrome has been beneficial to the church, particularly in relation to the expansion of the church and African autonomous churches, to be more specific. Prior to examining the ways in which the church benefited from the "Japa" syndrome, it is essential to provide a definition of Africa Independent churches.

Africa Independent Churches

Numerous scholars in the field of church history, including Aiyegboyin & Ishola (1997), Barrett (1996), Sundkler (1976), Turner (1967), and Oosthuizen (1992), have undertaken the examination and elucidation of African independent churches (AICs). These studies have provided valuable insights into the development of Artificial Intelligence Companies (AICs) and the underlying motivations for their founding. This analysis will include some aspects.

Emergence of Africa Independent Churches in Nigeria

The arrival of missionaries in Africa introduced a religious belief system that was unfamiliar to the local population. By virtue of their diligent efforts and remarkable perseverance, they successfully facilitated the conversion of many individuals from traditional African religious practices to the Christian faith. Nevertheless, a significant number of individuals who have undergone conversion have challenges in adapting to the more formal and serious style of worship that has been presented to them. Furthermore, the founders of these churches hold the viewpoint that Christianity would be more effectively conveyed via the lens of African vision and worldview. The purpose of this program was to mitigate factionalism and foster unity among African Christians, encouraging them to embrace their African identity and channel their emotions and interests towards the development of African perspectives within Christianity.

According to Allen (2016), African Independent Churches (AICs) are prevalent across the African continent, with notable documentation in southern Africa and West Africa. It has been suggested that around 36% of Africa's population identifies with an African Initiated Church. During the colonial era, a significant number of black individuals who embraced Christianity had challenges in properly reconciling their views with the ideas propagated by their church leaders, leading to a divergence from their original religious affiliations. The rationales for these divisions were often either: The political movement might be seen as an endeavor to emancipate oneself from the dominance of white

authority. Historically, several parent churches, especially those stemming from a Protestant lineage, have originated via a combination of schism and synthesis. The cultural phenomenon under examination is the outcome of the endeavor to reconcile Christian religion with an African worldview.

The African Independent Churches (AICs) had many periods, each arising from the need to contextualize Christianity within the African perspective and worldview. The implementation of his technique was deemed essential in bridging the divide that had emerged due to the presence of "foreign evangelists" who arrived with the intention of establishing a form of Christianity that was incongruent with the socio-cultural and political beliefs prevalent in the continent.

The first phase that has been recognized is often referred to as the emergence of African churches. According to Allen (2016), the establishment of these churches originated in various regions inside Yoruba territory and subsequently expanded their influence to include the northern areas of the nation. The primary catalysts for the ecclesiastical revolutions initiated by Africans inside the Mission churches were significant matters such as personality conflicts, racial discrimination, prejudice, and polygamy. The couple's mission has a lack of appreciation or comprehension of Africa's cultural history, particularly in relation to its religious traditions and beliefs. Additionally, the mission demonstrates inconsistency and insensitivity when addressing the matter of indigenous leadership within the church. The aforementioned factor consistently served as the primary catalyst for a significant amount of discontentment among Mission authorities both domestically and abroad, as well as their representatives, regardless of race, and the multitude of African individuals who had embraced the faith. As a result, the three Mission Churches, namely the Baptist, Methodist, and Anglican, had internal upheavals that resulted in Africans attaining substantial authority over their respective churches via local leadership, accompanied by assured financial backing. It may be seen that prior to the emergence of prophetic churches in Nigeria, Africans had already addressed significant issues pertaining to indigenous leadership, self-identity, and ecclesiastical governance, many decades or years earlier.

Subsequently, there emerged a subsequent era characterized by the ascent of prophetic churches. Similar to the emergence of African churches, the establishment of prophetic churches may be attributed to the discontentment shown by some individuals who saw a delay in the process of baptism and acceptance into the religious community. The length of time necessary for a new member to successfully complete catechetical training was disheartening. The duration of the process may sometimes extend to a period of one year or more. The origin of the prophetic church may be traced back to the influence of Garrick Sokari Braide. Braide, hailing from Bakana in the present-day Rivers State of Nigeria, established a connection with the Anglican Church during the 1890s under the influence of C.M.S. missionaries. Subsequently, he underwent confirmation under the auspices of Bishop James Johnson in 1912. During this particular year, Braide said that he had received a divine calling to serve as a messenger of God. By the year 1915, Braide, who was a fisherman and also held the position of warden at St. Andrew's church in Bakana, had established a notable reputation as a remarkable individual capable of doing extraordinary feats and possessing healing abilities. This reputation extended not just across the Delta area but even reached as far as the northern region of Benue. According to Nwadialor and Olusegun, this perspective may be summarized as follows.

> *"Braide lunched a strong attack on indigenous religion, publicly destroying objects of veneration, charms, and shrines, while at the same time attempting to adapt Christianity to the local situation. In addition to placing considerable emphasis on prayer and fasting, he introduced into church services the singing of hymns in the vernacular language, dancing, and hand clapping. By and large, he taught the Africans how to worship God in the African way" (Brooke-Holland, 2023).*

The emergence of the Aladura church movement coincides with this period as well. According to Clarke (1986), the emergence of the Precious Stone marked the inception of several Aladura churches and organizations in Nigeria. The inception occurred at Ijebu-Ode, located in the contemporary Ogun State in western Nigeria, during the year 1918. Similar to several other churches, dreams and visions had significant roles in the inception of this particular church. According to Beyer (1997), it is worth mentioning that the Aladura movement was not originally established with the purpose of separating from the main church or further dividing into other denominations, as it is now seen. The fragmentation may be attributed to a difference in ideological perspectives.

Babalola, a prophet known for his exceptional charismatic abilities, gained prominence in 1928 while operating as a traveling prophet in the northeastern region of Yoruba nation, after previously being relatively unknown. In July 1930, he initiated a new religious phase in the nation, assuming the role of the pioneering prophet for a nascent movement inside the Nigerian Faith Tabernacle. According to Omoyajowo (1975), the evangelistic efforts of Babalola resulted in a significant increase in persecution against those who embraced the newly introduced religious beliefs. The mission churches purportedly exhibited feelings of envy and antagonism, particularly due to the fact that their congregants were the primary converts of the Faith Tabernacle. Consequently, Babalola was incarcerated in Benin City. Babalola always recognized the presence of the mainstream churches, while often elucidating the divine calling that prompted him to establish a prayer group. The individual frequently conveyed to his audience that he had been divinely appointed to deliver a novel message, as the established churches had deviated from their intended path and purpose in various aspects. Specifically, he asserted that they had regressed by engaging in idol worship and engaging in occult practices, rather than adhering to a righteous, holy, and prayerful existence. Furthermore, he contended that they had succumbed to the influence of Satan, herbalists, and malevolent entities, resorting to consulting with witches and wizards to address the challenges faced by their congregants.

The Christ Apostolic Church is characterized by its significant separation from other Aladura churches, as it adheres to a more formal approach in its programs and strictly prohibits the inclusion of ritualistic elements. Members of the CAC are not obligated to wear white robes, unlike members of other Aladura churches who are often obliged to do so. The significant connection between the Cherubim and Seraphim Church (CAC) and the Aladura movement lies in their emphasis on prayer as the most effective means for Christians, their conviction in miracles and divine healing, and their belief in the communion that ought to be established between individuals and God, frequently experienced via visions, dreams, and trances (Omoyajewo, 1975).

The Celestial Church of Christ (C.C.C), established in 1947 by Samuel Bilewu Oshoffa, is a religious organization. The church is regarded as the most recent and newly established institution within the Aladura movement (Ajayi, 2019). The growth of the Celestial Church of Christ saw a significant acceleration subsequent to the official declaration of the divine instructions sent by Alexander Yanga on behalf of the Holy Spirit. Oshoffa swiftly gained recognition as a prophet by the growing multitude of devotees and supporters of his novel form of Christianity. The birth of the Celestial movement may be attributed to its theological belief that the Bible is a divine text, containing strong and universally relevant teachings from God. Another theological position held by the church is the profound belief that the Holy Spirit, as a divine entity, is actively present and manifests in many ways, ultimately leading to the occurrence of miraculous events related with the church's programs. The Celestial Church of Christ has garnered significant attention due to its manner of worship and the use of the Yoruba language in its religious activities, as highlighted by prominent writers such as Agbaje (1995) and Atiso-Doe (1995). The issue was further intensified due to the notable resemblance seen between the traditional religious traditions of the Yoruba people and the worship and liturgical practices of the Celestial Church of Christ (C.C.C.). The relaxed focus and notable resemblance have significantly contributed to the spread of the church, since sponsors were able to readily build parishes. During the period spanning from 1970 to 1980, the church had a remarkable expansion and extended its reach to several European and American nations subsequent to establishing its presence in prominent urban centers and communities inside Nigeria.

The Exportation of Africa Indigenous Churches through "Japa"

The initiation of Christianity among Africans occurred during the early 15th century, facilitated by the efforts of Augustinian and Capuchin monks originating from Portugal. However, the commencement of mission activity may be traced back to the establishment of the first English-speaking Christian mission in Badagry in September 1842. Nevertheless, there seems to have been a shift in the current situation, as we are currently seeing a reversal in the mission. The African churches are currently engaged in a process of reasserting their missionary efforts in the western world. This comes after a prolonged period during which Western Christian missionaries sought to reshape the religious practices and beliefs of indigenous Africans. In response, Black Christians residing in African countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, and South Africa have initiated the development of their own distinct denominational manifestations of Christianity. Referred to as African Independent Churches (AICs), these ecclesiastical movements have brought about significant changes in the theology, liturgy, and aesthetics of African churches, comparable in magnitude to those implemented by white Christian organizations. African Independent

Churches (AICs) include a diverse spectrum of religious movements, including the Aladura churches that emerged within the Yoruba Christian community in Nigeria, the Zion Christian congregations originating from South Africa, and the Kimbangu Church, a missionary-oriented church that arose in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.While it may appear that individuals who engage in the practice of "Japa" are attempting to evade unfavorable working conditions, inadequate compensation, insecurity, and challenging economic circumstances in their home country, it is important to acknowledge that many of them still aspire for improved living conditions that would have incentivized them to remain in their place of origin.

African churches have played a significant role in providing hope and assistance to migrants and refugees in Europe and America, similar to their contributions to the refugee population in Nigeria. Hence, migrants who have departed from their place of origin actively want access to available immigrant communities (AICs) inside their host nation. Similar to the historical relocation of the Jewish temple in the shape of a Synagogue to Babylon, it is noteworthy that persecuted Christians sought refuge from Jerusalem by migrating to the nearby villages of Samaria, and then to Asia Minor, in pursuit of a more stable and secure environment. During the course of their migration, these marginalized individuals of the Christian religion relocated with their families, belongings, as well as their religious beliefs and cultural practices (Anim, 2019).

There are around twelve AICs that have established congregations throughout the United States. The religious organizations included under this list consist of the Celestial Church of Christ, the Deeper Life Bible Church, the Cherubim and Seraphim, the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, and the Redeemed Christian Church of God. It is noteworthy that an increasing quantity of African churches in the United States are mission churches that get sponsorship from denominational headquarters located in Africa, such as Lagos, Nigeria, or Accra, Ghana. This initiative establishes a transnational framework with the aim of advancing the worldwide objective of disseminating a message centered on Christian salvation and establishing churches to broaden the reach of AICs. The presence of these religious organizations has been more prominent in the religious landscape of Europe since the foundation of the first branches of the Church of the Lord Aladura (1964), Cherubim & Seraphim (1965), and the Celestial Church of Christ (1967) in London. It was from this location that subsequent branches, along with their subsequent breakaway groups, disseminated to other regions of Europe and North America. Another type of Aladura groups in the diaspora pertains to those that have arisen in Europe. These groups may have either separated from pre-existing Aladura organizations or have sprung from the charismatic qualities of a particular leader. One instance of the latter phenomenon is the establishment of the Aladura International Church in London, which was formed by Olu Abiola (Adogame, 2013). According to Benjamin Simon's history, it has been observed that the first African Initiated Church (AIC) in Germany was the Celestial Church of Christ, established in Munich in the year 1974 (Simmon, 2010). Additional religious assemblies were founded in Achen in 1991, in Franckfurt in 1993, and towards the conclusion of the 1990s in Bremen and Wippertal.

Socio-Economic Implications of "Japa" Syndrome

The expansion and dissemination of the African Independent Churches (AICs) have brought about several benefits, but Nigeria, the country of origin, has seen some social and economic repercussions. The reputation of Nigeria has been significantly tarnished due to the strong desire of its citizens to emigrate from the nation. The phenomenon of sub-Saharan Africans migrating via North Africa and then reaching Europe has attracted significant media scrutiny. According to the International Organization of Migration (IOM), a significant number of African migrants, over 600,000, have successfully reached Italy through the treacherous Central Mediterranean route since 2014. Furthermore, the year 2017 saw a substantial influx of approximately 120,000 African migrants to Italy. The pathway is well recognized for its perilous nature, including hazards such as traversing the Sahara Desert, enduring prolonged confinement in austere circumstances inside Libya, and encountering the potential for maritime accidents leading to capsizing. Despite a notable decline in migration figures in the year 2017, it is worth noting that the Libyan Coast Guard successfully intercepted and rescued around 20,000 people. The phenomenon of migration via Niger and onward to Libya has attracted significant attention, prompting European countries to actively pursue measures aimed at impeding the flow of migrants (Kirwin & Anderson, 2018). A significant portion of the unauthorized migrants consists of individuals from Nigeria who are actively seeking various methods to depart the country, therefore negatively impacting the country's reputation among the international community.

It is imperative to acknowledge that the institution of family, as a fundamental element within Nigerian culture, is experiencing significant challenges attributed to the phenomenon known as

"Japa". The degree of desperation has escalated to the point that many parents are willing to entrust their children to a caretaker in order to go internationally. Liu (2023) argues that kinship relationships and borders undergo a process of contraction, transitioning from wide affiliations to the morphological unit of the nuclear family, which consists of parents and siblings. The majority of interpersonal relationships are unable to withstand physical separation and deteriorate due to the challenges posed by geographical move. In addition to the aforementioned strains, it is noteworthy to consider the element of secrecy surrounding the practice of "Japa". A limited number of individuals disclose their intentions to engage in the practice of "Japa" in advance, so prolonging the impact of their sudden departure by the lingering surprise it elicits. A group of intimate acquaintances collectively attend a social gathering on a certain evening, and thereafter, one member of the group publicly posts an image taken at an airport on a popular online platform. The absence of transparency in a friendship is often seen as an act of betrayal.

The nation is now experiencing the adverse effects of brain drain, which may be attributed directly to the phenomenon known as "Japa" syndrome. According to available data, there is an estimated presence of around 5,405 healthcare professionals, including physicians and nurses, who have had their training in Nigeria and are now employed within the National Health Services (NHS) of the United Kingdom (UK). The magnitude of the figure is remarkable considering the initial scarcity of medical staff in the nation. The phenomenon of brain drain is seen across several academic disciplines. There is concern that individuals with expertise in fields such as engineering, medicine, education, law, and information technology are not the exclusive demographic travelling in search of improved prospects. Currently, a significant number of Nigerians engage in various occupations, sometimes resorting to unconventional methods, such as working as cleaners, taxi drivers, laborers, hairdressers, or mechanics, among other professions (This Day, 2023).

Conclusion

The emigration of Nigerians to European nations has been a persistent issue for a considerable duration, representing a longstanding challenge for the nation. The sense of urgency and desperation shown by the character "Japa" seems to be a novel development. A significant number of Nigerian individuals have migrated to other countries in quest of improved living conditions and enhanced personal safety. However, many have come to realize that the reality of their experiences abroad does not always align with their initial expectations. Numerous Nigerian immigrants residing in their respective host nations encounter various obstacles, including matters pertaining to assimilation, prejudice, and the acquisition of fundamental amenities.

Consequently, the expansion of the African Independent Church Movement (AICS) has been seen, particularly in the regions of America and Europe, thus facilitating the advancement of Africanized Christianity. Similarly, individuals of African descent have a strong desire to safeguard their cultural heritage and prevent their offspring from adopting external ideologies that may supplant their indigenous principles. The intrinsic nature of the African Independent Churches (AICs) provides a distinct feeling of identity for those of African descent living outside of Africa, since it is the very foundation upon which these churches were established.

The significant consequences of "Japa" syndrome include brain drain, employment mobility, and the movement of the young, who comprise the nation's productive population. These factors should be seen as a latent threat with the potential to escalate. Therefore, it is imperative for the federal government to provide a conducive atmosphere that fosters the growth and maximization of the potential of young individuals. This measure would effectively minimize irregular migration and incentivize individuals to repatriate from the diaspora. The qualitative model in this paper focuses on Nigeria, but future research could be expanded to include other African countries. Also, the impact of Pentecostal churches in Nigeria, in propagation of Christianity in diaspora could further be explored.

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INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY ADOPTION IN NIGERIAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION; PERSPECTIVES CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

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Local Government, Administration, Reform, Digitalization, Information Age

ABSTRACT
The paper reveals the sustainable transformation of Local Government Administration in the contemporary digital age. The previous related studies merely focused on local government reforms. Therefore, this paper is to fill the literature gap by finding how local government administration will be computerized to conform with the global system and challenges of digitalization for effective service delivery, efficient administration and development. Virtually, it is discovered that local governments are in dearth of computer literate staff, computer application in operations, adequate financial resources and self-autonomy. The paper adopted the qualitative / secondary method of data collection and analysis. It used theoretical perspectives of the democratic participation, globalization, development school and localist. The study highlights the procedure, how local government evolution and reforms will culminate to digital era. Local government administration in Nigeria today is faced with problems of digitalization to cope with modern challenges of the use of computer and other electronic gadgets for effective record keeping, data processing, storage and retrieval of information. The objective of the paper focused on how local government administration will be adapted to meet the global trends of information age to attain much needed development at the grass root level. Based on these findings, the paper recommends that relative autonomy and direct funding from the federal government be guaranteed to the local governments to facilitate the adaptation and application of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in the stream of local government administration to stimulate development at the grass root level. The paper also envisages the prospects of managing potentially millions of records which every year poses constraints to proper record keeping in Nigerian local government administrations. It is however concluded that digitalized local government

administration system in Nigeria will bring rapid grass root development, efficient discharge of community services, welfare and professionalism within the milieu of local government services.

Introduction

Local government administration in Nigeria faces unending demand and complex community expectations amidst global challenges of digitalization for effective service delivery. Strategic efforts by the federal and state governments such as direct funding and computerizing local government system to explore the potential of capturing and sharing global innovations to meet post-modern standards and develop up to date local government platform is highly solicited.

The Nigerian local government administration can be digitalized at helm of information age through strategic planning, dynamism, openness, funding, optimum utilization of resources and globalized communication that connects local government with modern information technology to maximize service delivery opportunities to reduce costs through elimination of duplications, access economies of scale, develop effective local platform to compete and work with other levels of governments to achieve better outcomes for the community.

Digitalization efforts provide means to assist local governments with techniques of making important decisions and policies about financial and administrative operations through computer framework. For long in Nigeria, local governments remained conservative, static and unsung tier of government which sprung from the British colonial administration and maintains its status quo. And despite the subsequent several reforms, local government in Nigeria are yet to conform to global standards of British "shires" or Canadian "cantons" or American "counties" in the era of millennium development goals (MDG). The objective (s) of this paper is to; enlighten the importance of digital servicing of local government administration in Nigeria, enable local government administration tackle and reduce the problem of corruption through the use of computer, recommend for improving local government efficient service through computer application, modernize local government administration by exposing it to the phenomenon of globalization, galvanize local government employees go for computer training and attain computer literacy and, finally promote and shade more light on the paramount importance of using computer for local government administration so that all benefits will be achieved and the system be transformed from the manual to digital for development. Why some previous literature said nothing on digitalizing local government system? The problem of investigation of this paper includes finding the knowhow for computer application in Nigerian local government administration. Since previous literature on local government studies left the gap of information technology adoption which this paper seeks to fill in relation to local government administration for relevance to digital age. The first local government reform in 1976, local governments in Nigeria have been operating and rendering their administrative, societal and clerical services to communities manually. The conservatives or static tradition of local governments had delayed development to the grass root communities. Moreover, local governments are personalized, jaundiced, paralyzed and battered to such an extent that they are forgotten and submerged in the lowest depths of political bureaucracy. And with current challenges of information technology, local governments are losing relevance in Nigerian civil service.

The hypothesis is that the more local government administration is digitalized, the more efficient and effective will be its service and bureaucratic procedures vis-à-vis the entire civil service of the state government as local government is linked to the three tiers of government in Nigeria. Last, digitalizing the local government administration will enable the system meet the post-modern challenges of globalization, sustain transparency, accountability, information management and truncate the cankerworm of corruption to make distinction in the life and modus operandi of the 774 local governments across the country. Although the use of electronic computer in the developing country like Nigeria may result in substantial reduction in the growth rate of clerical jobs thereby creating unemployment. The fact still remains that the use of computer has also created new and more remunerative jobs in Nigeria. The research problem of this paper is to fill the literature gap by finding how local government administration will be digitalized through the adoption of information technology in Nigeria and this will ensure relevance of local government system in globalizing information age.

Literature Review

Many related literature abounds in conception of local government. Mawhood, (1993) defines local government as a body separated by the law which has local representative, formal power and have right to make decision on a range of public matters. Agbakoba and Ogbonna (2004) conceived local government from legal perspective as political administrative unit empowered by law to administer specific locality. Local government is also seen as an entity which is elected to locally oversee affairs (olisa cited in Awofeso, 2005). Akpan, (1967) said that local government implies the breaking down of a country into smaller units / localities for the purpose of administration in which elected representatives exercise power to undertake functions under the general authority of the national government. Local government is the legal corporate body (Campbell, 1965). The International Unit of Local Government Administration (IULA), the world wide association of local government during the 26th world congress in 1985 defined local government as:

"That level of government with constitutionally defined rights and duties to regulate and manage public affairs which are also constitutionally defined for the exclusive interest of local population. These rights and duties shall be exercised by individuals that are freely elected on periodic basis by equal, universal suffrage while its chief executive shall be elected with full participation of the elected."

According to Gaffoor (2008: 37) knowledge management can improve local government performance by means of innovation, quality enhancement and increased productivity and effectiveness. Local government administration should be able to manage the transformation of data into information (Gaffor and Cloete, 2010: 2). Data are objective facts that describe a phenomenon without any judgement, perspective or context, and it becomes information when meaning is added to it (Mohammed, 2014: 48). Information is the result of processed and structured data which is anchored in the beliefs, views and obligations of its holders, the local government employees (Ramdhania, 2012: 3). There is also an opportunity for the development of local government administration if connected to internet. Averweg (2012: 5) argues that internet technology plays key role in local government administration by supporting the effective acquisition, presentation and dissemination of knowledge and information. A study conducted by Gaffoor and Cloete (2010: 2) on Stellenbosch municipality in South Africa surveyed how local government administrations were capable of successfully implementing information technology as tactical tool to achieve operational goals and enabled service delivery. The local government administration has one ability to provide users with access to any information anywhere and anytime through groupware, web-based access to data bases and repositories that include best practices databases and lessons learned systems. But due to the lack of installing digital system and access to information resources, the local government administration is not all effective and functional. In Nigeria, the ICT policy component domestication capacity at local government is state based for the E-payment of staff salaries, retrieval staff list and bio-data information. This is to some extent the response of local government administration to information technology.

The internet infrastructure must be connected to the local government administration to modernize it and offer basic functionality for communication, exchange, storage, searching, calculating, as well as retrieval of data and documents. Local government administration in Nigeria should invest in comprehensive technological infrastructure such as communication systems and information technologies such as chart rooms, telephones, computer and video conferences for development, standardization and adaptability to digital age (Sedighi and Zand, 2012: 14). The key for local government administration is to understand how technology is developed and how it is aligned to organizational strategy and information processing (Margilaj and Bello, 2015: 19).

There are empirical studies and recent researches related to the local government administration though did not suggests information technology adoption in the local government system the gap of literature which this paper intends to fill. The most recent proponent of this theory is Robert Dahl (Ezeanu, 2004). The theory argued that local government is the superior to other levels of government at municipality level. The reason being that local government affords the citizens opportunities for education, economy and grass root political participation. The theory argues that local government is a nursery that prepares legislature i.e. is a good recruiting ground for the upper levels of government (Mackenzie, 1961 in Ezeanu, 2004). Thus it is necessary for local government administration to carry along with all changes of community as digital age has taken over the era of globalization.

Another theory related to local government is the development theory which placed much emphasis on how local government in developing

countries can be effective agent of political integration, nation-building, social and economic development (Ezeani, 2004). Again, the proponents of this model contend that far more than in developed countries, local government in developing nations can be and should have the function of helping to reduce the congestion at the centre. Thus, local government is seen as an arena of implementing socio-economic programmes by providing communication infrastructure necessary for an improved way of life i.e information technology (Ola in Ezeani, 1984). This could be likened to the modernization theory of Rostow, (1969) which centred on developmental stage of the society. However, this paper also extends two theories namely; the localist and globalization theories which supports introduction of information technology in Nigeria local government administration. This paper further contributes that there must be prospects of information technology in local government such as safe storage and faster retrieval system, improved reporting, electronic data processing, error reduction and automatic production of documents and reports.

The localist perspective was also proposed by Jones and Stewart (Stroken, 1992) which maintains the effectiveness of local authorities for being autonomous. They believed that there is value in spread of power and the involvement of many decision makers in many different localities. Again they contended that local government as local is accessible and responsible to the development of local needs therefore must modernize its administration by embracing all changes introduced by globalization. This is because it is through introducing information technology at the local level that development could be attained for the transformation to be total has to stem from the local people.

The last not the least is the theory of globalization. Globalization here is the movement of information technology across global frontiers. It emerges form the global mechanisms of greater integration of communication worldwide. There is increasing flexibility of technology to connect people and governments around the world. Thus the global communication system is gaining an increasing importance every day and is operating to link local, national and international spheres of the globe to extend the horizon of global context using the new technology, the digital technology. The modern communication system implies structural modifications in social, economic, political and cultural patterns of nations. Thus the new technological advances in communication are becoming more accessible even to local entities. The theory of globalization coincides with several elements of modernization theory which is a transformative process that a society must move to modernity and its traditional structures and values must be totally absorbed and replaced by a set of modern values. This paper has opted the localist theory as priority theory though differently as it advocates the adoption of information technology at grassroot level of administration in order to cope with contemporary trends and changes brought by globalization in our information age, so that local governments will be modernized functionally, systematically and structurally. This will fill the information technology infrastructure gap to achieve transformation and development of local communities.

Evolution of Local Government Administration and Reforms in Nigeria

The origin of local government administration in Nigeria is deeply embedded in the colonial period. The British administration established native authorities supervised by British resident officers (Ayoade, 1995 in Aborisade and Moudnt (ed) 1995). In this system, Obikeze and Anthony (2004: 129) concluded that local government administration was purely an instrument for colonial exploitation of the Anglo-African colonies.

i. The 1976 Reform.

This era was a watershed in the historical evolution of modern Nigerian local government administration that came with the following objectives:

i. To bring rapid and even development in the country.

ii. To facilitate development of local wishes by delegating local representative bodies.

iii. Mobilize local human and natural resources for development.

iv. To develop democratic self-government at grass root levels to encourage the initiatives of leadership potentials.

v. To provide channels of communication networks between local communities and the government (Obi and Obikeze, 2004).

The Murtala / Obasanjo regime created 301 local government administrations between 1976 – 1979 which increased to 774 in 1998 (Aiyedun, 2001) and each received grants from the federal government (Ayodele, 1995).

ii. Second Republic Reform, 1979.

Under this era, local government administration was abused, politicized and marginalized as an avenue for rewarding political allies. Thus (Obikeze and Anthony, 2004) concluded that this era marked anti-climax in the evolution of local government in Nigeria.

iii. The Dasuki Reform, 1984.

The Buhari administration in 1984 inaugurated the Dasuki's panel to look into the affairs of local government in which their recommendations were:

i. Direct funding of local government as an effective third tier of government.

ii. Abolishment of local government ministries.

iii. A non-party tier election into the council.

iv. The Babangida's Reform 1988.

It was a ten men committee which produced a national scheme of service for all cadres of local government employees which tried to bring a complete autonomy to the local government within the framework of the following recommendations:

i. Termination of state government joint account within local government.

ii. Local government chairmen to appoint their secretaries.

iii. Created local government legislative councils.

iv. Remitting to states of annual local government grants was stopped.

v. It scrapped the local government service commissions in January, 1992.

v. The 2004 Reforms.

In 2004, Alhaji Sanda, Ndayako the Etsu of Nupe Technical Committee was set by the then president Olusegun Obasanjo but unfornately, the Etsu died in duty but was replaced by Mallam Liman Ciroma who also died and his deputy Prof. Akin Mabogunje brought the recommendations, viz;

i. The retention of 774 local governments.

ii. The abolishing of the state joint local government account.

iii. The need to grant the local government third tier status.

iv. A shift from presidential to parliamentary system at the local government level.

Methodology

This paper adopts the documentary method with secondary source of data collection which obtains information from textbooks, journals, articles, periodicals, newspapers, magazines and bulk of library works. Normatively, it traces the history of local government administration in Nigeria from colonial native authorities to the era of local government reforms from 1976 - 2004. This expounds the development of local government administration during both military and civil rules of Nigeria. The method qualitatively explores the process of post-modernization i.e digital era and applies it to the local government system to conform to global trends of computer application in civil service.

The research chooses secondary source of data collection because of its simplicity, objectivity, reliability and validity. The choice tallies with the nature of local government and the dynamics of information age which makes it difficult to obtain through primary source hence reliance on secondary data. The qualitative method records the past, explains the present and predicts the future (prospects) of local government administration. In doing so, descriptive and explanatory means of data gathering is required which does not involve statistical techniques such as graphs, numerical tables and charts, nor does it choose instruments of data collection like sampling of population because that does not fit this type of research.

Discussion of Results/Findings

The discussion of result is based on the literature reviewed above. It is pertinent to remark from the fact that the world society is now undergoing a transition from what has been referred to as industrial society to the current information society. And due to the lack of adequate integrated information technology infrastructure, Nigerian local government administration remains quite poor, inefficient in consistent, static and unproductive in its services. The information

revolution has drawn a demarcation between the countries of the South and those of the North as the entire international system of stratification has come to be based on "who knows what", as information technology has taken over everything economy, politics, culture, research, trade, entrepreneurship etc. Thus the need for the use of computer is imperative for the local government administration in order to cope with the rapid expansion and growth in size of intelligence, business, terrorism and complexity of internal and external threat to the national security. The use of electronic computer will revolutionalize the system from the traditional / manual mode of data processing to much faster and modern one, the computer as a wonderful "mind tool" in all aspects of administration which excel in accuracy, timeliness and quality of output and will solve entire problems associated in local government administration, via;

i. Electronic Data Processing: Computer can process many thousands of transactions at incredible speeds, and high speed printers enable output to be produced at thousands lines per minute.

ii. Error Reduction: Once Programmed: The computer is virtually error-free in both processing and performing mathematical calculations. Manual systems are much more prone to human error.

iii. Automatic Production of Documents and Reports: The computer can be programmed to produce automatic up to date reports on request and accounting documents such as invoices, cheques and statements of account.

iv. Improved Reporting: The computerized system can be used to generate a wide range of reports such as analyses of salaries by grade, nominal and payrolls, payments made on projects, strategic managerial and operational planning, purchases, contracts, recruitment / employment record, staff training / development, policy standardization and bank transactions.

v. Safe Storage and Faster Retrieval System: Almost all computers use a variety of memory organize in a storage hierarchy around the Central Processing Unit (CPU). The purpose of storage is to help, keep files and inform servers which in turn transfer data between computers in a network. There are different types of storage such as primary storage, secondary storage, tertiary storage and off line or disconnected storage. Records can be searched and retrieved on the basis of document – retrieval systems and reference – retrieval systems from the database systems.

General Challenges of Local Government Administration

1. Lack of computer literacy: Almost two-third of local government employees could not operate computer machine in their respective places of work.

2. Lack of adequate training: Most local government employees does not undergo training and as such lacks sufficient manpower skills.

3. Lack of financial resources: Due to joint account with the state government, local government is pauperized and has shortage of fund which jeopardize its projects.

4. Staticity of local government. The service and administration of local government is retrogressive as there is no dynamism.

5. Prevalence of corruption: Covers all facets of corruption in local government administration which include bribery, extortion, gratification, abuse of office, renewal of contracts and payment vouchers, falsification of records, nepotism, favouritism, fraudulent submissions, back dating records, impersonation, bloating financial figures, embezzlement, extravagance, swindling and looting of public treasury.

6. Lack of Autonomy: Local Government lacks independent financial status due to joint account with the state government and economic autonomy is inadequate without political autonomy.

7. Desolation: The Local Government system all over the nation is deteriorative and decadent to such an extent that local government secretariats are "desolated buildings" without employees. Local government therefore appears as "dead end or organization without responsibility.

8. Overstaffing: Local Government accommodates large number of staff due to random recruitment of staff (fresh and replaced staffing).

9. Redundancy: Redundancy is common in Nigerian local government administration for unavailability of schedule of duties.

10. Political Subjugation of State Government: Local Government administration is politicized, paralyzed, jaundiced, battered and hijacked as an avenue for rewarding political allies (partisan veterans) e.g through selfish appointments not based on merit (no meritocracy in local government bureaucracy).

11. Administrative / Civil Hitches: This encapsulates lack of prompt promotion and inclusion into the payroll of employees.

12. Absence of Proper Remuneration: Most Local Government employees end up their service without gratuities / retirement benefits or stipulated pensions. This destroys the morale of local government workers.

Conclusion

The paper is to be concluded by way of highlighting its major findings on the foregoing. This include the discovery of the paper that local government administration. Similarly, local government administration in Nigeria is found to be corrupt, unproductive, retrogressive and inefficient in service delivery. However, it can be reformed through the adoption of information technology to bring rapid grassroots development, efficient discharge of community services, welfare and professionalism within the milieu of Nigerian local government services. Nigerian local government administration is pauperized of financial resources and in dearth of self-autonomy because of economic monopoly by the state government and cannot provide development projects at the grass root level. The computer literacy is absent in the local government system as file and record keepings are manually operated. Formerly, local government was a beehive of grass root activities but today turns as a desolated grave yard. Redundancy is now a common feature of the Nigerian local government administrations. The local government administration lacks well-trained or professional employees to tackle its average manpower need. The development quagmire exists in local government because it is politicized and marginalized by the political stakeholders of the state government and is used as an extended unit of state administration.

Recommendations

Based on its findings, this paper proposes the following recommendations for adoption of information technology in Nigerian local government administration/system.

i. Digitalization of local government to revolutionalize its mode of operation from manual to digital as digitalization will speed up service delivery and overcome the problem of red-tapism in local government bureaucracy.

ii. General adoption and use of computer. Computer literacy programme must be made mandatory for the local government staff to enable them operate computer machinery.

iii. Digitalization is essential to make local government administration dynamic, up to date, efficient, productive and developmental.

iv. Computerization of local government system for security / safety of information (data, reports and records).

v. Establish connection / linkage of local government with the new world system of global administration in digital era.

vi. Installation of information technology infrastructure in 774 local government administrations in Nigeria for efficiency, productivity and development.

vii. Minimization of corruption in local government administration can be effectualized via digitalization of the system.

viii. Provision of adequate computerlaboratory or training ground for local government employees to acquire required manpower skills for good administration.

ix. Digital attendance of local government staff will reduce the problem of absenteeism and desolation.

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JOHN RAWLS' THEORY OF DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE AND CHIEFTAINCY TUSSLES IN TAKUM LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF TARABA STATE 1996-2023

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Chieftaincy tussle, distributive theory of justice, injustice, Taraba State

ABSTRACT
This study is a contribution to knowledge on the existence of succession tussles within the Takum traditional council. The study focused on the dynamics of the tussle and was anchored on John Rawls' Theory of Distributive Justice. This paper adopted expos facto research design and gathered data through secondary sources like, books, journals articles, manuscripts, internet materials, conference papers etc, content analysis was used to analyse data gathered. The study found that the genesis of the problem was colonial interference in the districts through the forceful amalgamation of 1914 of the Takum district and the Zumperi district and the subsequent disrobement of Yamusa Galumje and his replacement with Ukwe Ahmadu Kuffang. The paper recommends that the government should immediately take actions that will facilitate the occupation of the vacant stool and the good people of Takum must be ready to embrace the sharing formula that will capture the interest of both kuteb, Jukun , Chamba other ethnic nationalities that sojourned in Takum for the sake of peace and distributive Justice.

Introduction

The development of a society depends on several factors, her cherished traditional institution included. Traditional institutions and rulers have played important roles in development administration of States in Africa. But the politics of each community has also made the institutions not to be free from some kinds of conflicts and the multiplier effects of such conflicts (Ahmed-Gamgum, 2021). Consequently, modern government has not ignored the traditional institutions as part of its development programs to

ensure that no community under-develops itself and indeed the State as a result of conflict.

The relevance of chieftaincy institution as a tool for development in pre-colonial, colonial, independence and post-independence periods of Nigeria cannot be over-emphasized. As a continuing traditional structure and practice, it's seen by many as a system that aids in harmonizing the country's development and governance effort. Awedoba, (2009) is of the view that most chiefs in various communities have become agents of development and thus, they are essential to contemporary local governance.

Post-colonial Africa had witnessed intermittent and endemic upsurge in chieftaincy disputes, which obviously raises variety of security challenges that constitute setbacks to national development. However, any serious study or analyses of chieftaincy dispute in Africa must necessarily be situated within the context of the post-colonial political economy of most African States.

It is a fact that since Nigeria's independence, just as in most other African countries, it has been plagued with various forms of communal conflicts, crisis and war that could be avoided (Zachariah, 2022). Taraba State has had its share of this unfortunate phenomenon in recent times.

In Nigeria for instance, no state or local government area is protected from the destructive ugly experiences of conflict or crisis. No doubt, these conflicts have contributed to the current security and national development challenges of the country and likewise in many other African States. Thus, domestic communal conflicts accounted for the wanton loss of lives and estimated amount of valuable property in various parts of the country. Some of the conflict is not necessarily ethnic, but both religious, political and economic. In their competition for the national resources, the various regional factions of the privileged classes employ institutionalized and non-institutionalized means to limit competition in favour of one faction or the combination of factions (Nnoli, 2008).

The actual importance of chieftaincy is essentially for the proper and effective functioning of the society. In spite of this assumption, it has bred with issues that have strong implications for the stability and development of the country, state and community. Some of these issues have been widely reported to include succession conflicts, corruption, land dispute, political interference, and authority over resources. Succession conflicts seem to be the raison d'être of most chieftaincy maladies that affects the stability of the institution and the society as a whole.

The developmental implications of chieftaincy succession conflicts in Nigeria are the major cause for worry and concern among Nigerians. Awodoba, (2009) in Ahorsu et al. (2014) mentioned several instances of succession conflicts in Ghana to include "Ga-Mantse" succession conflicts, the "Anlo" chieftaincy conflict, the "Adoagyiri" crises, the "Tuabodom" chieftaincy succession conflict etc. This postulation has unequivocally demonstrated that chieftaincy tussles is not only akin to Taraba State or Nigeria but is a African phenomenon. In Nigeria, we experienced the Orisa of Odo-Ijesa succession conflict of Osun state. Presently conflict is gradually brewing in Ijesa town of Abeokuta, Ogun State as two candidates are laying claims to the vacant Oluwo chieftaincy title of the town ,Aresa- Adu succession conflict of Surulere local government of Oyo state 2021, the "Ukwe" succession conflict of 1996 in Takum local government area of Taraba State, Ochi Idoma chieftaincy or succession conflict of 2022,Otukpo local government area of Benue State, Chief of Kurmi succession conflict of 2014, of Kurmi local government area of Taraba State, and also Sardauna succession crisis of 2017 among many others.

Conflict being the number one issue in the traditional institution, Eshun & Dankwa, (2019) are of the opinion that, issues of recognition or de-recognition, problems of eligibility of succession, political interference contributes to chieftaincy succession conflicts in most traditional areas. Therefore, in lieu of the importance of the traditional institution, experiences and recent studies characterize chieftaincy succession in Nigeria with plethora of issues to be specific, conflicts which serve as a potential source of instability.

Chieftaincy maladies thus, can be categorised as a problem affecting the installation of chief. In this case, chieftaincy conflict is the disagreement between factions or groups within society due to an installation of a chief. The Ukwe Traditional stool, being one of the noticeable, revered first class stool in recent years in Takum have been engaged in contested succession process after the demised of Ukwe Ali Ibrahim Kuffang II.

Different political thinkers, philosophers and scholars of different fields, spaces and times have made excellent attempts and contributions to explain the causes and implications, or proffer solutions to various chieftaincy tussles based on their background and socio-economic situations.

They believed that causes of chieftaincy tussles hinges on economic, political and socio-cultural perspective. It is also imperative to note that justice is the virtue of social institution as truth is of systems of thought. A theory however elegant and economical must be rejected or revised if it is untrue, likewise laws and institutions no matter how efficient and well-arranged must be reformed or abolished if they are unjust (Rawls, 1972).

Understanding the origin of the institution is necessary to unravel the conflicts in the structure. Much progress has been made in the field of culture and chieftaincy at the normative and the operational levels, but clearly the gap in the definition, history, existence and relevance of the institution in Nigeria remains wide. Scholarly works abound in defining and tracing the historical antecedents of chieftaincy resulting in expression of it relevance.

It very important to note that the manifestation of social tension which often made manifest in conflict situations in contemporary world, especially Nigeria is of great concern to every meaningful stakeholder with the mindset of having a better society. Based on the findings from the study of social tension and social situation, (Ivano et al, 2017) posited that the feeling of negative dynamics prevails, at least with respect to:

i. economic welfare

ii. lack of poor observance of the principle of equality before the law, justice and rights

iii. interethnic relations which is closely related to the issues of migration leading to the interethnic tension, etc. Therefore, the scholars noted that the determination of protest activity is of a multi-factorial character and social tension determined by both long and short situational circumstances.

Throughout the literature search and review process of this research, the current study viewed that there is serious ongoing debate on the vacant first-class stool of Takum Local Government Area of Taraba State and communal conflict from different spheres of writers, including academics, activists, analysts, policy makers, jurist, etc. Many like Mgbe (1981), Matudi (1983), Hassan (1995) and (2016), Irambiya (2002), Filibus (2017) and (2022), Yakubu (2018), Arean (2019) etc have deal relatively and extensively well, but separately on these phenomena. Similarly, other researchers such as Ahiave (2015), Merton (1996), Elwell (2013),Eshun and Dankwa (2019), Owusu-mensah (2013), Nnoli (2003), Zachariah (2022), Otubu (2015), Issifu (2021), Nwanegbo (2014) and plethora of others who had written on crops of chieftaincy tussle and communal conflicts; yet none of the cited literature was able to consider or talk about or finding solutions to chieftaincy tussle through John Rawls' theory of distributive justice as a means of resolving chieftaincy tussle and to avoid the replication of these phenomena. Therefore, the current research is aimed at bridging the intellectual gap observed above, suggest ways to curbing the phenomena and such as, contributes it quota on the existing debate.

In view of the above, this study seeks to bridge the gap in knowledge on the subject matter by addressing this research question: Does unjust transfer of the chieftaincy stool account for the protracted social tension in Takum local government area of Taraba State from 1996-2023?

Theoretical Framework

John Rawls' Theory of Distributive Justice

John Rawls was a Professor Emeritus at Harvard University. He is the author of the well-known and path breaking "A Theory of Justice" (Harvard, 1971) and the more recent work "Political Liberalism" (Columbia, 1996).

John Rawls' principle of distributive justice is a central component of his theory of justice as fairness. Rawls argues that in a just society, the distribution of social and economic goods should be arranged to benefits the least advantaged members of society. He proposes two principles of justice that govern the distribution of resources and opportunities:

i. The Principle of Equal Basic Liberties: According to this principle, each individual is entitled to the greatest possible liberty. It encompasses fundamental rights such as freedom of speech, assemble and religion. Rawls emphasizes that these basic liberties should be distributed equally among all members of society.

ii. The Difference Principle: The difference principle focuses on social- economic inequalities. It states that inequalities in the distribution of wealth, income, and resources are justifiable only if they result in benefits for the least advantaged members of the society. In other words, inequalities are permissible if the work to the advantage of those with the least amount of social and economic opportunities.

To implement the difference principles, Rawls proposes the concepts of "Veil of Ignorance". He suggested that individuals should imagine themselves in a hypothetical position where they have no knowledge of their own specific characteristics such as their social status, talents or personal circumstances (John,2014). This "Veil of Ignorance'' ensures impartiality and helps individuals design a just society without bias towards their own self-interests. Under the veil of ignorance, individuals would naturally strive to create a society that provides the greatest benefits to the least advantaged, as they could potentially find themselves in that position.

Rawls' principle of distributive justice aims to address social and economic inequalities through a fair distribution of resources and opportunities. By prioritizing the well-being of the least advantaged members of society, Rawls seeks to create a more just and equitable society where everyone has a reasonable chance to pursue their own goals and inspirations (John, 2014).

John Rawls' Theory of Justice is a sound theory which says that a well-ordered society needed a concept of justice as a basic requirement and such a concept could be developed by rational individuals behind a "veil of Ignorance" about their own positions, and that it would involve, primarily, equal right to basic liberties for all, and secondly that social and economic inequalities should derive from equal opportunities and in the end should benefit the least advantaged.

The natural distribution is neither just nor unjust; nor is it unjust that persons are born into society at some particular position. These are simply natural facts. What is just and unjust is the way that institutions deal with these facts. In justice as fairness men agree to share one another's fate. In designing institutions, they undertake to avail themselves of the accidents of nature and social circumstance only when doing so is for the common benefit. The two principles are a fair way of meeting the arbitrariness opportunities; and while no doubt imperfect in other ways, the institutions which satisfy these principles are just.

Prior to the inversion and colonization of the area that made up the contemporary Nigeria which include the study area were formally a fragmented autonomous kingdoms and empires that were sojourned by different people of distinct history, political-economic and socio-cultural practices (Zachariah,2022). These groups whether as individuals or groups occupied and controlled their diverse jurisdictions according to their common norms and value systems.

Each of these autonomous societies (Kingdom/empires) has established native authorities (government) whose primary objective was to safe-guide the sphere of the people and to settle dispute between aggrieved members of their various societies. In addition, people of these societies who thought, each of them was ''absolute lord of his own person and possessions, united themselves in a political community for the mutual preservation" of their lives and property from both internal and external aggression on their right to lives and just ownership.

Furthermore, almost all of these individuals, groups, communities, societies, kingdoms or empires held crucial territorial sphere which they initially occupy and control as originally theirs or through ancestral succession. Hence, land and chieftaincy title has been closely linked to peoples 'communities' identity, history, culture and so on, and people can readily mobilize around land and chieftaincy issues. Incidentally therefore, if their property is expropriated, there are feelings of attack on their personality. In the words of Gratius (Olivecrona,1974) in (Zachariah, 2022) for example "in a farmer is deprived of the soil which him and his forefathers have cultivated for generations, he will feel it as a severe amputation'' which the aggrieved person has the right to react by using any means available, including the courts or the application of force in order to defend their interests, which is similarly the case of Takum.

Regrettably to say that the advent of colonial rules in Africa confused territoriality to sovereignty as well as combined African rituals role by exerting authority over people in various clans or chiefdoms; and where there is none, they forcefully created one to suit their imperialistic whims and caprices (Zachariah, 2022). Needless to say, that was how Nigeria like many African countries or States, specifically Takum came to be. Different societies were forcefully taken over people of different history and culture were lumped together while introducing foreign culture without a complete obliteration of pre-existing local customs, norms and practices; resulting to this kind of dualism in almost every aspect of life among the citizenry.

Because of the forceful merger of the Tikari and Zumpere district that resulted to the unending social tension in Takum Local government area of Taraba State. John Rawls theory only emphasized just sharing of what is justly own by all member of the community. The peace and needed development of Takum can only come if there is justice in the sharing formula between the Chamba, Jukun, Kuteb and others who made up Takum local government. Justice is the first virtue of social

institutions, as truth is of systems of thought. A theory however elegant and economical must be rejected or revised if it is untrue; likewise, laws and institutions no matter how efficient and well-arranged must be reformed or abolished if they are unjust.

Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override (Rawl, 1972). Therefore, in a just society the liberties of equal citizenship are taken as settled; the rights secured by justice are not subject to political bargaining or to the calculus of social interests. By reason of the veil of ignorance, everyone will impartially choose the principles that would be fair and favourable to all (John,2014).

We must see the society as a cooperative venture for mutual advantage. That is, members of the society should be seen as equally cooperating with the individuals for the production of primary social goods. These social goods are rights, liberties, powers, opportunities, income and wealth. There arises a problem of distributive justice since individuals are not indifferent with regards to how the product of their cooperation is to be distributed (John,2014).

Methodology

This paper adopted expos facto research design and gathered data through secondary sources like, books, journals articles, manuscripts, internet materials, conference papers etc. We used content analysis to analyse data gathered.

Unjust Transfer of Chieftaincy Stool and the Unending Social Tension

The aftermath of social tension has prevalent potential to cause a destructive economic and socio-political condition on the society, community, nation and indeed, the human race (Zachariah, 2022). It is important to note that the currency of social tension which always made manifest in conflict situations in the present world, especially Nigeria is of great concern to every meaningful stakeholder with the mindset of having a better society. In the other hand, this social phenomenon has drawn significant attentions of political leaders, policy/decision makers, intellectuals, academics, researchers, analysis, and so on, in the quest of seeking lasting solution.

One of the social situations with high level of potentiality for destructive violent conflict in every society is social tension which is itself an early sign of perceived injustice (Zachariah, 2022). Scholars have pointed out that any regulatory element which encounters resistance in the execution of social action is a source of social tension and potential tussle in such political society, (Orru,1983).

The problem surrounding the traditional stool of Takum, as it stands today, was the product of British colonial administration in 1912 and 1914 (Yakubu, 2017). The balkanization of the area into two administrative units in 1912 without a clear-cut territorial demarcation, as earlier noted, was arbitrary. And by putting each of the units under the Chamba and Kuteb headmen it left the impression that ethnic consideration was vital tool in their creation (Hassan, 1995). And other reasons must have been responsible for the merger of the two units in 1914 under Ahmadu Ibrahim Kuffang. The Chamba group became aggrieved by this merger and agitated for the recognition of their right to the Takum chieftaincy stool throughout the colonial era (Hassan, 1995).

The agitation by the Chamba over the Chieftaincy continued after the achievement of self –rule. As a result, the Northern Regional Government decided to resolve the problem through a democratic process by summoning the representative of concern groups to a meeting Tagged: "Taron Majilisar Takum" (Takum Council Meeting),on the 23rd July, 1962, to decide by voting, who between the Chamba and Kuteb are the rightful owners of the Takum Chieftaincy stool.

At the end of it all, The Kuteb scored 19 votes while Chamba 4. It was this process that gave rise to the Northern Regional Law no 56 of 1963 relating to the selection of the chief of Takum. While this law restricts legibility to the throne to the two Kuteb ruling houses of Akente and Likam, it however, expanded the council of traditional selectors to include the heads of other groups such as: Yerima Tikari, Sarkin Hausawa and Sarkin Jukun (Filibus, 2022).

In 1975, the Benue-Plateau State Government, which had earlier issued a circular in January 1972 titled "Takum Affairs" to deny the existence of any plan by the government to change the existing order relating to the Declaration of Takum Chieftaincy, enacted a new Law: BPSLA Legal Noticeno.2 of 1975 to that effect. This law was to replace the Native Authority legal Notice no 56 of 1963.

The problem with this new law is that apart from creating two new ruling houses: Dinyi and Tikari for the Chamba in addition to the two already existing ones: Likam and Akente; it restructures the composition of the council of traditional selectors.

Rawls' concern is with how social goods are distributed not according to merit, but by equality. Rawls' first concern, therefore, is with the way the major social institutions generate and accordingly circulate fundamental rights and duties. Hence, the basic thrust of the criterion of need is that the demands and benefits take cognizance of the needs of the people (John,2014).

The 1975 law was said to have been under surreptitious situations because it did not follow due process and not all the shake-holders were consulted as the case with the 1963 law (Hassan, 1995). The kuteb stake-holders took the Benue-Plateau State Government to court, instead of pointing out the wrong procedure adopted by the government in enacting that law, but they went ahead to questioned the power of the governor to make such law which they unfortunately lost. They however, got a respite from the Appeal Court in Kaduna, which upheld that because chieftaincy issues are administrative matters the state government should put in place the necessary administrative procedure to resolve the problem.

Conflicts are products of contradiction arising from disparities in interest, ideas, ideologies, orientations, perceptions and other tendencies (Osegbue, 2017). Added that these contradictions exist at all levels of society; individual, group, institution and nation, as well as inter-personal, inter-institutional and international relations. It crucial to note that various literature is in agreement to the fact that conflict is an ever present phenomenon in social relation; It is unavoidable in any social gathering, organization and society (Duverger, 1980; Galtung,1998,2011). This is in line with what Karl Marx said in his communist manifesto of 1849 when he opined that "the history of all (except the principle of communism) existing society is the history of class struggle" (Osegbue, 2017).

This simply implies that, firstly, "Man" lives in a community alongside others with various preferences, interests and aspirations, secondly, this community of "Men" is characterized by some sort of identities through which individuals are grouped or categorized. Thirdly, men in the community always seek dominance or to be equal or maintain the status quo; and thus, attempt to contradict any of these, has high capacity of generating conflict among men. Fourthly, conflict is a function of human relations defined by incompatible competing interests, be it capitalist, feudal, slave-master or agrarian society. Fifthly, so long as man and the society exist conflict also exist and conflict arises from one factor or the other; for instance, competitions over scarce resources which relates to chieftaincy, ethno-religious chauvinism, as well as other socio-political factors.

The long delay from both the people of Takum and the government of Taraba, does not only affected businesses but the entire socio-economic development of Takum whose peers had moved on in all spheres. Economically, no reasonable investor will invest in an environment that is always in constant conflicts. The persisted conflicts has led to lots of lives and properties worth more than millions which is capable of scaring any future investor who would not want to waste further resources in a place of such records. Psychologically, those who have in mind to come to Takum are always afraid of been kill or their properties been looted and destroyed. Some patiently awaits the date of enthronement of the new King so that they will have the courage to settle or build business.

Zachariah, (2022), postulated that social tension is a specific condition of social consciousness and social emotions which is characterized by the build-up of mental stress and irritability, frustration and deprivation, aggression of a significant part of society. The concept has been explained as the state of society or individuals in social groups characterized by ripening of discontent and protest activities (Ivanov et al, 2017). According to him orientation of protest activities is an exhibition of social tension. They further attributed meetings, demonstrations, strikes, and violent actions to active forms of protest.

Conclusion

Conflict has been examined in this study to be form of interaction among groups. In the case of the Chamba, Kuteb and Jukun, there have been series of conflict which created negative interaction among them. It is pertinent to reemphasized that these conflicts are anchored on some root factors which had become a recurrent decimal to the outbreak of subsequent conflicts. From British colonialism to the present dispensation, each group's historical experience has instilled in them a strong feeling of "we" referring to members of their own group and "them" alluding to members of other groups, establishing the in-group and out-group syndrome. Bigotry and prejudice are all part of the experience. However, as this study has shown, when it comes to the allocation of scarce economic resources and advantages, as well as political competition, these groups discriminate against one another.

From the brink of independence to the present dispensation, party politics has given the elite a stronger grip over the area, as well as the stabilization of ethnic politics, which frequently accompanied by either inter-ethnic violence. However, to resolving the problem of chieftaincy tussles we will need a real effort because of the colonial legacy of "divide and rule" and "winners takes it all" are address. As required by law, the government should be transparent in dealing with chieftaincy issues and effectively dealing with the perpetrators of inter-ethnic conflict.

People must realize that the Takum chiefdom as it exists now is colonial construct, and that chieftaincy has been founded on the Kuteb tradition and custom since then. Any transformation that will bring other groups to leadership must be accompanied by a democratic process. A close examination of the tussles in Takum, suggest that there are several factors that have necessitated the tussle. One common feature of all the crises is that they are rooted in same causes but with different factors as its immediate causes. This is to say that when the root causes of problems in any given society are not addressed, there will definitely be a recurrence of violence in that society. John Rawls Theory of Distributive Justice and the Chieftaincy tussles in Takum Local Government Area of Taraba State. (1996-2023) focused on John Rawls' political thought on Distributive Justice, in that, it viewed the theory as the key to ensuring lasting peace and development in Takum Local Government Area.

Recommendations

Having studied John Rawls' Theory of Distributive Justice and the Chieftaincy Tussles in Takum Local Government Area of Taraba State, the following recommendations are imperative; The paper recommends that the government should immediately take actions that will facilitate the occupation of the vacant stool and the good people of Takum must be ready to embrace the sharing formula that will capture the interest of both kuteb, Jukun , Chamba other ethnic nationalities that sojourned in Takum for the sake of peace and distributive Justice.

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WOMEN SELF-HELP GROUPS IN Community DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL SENATORIAL DISTRICT OF CROSS RIVER STATE

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ABSTRACT
In Cross River State today, rural poverty is rapidly in the increase. However, there are many ways to reduce poverty in rural communities in the State. Merely providing economic and social backingfor poor people in rural area, especially the women, has beenadjudged very useful in reducing poverty in rural communities.The Provision of necessarysupport or credit facility to the women helps to empower them, botheconomically and socially, as well as the entire community.Thiswork is therefore placed on this background to determineany association between Self-helpGroups (SHGs) and social and economic empowerment of people in the rural areas of the Senatorial District, and the rural women in particular, and to recommend appropriate waysto effectively improve the functioning of SHGs to improve the social andeconomic well-being of the people in rural area. On that note, the main data wascollected through field survey in the Local Government Areas in the Central Senatorial District oftheState. From the results and discussionsabout the achievementevaluation of rural womenSHGs and their role in the development of their communities, important findings of the study was illustrated.

Introduction

It is widely acknowledged that Nigeria is currently among the poor nations globally, and it is important to note that a larger number of the poor people reside in rural communities (Agbo, 200). Therefore, povertyis regarded as a devastating situation for majority of the ruralpeople in Nigeria. Specifically, the people of central Senatorial districtof Cross River State are more engulf in poverty, especially the women who are alwaysdeprived (Bayeh, 2017). In Nigeria, more rural poverty prevails majorly among the rural women. Studies have shown thatonemainsource of poverty among Nigeria's rural dwellers, whetheras individuals orcommunity, isinability to raise capitaland acquire the right resources for productive purposes. Furthermore, their low-level of educationalbackground, very poor healthcare system, and very little or no access to

basicamenities arevery common in the rural area (Echegu, 2018). In all of these, women are generally the most handicapped in rural Nigeria. Even when the women seriously partake in almost every economic activity, including agricultural works, the role they play is not always giving economic considerations (Ebonyi & Jimo, 2019). principally, poverty has much effects on the women folk. According to Nnana, Abonor, Tangban, Tiku, & Rita (2024), despite these circumstances, most women bear the financial burden of their children's education and healthcare, often without substantial support from their spouses or partners.

However, there exist ways to reduce poverty in rural Nigeria. Making availablenecessary support for the poor rural dwellers, especially women, has beendeemed very productive to bring down the level of poverty in that side of the country (Ajay, 2019). Making provision fornecessary support or interest freecredit facilities to the rural people has helped to empower them, bothfinancially, socially and health wise, which also goes a long way to strengthen theircommunity. Thepractice of discrimination against women base on gender is obviously noticedin so many ways in every segment of rural Nigeria. In most ruralcommunities, not only does the men discriminate against women, somegovernment initiatives are also skewed in favour of the men and neglecting the ability of womenwho have the capacity to control and manage resources even more economically than the men (Birchal,2005). The cherry news is that, there are platforms that have brought women to limelight in economic and social activities. In Nigeria today, Self-help Groups (SHGs), are special ways to economic and socialinterventions. It is a combine way to low-scale economic services plus a method of self-management and improvement in the life of the poor rural women who belong to theSHG (Alma & Associate, 2019). Self-help Groups are sometime assisted by Non-Government Organizations(NGOs) or even by some assigned Government Agencies after very rigorous bureaucratic bottle neck. The Self-help Groups are seen to bestow on members' numerous entitlements economically and socially in their community and beyond. It gives women ability to engagein savings and to have access to credit at all front including grantsand even bank and other financial houses who are readilyavailable to lend (Calkin & Ngo, 2018). The women SHGs have also giving communities opportunity where women can lean on, and become very active in community affairs, contest local elections or become very active to address social and economic issues in their community.

In the past, rural womenwere not consideredfor credit facilities or negligibly consideredto obtain loans due to social and cultural limitations. However, in recent times, Self-help Groups have become a meansfor a significant progress in improving the wellbeing ofrural women and reducing hardship (Akpomuvie, 2018). Meanwhile, the breakthrough by many of women's SHGs indicate that women at the rural area are indeed capable enoughto give good account, and can effectively coordinate productive resources within their control (Wilson, 2004).Hence, this paper is therefore placed on this context to investigateif there is anynexus between women SHGs and advancement inrural communities in central Senatorial district of Cross River State, and to recommend ways to improve on theactivities of SHGs to better the condition of living of rural people particularly women.

Methodology

Data for the studywas collected through survey method in the Central Senatorial District ofCross River State. Other means of data collectionfor the workinclude information from internet, books and journal articles. The paper was also anchored ondiscussions with many stakeholders including officials of Local Government Areas in thestudy area, Women groups, communityleaders, leaders of SHGs andother relevant stakeholders in the study area.

Literature Review

Rural Environment in Cross River State

The condition of the Nigerian rural sector is a deplorable one. Rural areas are occupied by the bulk of the nation's population and they serve as the base for the production of food and other primary resources. According to Olayiwole and Adeleye (2005), they are also the main source of capital accumulation for the community, and a major market for domestic goods in Nigeria. Giving support to the important role played by rural communities, Oduaran (1994), asserted that, the rural areas in Nigeria engage in primary activities that form the foundation for any economic development in the country. However, despite the importance of rural communities, they lack basic infrastructural facilities necessary to meet the needs of modern living. Most rural communities in Nigeria are characterized by low income, low saving, low investment, high population, gross illiteracy, informal groups, high rural-urban migration, low technology base, under employment, lack of good feeder roads, high morbidity and mortality rate (Oduaran, 1994). Although some of these characteristics are also

found in the urban centers, they are more noticeable in rural communitiesin Nigeria. To address the problems of the rural areas in Nigeria, the country has adopted several strategies or programmes over the years. According to Aguene (1998), these strategies or programmes are aimed at achieving the following objectives among others:

i. The creation of job for rural employment;

ii. To slow down themovement of rural people to urban centers;

iii. To diversify trade in the country-side and give assistance to improved methods of farming;

iv. To raise per capita income and standard of living of the people, that of theStates and national income;

v. The reduction of wealth and income imbalance between urban and rural areas; and

vi. Elimination of imbalances among geopolitical zones.

vii. Despite the various efforts to address the under-development of rural communities, there seems to be no significant improvement in rural environment including capital formation to change the lives of the people

Self-help Groups and Community Development

The main objective of community development has always been the improvement of life in the community. Ering, Nwagbara, and Ushie (2006), stressed that community development is aimed at the satisfaction of basic human needs (food, shelter and housing), potable water, light, good health, basic education, clean environment as well as access to satisfactory cultural, spiritual, social and political life. It also aims to improve the use of the resources of the community and then improve the productive capacity of the population, as well as improve in per capita income, betterment in standard of living and mobilization of the masses to ensure deep rooted and sustainable development. Therefore, the objective of rural development is about improving people's quality of life. Basically, community development embracesmany activities ranging from tackling of specific tasks, involving the welfare of the people to multipurpose programmes targeted at the transformation of the entire community (Osirike and Egbayebo,2018). This implies that community development has to do with raising the standard of living of people through improving education, health care services, politics and equality of opportunities for all. Community development also involves the deliberate efforts of the people of the community working as individuals or in groups to make their rural environment better for theirbenefit.

The women also believe they can be involved in activities that would develop their communities. The important role of women in promoting the well-being of communities has never been in doubt. Through Self-Help development strategy championed by women, many communities have been able to execute a wide variety of development projects. Women Self-help Groups (SHGs) are usually small number of individuals who willingly come together and form a groupto achieve common goal. In someinstances, SHGs are formed by people who are known by each otherand from the same community or locality. In the view of Saravanan (2019), self-help is always small in size with members ranging from between10 and 20. They always have some pre-group binding features. Women self-help groups are aimed at inducing change for the achievement of felt-needs and self-reliance in their communities (Otto & Ukpere, 2019). Thisgoes to show that, within every community, there are needs which are generally recognized and agreed by members of the community as posing a threat and therefore solution is needed.

Self-Help Groups in Central Senatorial District

Unfortunately, rural women in the CentralSenatorial District in Cross River Stateseems not to appear on top of any list providedby any Government Agency for thedisbursement of grants or credit facilities to social andeconomic groups either in the State orCountry (Essia, Mba, Ebokpo, Ekpo, & Obaj, 2017).This could probablybe as a resultofno impressive policy from the government at all levels.Nevertheless, women SHGs are beginning to appear in all areas of rural community life. The Self-help strategy advocates the need for people to improve their condition using local initiatives and resources (Abonor, Fidelis, Paul, &Eyang, 2024). In the Central Senatorial District, women SHGs is about carrying out developmental and capital projects in the rural area through community participation (Dogarawa, 2005). It is an approach that has encouraged inwardlooking of self or group improvement which relies solely on own efforts for own benefits. Through the instrumentality of Self-help in the study area, members are able to define their problems, solve

them, and work themselves out of their problems. The underlying principle about the concept of Self-help among the women in the central Cross River State is therefore the belief that when people have opportunity to work out their problems, the claim is that they will struggle to find solution with the intention of sustaining their efforts.

Major Findings and Suggestions

As a result of the discussion in the study aboutachievementassessment of rural women SHGs and their community development potentials, the following findings were drawn:

i. It was discovered that, SHGs are involve in businesses and trade such as thrift and micro-commercial farming. They encourage members to engage in saving which is always accumulated and giving as soft loan to both members and non-members. The interest generated from such venture is always shared to members.

ii. In Central Senatorial District, womengroups aremeans for reducing poverty which willincreaseability of womenin differentfronts. The groups are operated onthe principle of participatory decision-making, which enablesmembers to have sense of belonging and ownership of every project. This is a departure from the way other povertyreduction programmes operate with atop-down approach of dealing with the peoplewhich is far from them who areto benefitfrom those decisions, hence the need for a better strategy to sustainable inclusive development.

iii. The SHG strategy is a bottom-upapproach for development and isenabling empowerment and hasprovided considerable economic andsocial benefits to rural women.

iv. It was discovered that the living condition and nutrition of household increasesspeedily andled to acquisition of householdproperties and accumulation of capital forpetty trading, leading to a relativeimproved standard of life. Women were seen being able to acquire tailoringmachine, buy clothes of their choice, contribute to pay children fees andmedical bills after joining the group. It was also discoveredthat before joining the group, most womenwere not economically and sociallystrongto buy those properties. Theirexpensesfor education, health, and food items have increasedby becoming members of the self-help group. Most of the women feel that their role in theircommunity hasincreased. They have confidence intheir ability to live a better life due to their membership of the SHG.

v. Membership of self-help groupis capable of reducing household poverty and create healthcare awareness.

vi. Findings base on this work also indicate that there is decrease in discrimination against women due to their role in both household and community decision making.

vii. There was an improvement in awareness creation among the women which has led to the formation of cooperative society by some of the SHGs.

viii. Some of the SHGs have started benefiting from some Agencies in form of grants through their Cooperative Society.

ix. It was discovered that although most of the women are membersof economically weaker sections of their communities and do not have knowledge aboutloans collection from financial houses including how interest are calculated, mode of repayment and magnitude of installment payments, they are very ready for the group to obtain loan through their SHG, to enable them expand their farm and petty businesses. It is important to indicate here that most of the members in the SHGsare aware of the benefits of obtaining credit facilities to improve on their business venture facilitated through the self-help membership.

x. A majordiscovery of the work is the fact that SHGs have spread to every community beyond the study area in Cross River State, and this has created awareness among the rural women, empowered them socially and economically and moved members to ahigher level of the social strata in theircommunities. The presence ofNon-governmental Organizations inmost of the Local Government Areashave been wonderful, and the women have shownmore interest in development

activities which has led to growth in economic progress throughenlightenment by NGOs.

xi. It was also discovered that, through the usefulness of Self-help Groups in the study area, various projects have been executed in many communities by the women such as: construction of culverts, market stalls, painting of School buildings, award of scholarship, among others

xii. However, certain shortcomings were noticed. Although positive impact was observed on poverty reduction, procedurefor the empowerment is low. Since the groups are formed bypoor and illiterate women, if the empowerment is not sustained, it can result to failure of the groups in the future.

Summary andConclusion

In Nigeria today, the significanceof Self-help Groups in community development cannot be overemphasized. This hasresulted to the attention fromdevelopment experts and other stakeholders. Hence, the paper evaluated the usefulness of SHGSin increasing community development in the CentralSenatorial District of Cross River State. Major discoveries in the workwarrant theimportance of the SHGs in providing moreempowerment for women, through making themrelevant economically, socially, and health wise, and alsohelping the members to accumulate capital and invest inmore projects to better their wellbeing and the entire community.

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THE IMPLICATIONS OF TERRORISM ON FOOD PRICES IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT
Nigeria as a nation has been overshadowed by terrorism since 2009 in Borno state where it started as a fight against western education until it aggravated to the destruction of lives and properties in several towns and cities of the country. Farmers are not left out in this mayhem as some were killed and injured on their farms, thus creating a scenario where people are afraid to go to their farms for fear of being maimed and killed. This whole development has led to a decline in food production which has further resulted in the sharp rise in the prices of food which has made lives difficult for the common man. In view of these occurrences , this paper examines the implications of terrorism on the recent prices of food and our empirical results shows that terrorism has a negative effect on the prices of food in the country .The study adopted the descriptive analysis of secondary data to examine the effects of terrorism on food prices in the nation .The study will examine the topic in detail and based on this ,the following policy recommendations will be put forward which includes government providing securities for farmers by using the non-biased military to silent the insurgents, adopt a registration data of herders with government which will capture all operating herders in Nigerian states for easy tracking of any misbehavior, provide employment for our jobless youths who had become instruments in the hands of terrorist promoters, and above all, Nigerian government should adopt State police for a better protection of our rural areas and communities.

introduction

In the past few years, food prices have risen unexpectedly since the time President Buhari's administration where he closed the borders of the nation in the year 2017 in order to reduce the smuggling of foreign food into the country like rice, milk etc {Campbell 2019}. Food prices are not the same as it varies based on the quality of the agricultural produce. The aim of the previous administration was to encourage the indigenous farmers to produce local crops that will sustain the populace. Why because we eat to repair our damaged worn out tissues, replace our worn out blood cells, prevent foreign diseases from entering our bodies and grow tall. This is because no man can

survive without food. The plan of the government failed because terrorists prevented our local farmers from producing enough food for the citizens. This led to food scarcity which later boomeranged to increase in the prices of agricultural products. Agriculture is one of the mainstays of an economy because it is used to measure the economic growth of a nation, prevents famine in the land and reduces poverty in families. Farmers are of two categories which are subsistent farmers and commercial farmers. Subsistent farmers cannot farm more than two hectares of land while Commercial farmers farm more than twenty hectares of land but it is a pity that most farmers in Nigeria are mostly subsistent farmers which is as a result of terrorism that is ravaging the country especially the northern part. This has slowed down the rate of economic growth in the nation because the transformation of agriculture has been hindered due to the activities of the insurgents

Bandits and Fulani herdsmen now made things worse by maiming, killing and attacking farmers on their farms, taking away their stored grains in their farmhouses, and as well kidnapped people on their farmlands and as a result of this, they do not go to their farms anymore and those that risked going to their farms usually sell their farm produce at high prices{ Odeniyi 2024}and this resulted to people not being able to feed well due to high cost of living thus resulting to the increased number of malnourished children/people in several families in the country Nigeria . Nigeria is the second largest economy in the country with nothing to show for it due to high food prices which was caused by the destructive activities of the insurgents. Some of who even waylaid trucks that transport farm commodities to various parts of the country {Atuma 2024}

Terrorism has eaten deep into the Nigerian economy despite efforts of the government to curb the trend. It is already an issue of global concern and it even got worse when the United States Department of state listed Nigeria as a terrorist nation. What made Nigeria's terrorist entirely different is that they always have the insatiable greed to control territories. Boko haram is an example of such before they subdivided into other groups like ISWAP etc. It started in the late 2000's when the pioneer leader of Boko Haram was arrested and murdered by the security forces with the thought that terrorism will end at that stage only for it to escalate to the situation we are in today. The consequencies are that many schools have been burnt down, students kidnapped church goers and Muslim faithfuls gunned down like giraffes and this is where this study comes in to examine the implications of this monster on food prices, concluding and providing relevant recommendations to stop this menace so that this nation will not end up as a pariah nation.

Statement of the Problem

Despite the fact that this country is blessed with several resources that can sustain the natioin for thousands of years to come yet the issue of terrorism has been lingering for years without any meaningful solution to stop the menace .The terrorists started their nefarious activities in 2009 in the north east before they gradually spread towards the other parts of the country .Terrorists later metamorphosed to Fulani herdsmen and banditry where they massacred several people on the streets and in their farms .This made several people to abandon their farms thereby making the prices of food to skyrocket to abysmal level for example a rubber paint of cassava flakes suddenly jumped from N1500 to N3500,people that were purchasing the rubber paint now started buying in tin cups

Agriculture which was the mainstay of the economy was the main source of food and income for several families but the onslaught of terrorists has put the whole scenario on a downward trend. Despite the efforts of government in providing a lot of security to tame those dogs, the whole situation continues to aggravate as several families in the nation cannot afford three square meals. If these issues of terrorism are not addressed, it may take a lot of decades before the country will recover.

Literature Review

This section reviewed concepts, theories and empirical studies which are relevant to this study

Conceptual Review

Concept of Terrorism

The word terrorism originated in France during the reign of terror as far back as eighteenth century, it resulted to the French Revolution which descended into madness where those that spearheaded the revolt executed the public officers by guillotine. Robespierre justified the revolution saying that terror is the same as justice where people have the right to free themselves from oppression .Terrorism tactics started emanating in the nineteenth century where several extremists developed several strategies to eliminate the

Russian Czar which prompted the authorities to nip the case in the bud not until the twentieth century when the Islamic extremist now introduced suicide bombing as a form of terrorism ,this changed the world order right away. Subsequently many anarchist groups all over the world now started using the tactics of terrorism to weaken their governments ,while some succeeded others failed and were publicly executed .Terrorism is now an international phenomenon because they operate in several countries where they recruit new members ,train them to eliminate their targets unexpectedly{Bruce 2021}.Many nations have agreed to find means of eliminating the group but their efforts are proving abortive .Terrorism have existed for several decades with international agencies killing their members but this have not stopped their resolve in harming humanity .Terrorism has no standard definition and some people confuse terrorism with extremism but they are not the same because not all extremist groups are involved in violent acts while terrorists groups are synonymous with violence. Terrorism is a threat that is designed to influence the government to follow their bidding or frighten the public to their submission .The reasons for this is to advance a political , religious or ideological cause in order to achieve their aim .Terrorism have put a lot of lives in danger and killing them in the process{Fadare O et al 2022} ,they have caused a lot of damage on lives and properties across the world ,they pose a lot of health risk to the people and society at large because majority of them usually look unkempt and dirty and they usually disrupt all forms of communication networks in the places where they are located. The United states government also defined terrorism as a premeditated violence done against an unarmed group by some hidden agents to influence an audience{Okafor & Chikalipah 2021} .The above definition summarized terrorism as an unlawful act which poses a serious danger to humanity .Terrorist attacks all over the world are always focused and indiscriminate as they can study their targets for months before the final attacks .Their attacks are always in form of victimization which is different from criminal victimization because their own has a political undertone in order to send signals to the government while the criminal aspect is as a result of contravening the laws of the land.

Forms of Terrorism

Terrorism are of different types and that is why it is important to emphasize on the diverse dimensions of terrorism which is as a result of many factors hence there are diverse forms of terrorism among which are:

i. **New terrorism** which involves attacks on a large number of victims. The perpetrators make use of jets, passenger ships or a big public vehicle to achieve their aims. They plan the act for several months and perfect it with a hundred percent accuracy before putting it to practice. They do not consider religious and political affiliation when they carry out the deadly attacks as they murder all at once. An example is the world trade center terrorist attack in New York several years ago.

ii. **State terrorism** which is always in form of witch-hunting by the government against its perceived enemies. They use anti-graft agencies to arrest their victims especially if they are members of the opposition party to the government in power. This act is committed by several governments all over the world take Russia for example, almost all their activists fled the country because of the fear of their dictator president Vladmir Putin who might arrest and imprison them for years.

iii. **Dissident terrorism** which is committed by non-government groups against the government, this involves the agitation for independence from the colonial masters if the groups discover that their neighboring nations have gotten their independence, the result is protest, riots, burning of private and government properties to press home their demands for independence. The ruling government sees their actions as terrorist act and either arrest and imprison them or accede to their request if there is an external pressure from foreign bodies especially the United Nations. Hatred of a particular religion can cause dissident terrorism especially the Christians which have been facing persecutions for many centuries because of their belief in Jesus.

iv. **Religious terrorism** is carried out by fanatics in defense of their faith, they instigate violence against people of other religions over some perceived offence. They end up looting, killing, maiming and destroying properties that costs millions of naira. Many African countries including Nigeria have experienced lots of religious violence.

v. **Ideological terrorism** occurs between two groups that opposes each other's views due to their different backgrounds and aims that formed the background tenets of the warring parties, those opposing views can be theoretical or philosophical views. They end up

having several clashes which usually ends up in bloodshed and destruction of properties.

vi. **International terrorism** is a type of terrorism that stated from the national level to international level. Targets are always hit if they oppose their views, they do this to teach them a lesson. Religious terrorism was limited to the middle east before it became an international monster which made many nations to acquire billion dollar weapons to ward off terrorist attacks.

vii. **Criminal Dissident terrorism** happens when some government and political officials fund evil perpetrators or cult groups to gain recognition or make profits. Some politicians hire several criminals to eliminate their opponents in order to win an elected office and dump those urchins thereafter, those guys will now use the weapons they acquired during elections to forment violence.

viii. **Gender Selective terrorism** is a form of terrorism which is directed at a particular gender because of the hatred of that gender, it can be male or female gender. Men are always attacked during the period of war so as to eliminate the male soldiers of that clan while the female gender are always targeted as captives during the war during which the soldiers share the female captives among themselves.

Concept of Food Prices

Food prices is a serious matter to producers and consumers because the producers set the price of their products for the consumers to buy. High food prices scares away consumers which reduces demand while affordable food prices attract consumers which increases demand. Prices of food strikes a balance between agricultural produce and market demand in the sense that prices of food go up when the supply of farm produce is reducing while prices of farm produce goes down when the supply increases which have a significant impact on consumers if they can afford the produce or not {Hannah Ritchie et al 2022}. However, food prices express the rate of increase or decrease of prices of any given food stuff utilized by man.

A large percentage of the population in developing and underdeveloped countries are involved in agriculture as their primary source of production which makes farmers to gain at high prices of food and the consumers groan over high prices of food especially in Nigeria {Balogun & Madau 2023}. This makes some of the products to get rotten since the public cannot afford to buy them because they are expensive thus making food prices to be of critical concern worldwide.

Besides, there are some factors which influences the cost of food which includes high cost of transportation due to increase in the price of petrol and diesel have a negative impact on food prices as these vehicles travel long distances to deliver these goods .Maintenance of vehicles and the wages of truck drivers will also add up to the cost of transportation which will surely affect food prices .The cost of raw materials is another factor because the higher the cost of raw material ,the higher the prices of food. Fuel, seeds, oil, flour, sugar, salt etc are essential ingredients in manufacturing spaghetti and macaroni therefore their price value will reflect in the price tag of macaroni and spaghetti. Labor cost is the third factor in the sense that if the farmers and workers are not paid well, the final edible commodity they process will be of low quality which may scare away consumers no matter the price but if they are given enough incentives, they will be motivated to produce a quality food product which will attract buyers irrespective of the food price {Kafando & Sukurai 2024}. The last factor is the investments in technology. Acquiring computerized farm equipment makes food processing to be easier and faster as the producer will be able to achieve his or her specific targets in food production but the consumers will bear the cost of acquiring those machines that were imported from abroad as the food product will be quite expensive.

Impact of Food Prices on the Nigerian Economy

Nigeria is an importer of food yet the nation is still undergoing a period of high food prices, this is because of the food the farmers are producing are not meeting the demands of the people. High food prices will reduce the volume of money in circulation because people will spend more money in purchasing food items rather than investing the money in other projects {George J et al 2020}, this later affects the Gross Domestic Product of the country because the high consumption of food is not included in it. Besides high food prices make several families to be poorer because they cannot afford to buy the expensive food items which reduces their standard of living and worsen their health conditions thereby causing several deaths of people, they may not be able to contribute to the nation's Gross Domestic Product {GDP}.

Implications of Terrorism on Food Prices in Nigeria

Some states in Nigeria were known for large expanse of farmlands that covered three of four local governments in Nigeria thereby making the northern Nigeria a large production food belt before the terrorist onslaught went on a high gear as many farmers and their families were injured and killed {Oyewole & Utibe 2024}, this made several farmers to abandon their farms for fear of being killed. This reduced food productivity from 80% to 40% thereby increasing food prices in order to cope with its scarcity.

Furthermore, the high level of insecurity led to forced migration farmers to the southern parts of the country for their safety {Tranchant J.P et al 2020}, some of their farm produce got rotten and the ones some people could retrieve were sold at high prices to the public therefore in a nut-shell, food scarcity as a result of the damage caused by terrorists led to increase in food prices.

Theoretical Review

Terrorism has many theories which include

1. **Instrumental theory** which says that terrorism is a deliberate act and it is done by a political actor. The organization as a unit always acts to achieve some collective values which will always involve some radical changes in the social and political obligations. Terrorism is seen as an answer to an external force which has a government backing in it. Some parts of government reward those terrorists that is why they are motivated to increase their rate of violence.

2. **Organizational theory** which examines the terrorists struggle for survival as an organization in a competitive environment where they are closely monitored by their enemies especially those that successfully eliminated many of their high profile targets. They follow the tenets of an organization in offering rewards to their faithful terrorist members. They also try to prevent a break-away of some of their members to ensure loyalty so as not to expose the secrets of the terrorist organization.

Emperical Review

Ojogbo and Egware {2015} looked at the effects of those terrorists on agricultural produce in the nation and adopted the time series data that covered the period of 1960 to 2011 which used some variables like infant mortality rate, agricultural portion of the GDP and the level of agricultural transformation which serves as agents for agricultural positive change .They discovered that agricultural transformation will be the best option since all the long run elements have a long run equilibrium relationship therefore terrorism has a negative impact on agriculture thereby changing the level of food production which also affects food prices.

Adebisi & Okotie {2017}carried out a study on the activities of those insurgents in the agricultural sector of the Nigerian economy .Time series data analysis was adopted by them ,they also use descriptive statistics and t-teats to analyse the time series data .They discovered that agricultural prosperity was at the highest peak before those insurgents struck .They recommended that the government should take a drastic action against the insurgents so that agricultural losses will come to an end and farmers will be motivated with rewards when they are back to their farms.

Chuku et.al {2019} adopted the Auto Regressive Distributed Lag Model {ARDL} and the Structural Vector Auto-regressive {SVAR} Technique to analyze the growth and fiscal effects of terrorism in Nigeria using different measures of incidences of terror, money spent by government and economic activity. The empirical results indicated that terrorism led to the government spending more money to tackle terrorism than spending on private investment which has a negative effect on economic growth.

Research Methodology

This research methodology analyzes secondary data which was gotten from a reliable source to examine how terrorism has affected things generally in Nigeria. It showed the effects of terrorism in Nigeria for twelve years which is from 2012 to 2023.

Data Analysis

Nigeria terrorism index declined to 7.575 points in year 2023 from 8.065 points in the year 2022.Terrorism index in Nigeria averaged 7.07 points from 2012 to 2023 reaching a high level of 9.12 points in 2015 and a low level of records of 3.86 points in 2002 . The data below shows the terrorism index in Nigeria for twelve years

Year	Terrorism index
2012	8.103
2013	8.342
2014	8.927
2015	9.118
2016	8.761
2017	8.645
2018	8.482
2019	8.38
2020	8.421
2021	8.233
2022	8.065
2023	7.575

Source: Institute of economics and peace

From the graphical analysis, terrorism had a high impact on general Nigerian economy from 2012 to 2015 because of the negligence on the part of the government in tackling insurgency squarely. In addition, 2015 had the highest impact of 9.118, because it was an electioneering period, thus the insurgents adopted diverse modalities to kidnap, maim and kill their victims vis-à-vis their political enemies, all to actualize their objective of Islamizing the nation and gradually eliminate western education.

From 2016 to 2023, there was a slight decrease in the impact of terrorism on the country, why, because the government went into dialoging with the terrorists, granting amnesty to so called repentant ones as well as good rehabilitation and free education.

From the above analysis, terrorists' activities have declined more than before.

It is good to note that global terrorism index measures the direct and indirect effects of terrorism, inclusive of its effect on loss of lives, injuries, damage to properties and the after effects. It is a composite score that ranks countries in accordance to the impact of terrorism from 0{no impact} to 10{highest impact}

Conclusion and Recommendations

Terrorism is a global menace which has affected the whole world hence many foreign governments have set-up measures to reduce its menace, therefore the Nigeria government should take a clue on that and find ways of tackling the monster.

First of all, the government should invest more money and resources to tackle those insurgents by encouraging state police which will reduce the work of the federal police in neutralizing those bandits, that is to say they will be able to grant a better protection of rural areas and communities.

Secondly, the governing body should sensitize the locals by telling them that any terrorist kingpin caught by the locals will be heavily rewarded financially, this will serve as a motivation for the people of that village to nab terrorists.

Thirdly the authorities should provide jobs for the people especially the youths so that no one will be able to use a meagre amount of money to lure them into terrorism.

In addition, Government should ensure by providing securities for farmers by using non biased military officers who will safeguard the lives of farmers and silence the activities of the insurgents.

Furthermore, the government should endeavour to have a registration data of herders which will capture all the population of operating herders in the Nigerian states for easy tracking down of any misbehavior of the herders.

Finally, if these things can be put into consideration, terrorism will be brought to the nearest minimum, farmers will go back to their farms and food prices will come down to the benefit of the people and the nation at large.

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PREVALENCE OF DOMESTIC ACCIDENTS AND PREVENTIVE PRACTICE AMONG WOMEN OF CHILDBEARING IN IKORODU LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, LAGOS STATE

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KEYWORDS

Prevalence, Home accidents, Women of childbearing age

ABSTRACT

The study examined the prevalence of domestic accidents and preventive practice among women of childbearing age in Ikorodu Local Government Area, Lagos state. Two research questions and hypotheses were postulated, and it employed a descriptive research design. Th study consisted of three hundred women of childbearing age in, Ikorodu Local Government Area, Lagos state and utilized a self-developed questionnaire titled Domestic Accident Questionnaire(DAQ) to collect data. Data collected were analyzed using descriptive statistical tool of frequency counts and percentage. While inferential statistics of Chi-square was used to analyze all formulated hypotheses. The findings show that, there was significant relationship between prevalence of falls and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing age in Ikorodu, Lagos Stateand there is no significant relationship between prevalence of burns and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu, Lagos State. Specifically, the results showed that that there was significant relationship between prevalence of falls and preventive practice of domestic among women of childbearing age in Ikorodu, Lagos State ($X2=128.24$, $p= 0.000<0.05$) and there is no significant relationship between prevalence of burns and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu, Lagos State ($X2=73.65$, $p= 0.079>0.05$). The study recommends that Government agencies should work together to coordinate and implement fall prevention efforts, this could involve sharing information and resources, and developing comprehensive programs that address all aspects of fall prevention. Healthcare providers should be educated about the importance of fall prevention and the strategies that can be used to reduce the risk of falls, this could be done through continuing

education programs and through the inclusion of fall prevention in health education curriculum in all schools.

Introduction

The safety and wellbeing of women of childbearing are of paramount importance, particularly within the context of their homes. Home is a primary necessity, and modern homes add esteem. Unfortunately, careless attitudes transform the home into a death trap (Osoro, 2015). Accidents throughout the world have reached major epidemic proportion. Accidents represent a major epidemic of non-communicable disease throughout the world. With industrialization, Accidental death among children particularly during playing at home, while flying kites, fall from the terrace, injury from sharp injuries, improper use of toys, scissors, knives, blades are not uncommon (Umesh, 2015). Accidenttaken place in a wide, variety of environment, however the home is the most likely location.

Accident as noted by (Wells, 2015) can cause pain, distress, and suffering for the victim, their family, and friends and even for the wider community. Globally, home accidents are major public health problem, particularly in low- and middle-income countries. World Health Organization stated that home accidents are responsible for an estimated two million deaths each year, with most of these occurring in low- and middle-income countries (WHO, 2018). Statistics show that there are some groups in the society who are especially vulnerable to accident in the home and who suffer disproportionally because of them. These include babies, women, and young children particularly those under 5 years and people over 65 and those with greater social, economic and health disadvantage (Wells, 2015). According to United States report, home accidents result in over 21 million emergency department visits each year (Haas, 2018). In Nigeria as in most developing countries, women of childbearing age constitute more than one fifth of the total population. Some of the key background factors that contribute to home accidents include poverty, poor housing conditions, cultural practices, environmental factors, and lack of access to safe drinking water and sanitation (Akinkuotu, 2017)

World Health Organization stated that, falls are the leading cause of injury-related deaths and disability in Nigeria (WHO, 2018). This is especially true for falls in the home, which account for a large proportion of all injuries in the country. The Ikorodu local government has been identified as an area with a high incidence of falls, particularly among women. According to the WHO, an estimated 28,000 people die from poisoning in Nigeria each year (WHO, 2019). This is due to a few factors, including the widespread use of harmful chemicals, such as insecticides and cleaning products, in the home. In addition, many people in the area have limited knowledge of safe handling and storage of these products. Ikulago, (2013) opined that preventive practice known as safety precautions are instructions designed information which will prevent accidents or untimely death. Preventive strategies or safety precautions which can be seen as dos or don'ts. It can also be in form of signs, warnings on products and other inbuilt devices to trigger of accident. Domestic accidents preventive practice are measures are in place at home to prevent the occurrence of accident. It is the guiding incident prevention which include awareness, supervision, risk assessment, hazard identification and reduction remain the same as asserted by Health, Social Services and Public Safety, (2015).

The aim of domestic accident preventive practice is to reduce accidental deaths and injuries in the home, to raise awareness of the causes of home accidents, promote effective preventive measures to reduce such accident, facilitate effective training on skills and knowledge in home accident prevention across the Nation. These aim will be met through education and information programme to promote home safety, promote change in public behavior towards home accident prevention and the use of evidence based practice, models of good practice and evaluating home accident by examining the frequency and nature of home accidents in this specific region, and by identifying preventive measures that can be implemented, we can take proactive steps towards reducing the occurrence of these accidents and ensuring the health and safety of women and their families (Agunbiade & Okesina, 2019).Despite the numerous efforts by both governmental and non-governmental organizations in Nigeria to reduce prevalence of home accidents, the rates of home accidents, particularly among women of childbearing which includes fall, poisoning and burns remains high. The lack of awareness and implementation of preventive strategies among women of childbearing may be due to several factors, including limited access to information about safety precautions, inadequate education on home safety, and cultural beliefs that may not prioritize safety. These factors contribute to the high incidence of domestic accidents among women of childbearing and the need for effective

preventive strategies to be developed and implemented. Also, it is essential to address the root causes of domestic accidents, such as unsafe housing conditions, lack of access to medical care, and poverty. This can be done through government policies and programs that address these issues. Therefore, this study examined prevalence of domestic accidents and preventive practice among women of childbearing in Ikorodu Local Government Area, Lagos State.

The specific purpose of this study include:

i. To assess the prevalence of fall and preventive practice of Domestic Accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu Local Government Area, Lagos State.

ii. To assess the prevalence of Burns and preventive practice of Domestic Accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu Local Government Area, Lagos State.

Research Questions

i. What is the prevalence of fall and preventive practice of Domestic Accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu Local Government Area, Lagos State?

ii. What is the prevalence of Burns and preventive practice of Domestic Accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu Local Government Area, Lagos State?

Research Hypothesis

i. There will be no significant relationship between prevalence of falls and preventive practice of Domestic Accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu, Lagos state.

ii. There will be no significant relationship between prevalence of burns and preventive practice of Domestic Accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu, Lagos state.

Methodology

The study adopted a descriptive research design and the population of study consisted of women of childbearing who resides in Ikorodu local government area, Lagos state. Purposive sampling technique was adopted to select the respondents from Ikorodu Local Government Area, Lagos State. The sample for this study consisted of three hundred (300) respondents of women of childbearing age in Ikorodu Local Government Area, Lagos State. The research instrument was self-developed Questionnaire titled: "Domestic Accident Questionnaire (DAQ)". The Questionnaire was divided into two sections. Section A contained demographic data of respondents. While section B contained items testing the stated hypotheses. The questionnaire adopted a four (4) point Likert-type scale, ranging from Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Strongly Disagree (SD), Disagree(D). The content, construct and face validity was ascertained in the Department of Human Kinetics, Sports, and Health Education, by a panel of three experts including the researcher's supervisor for content, construct, and criterion related validity to ensure a thoroughness which indicates that the instrument measures what is intended to measure in relation to research questions and hypotheses. The test-retest method of reliability was adopted. This will require the researcher to administer ten copies of the validated instrument to ten respondents in the faculty of education to determine the reliability of the instruments. The reliability of the instrument will be tested using the Chronbach's alpha technique. An R-value of0.82 was obtained andused as basisforthe adoption of theinstrument fordata collection. The copies of the instrument were administered by the researcher with the help of two trained research assistants. Three hundred (300) questionnaires were distributed to women of childbearing in Ikorodu Local Government Area, Lagos state. Copies of the administered questionnaires was checked to ensure that they were well completed before leaving the study area. The researcher monitored the process of data collection throughout. Daily review meeting was held at the beginning and end of each day with the research assistants. Data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistical of frequency counts and percentage for demographic data while inferential statistics of Chi-square was used to analyze all stated hypotheses at 0.05 alpha level significance. The Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 23) was used for analyzing the data collected.

Results

Data Presentation

Table 4.1: Frequency and percentage distribution of respondents by Age. Gender, Marital Status and Educational Background

Age	Frequency	Percentage%
15-29	134	44.6
30-39	112	37.3
40-49	31	10.3
50 and above	23	7.7
Total	**300**	**100.0**
Gender	**Frequency**	**Percentage%**
Male	**0**	**0**
Female	**300**	**100.0**
Total	**300**	**100.0**
Marital Status	**Frequency**	**Percentage %**
Single	**67**	**22.33**
Married	**226**	**75.33**
Divorced	**7**	**2.33**
Total	**300**	**100.0**
Level of Education	**Frequency**	**Percentage%**
FSLC	**35**	**11.67**
SSCE	**148**	**49.33**
Tertiary Education	**117**	**39.00**
Total	**300**	**100.0**

Table 4.1 showed that 44.6% of the respondents were between the age bracket of 15-29 years, 37.3% of the respondents were within the age bracket of 30-39 year, while 10.3% were within the age bracket of 40-49 years and 7.7% were 50 years and above. Consecutively, table revealed that 0% of the respondents were male while 100.0% of the respondents were female. Further, the table revealed that 22.33% of the respondents were Single, while 75.33% were married, 2.34% were divorcee. Finally, the table that 11.67% of the respondents had FSLC, while 49.33% had SSCE, 39.0% had Tertiary Education.

Hypothesis One

Hypothesis one states that there will be no significant relationship between prevalence of falls and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu, Lagos State. This hypothesis was tested using Chi-square at 0.05 level of significance. The result is presented on the table below.

Table 4.2: Chi-Square result on the relationship between prevalence of falls and preventive practice of domesticaccidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu, Lagos State.

RESPONSES	FRQ	%	DF	LS	Cal X^2	P value	RMK
SA	154	51.3					
A	138	46.0					
D	0	0	12	0.05	128.24	0.000	Sig
SD	8	2.7					
TOTAL	**300**	**100.0**					

Table 4.2 reveals the data collected from the respondents on hypothesis one. It shows that 51.3% of the respondents strongly agreed while 46.0% respondents agreed, 0% respondents disagreed, and 2.7% respondents strongly disagreed to the items. However, it further reveals a calculated X^2 value of 128.24 which is statistically significant at p= 0.000<0.05 at 12^0 of freedom, hence the rejection of the null hypothesis. It therefore implies that there was significant relationship between prevalence of falls and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu, Lagos State.

Hypothesis two

Hypothesis two states that there will be no significant relationship between prevalence of burns and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu, Lagos State. This hypothesis was tested using Chi-square at 0.05 level of significance. The result is presented on the table below.

Table 4.3: Chi-Square result on the relationship between prevalence of burns and preventive practice ofdomesticaccidents among women of childbearing age in Ikorodu, Lagos State.

RESPONSES	FRQ	%	DF	LS	Cal X^2	P value	RMK
SA	11	3.67					
A	25	8.33					
D	99	33.0	12	0.05	73.65	0.079	Not Sig
SD	165	55.0					
TOTAL	**300**	**100.0**					

Table 4.3 reveals the data collected from the respondents on hypothesis two. It shows that 3.67% of the respondents strongly agreed while 8.33% respondents agreed, 33.0% respondents disagreed, and 55.0% respondents strongly disagreed to the items. However, it further reveals a calculated X^2 value of 73.65which is statistically significant at p=0.079>0.05 at 12^0 of freedom, hence the acceptance of the null hypothesis. It therefore implies that there was no significant relationship between prevalence of burns and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu, Lagos State.

Discussion

Hypothesis one states that there will be no significant relationship between prevalence of falls and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing age in Ikorodu, Lagos State. Chi-square (X^2) analysis reveal that that there was significant relationship between prevalence of falls and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing in Ikorodu, Lagos State. The result of the researchfinding agrees with (Adebiyi, 2018). The stated that there is significant relationship between preventive practices and the occurrence of falls. They found that people who take preventive measures had a higher risk of falls than those who did. They attributed this to the fact that preventive measures reduce the likelihood of falls by making the home environment safer. A quantitative research design was conducted, Data was collected and analyzed using statistical methods. Participants included 700 people while results found that there was a significant relationship between the occurrence of falls and the preventive practices of home accidents. This finding agrees with the works of (Xu *et al*., 2013) and (Zakeri *et al*., 2014). Who opined that there was a high significant relationship between prevalence of falls and preventive practice of domesticaccidents among women compared to men. Xu study was a cross sectional survey of women which was recruited from community health centers. A questionnaire was used to collect information and the data was analyzed using statistical methods. Participants in the study included a large sample of women from a variety of settings while results found out that majority of women had experienced fall. Zakeri used a study of systematic review and meta-analysis. The data was collected using questionnaires, medical records, and other sources while data was analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The participants included a large sample of women in Iran. The result found out that the prevalence of falls and preventive practice of home accidents among women of childbearing age was very high.

Hypothesis two states that 'there will be no significant relationship between prevalence of burns and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing age in Ikorodu, Lagos State". Chi-square (X^2) analysis reveal that there was no significant relationship between prevalence of burns and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing age in Ikorodu, Lagos State. The result of the research finding agrees with the work of (Esu *et al.*, 2013). The study found that burns were not a major cause of death among women of childbearing age in Nigeria, and this finding suggests that preventive practices for domesticaccidents may not have a significant impact on burn-related mortality in this population. The study was a retrospective study that examined the cause of death among women of childbearing age in Nigeria. They found that burns were not a common cause of death among this population, making up only about 1% of all deaths. This finding was consistent with the findings of other studies conducted in developing countries. The authors suggested that this may be since burns are typically treated at home and not reported to hospitals, so they are not captured in official statistics. A case-control study design was used. The researchers used data from a nationwide survey of deaths in Nigeria, and they analyzed the data using a statistical method called logistic regression. The participants were women of childbearing age who had died in Nigeria while results found that there was no prevalence of burns. Similarly, the work of (Oseni et al., 2013) revealed that burns were not a common cause of death among women of childbearing age in Nigeria. In their study, they used a case-control design to examine the relationship between burns and death and preventive practice of domesticaccidents among women of childbearing age in Nigeria. They found that the odds of death due to burns were higher for women of childbearing age than for women who were not of childbearing age. However, they noted that the overall number of deaths due to burns was small, so these results should be interpreted with caution. They collected data from a national hospital registry in Nigeria. They used the registry to identify women of childbearing age who had died due to burns. They then matched these cases to two controls who were of similar age and socioeconomic status but who had not died due to burns. The researchers used logistic regression to analyze the data and control for potential confounders.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the findings of the study, it was concluded that:

i. There is significant relationship between prevalence of falls and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing age in Ikorodu, Lagos State.

ii. There isno significant relationship between prevalence of burns and preventive practice of domestic accidents among women of childbearing age in Ikorodu, LagosState.

Based on the conclusions, it was recommended that.

i. On a national level, awareness campaigns should be launched to educate women of childbearing age about fall prevention. Messages should focus on avoiding slippery surfaces, wearing non-slip footwear, and using safety rails in homes.

ii. Government agencies should work together to coordinate and implement fall prevention efforts. This could involve sharing information and resources, and developing comprehensive programs that address all aspects of fall prevention.

iii. The government should fund research to better understand the causes of domestic accidents and to develop new strategies for prevention. This could include research on prevention of domestic accidents, and other health risk factors.

iv. Healthcare providers should be educated mothers on prevention of domestic accidents and the strategies that can be used to reduce the risk of domestic accidents. This could be done through continuing education programs and through the inclusion of domestic accidents prevention in all aspect of educational curriculum.

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