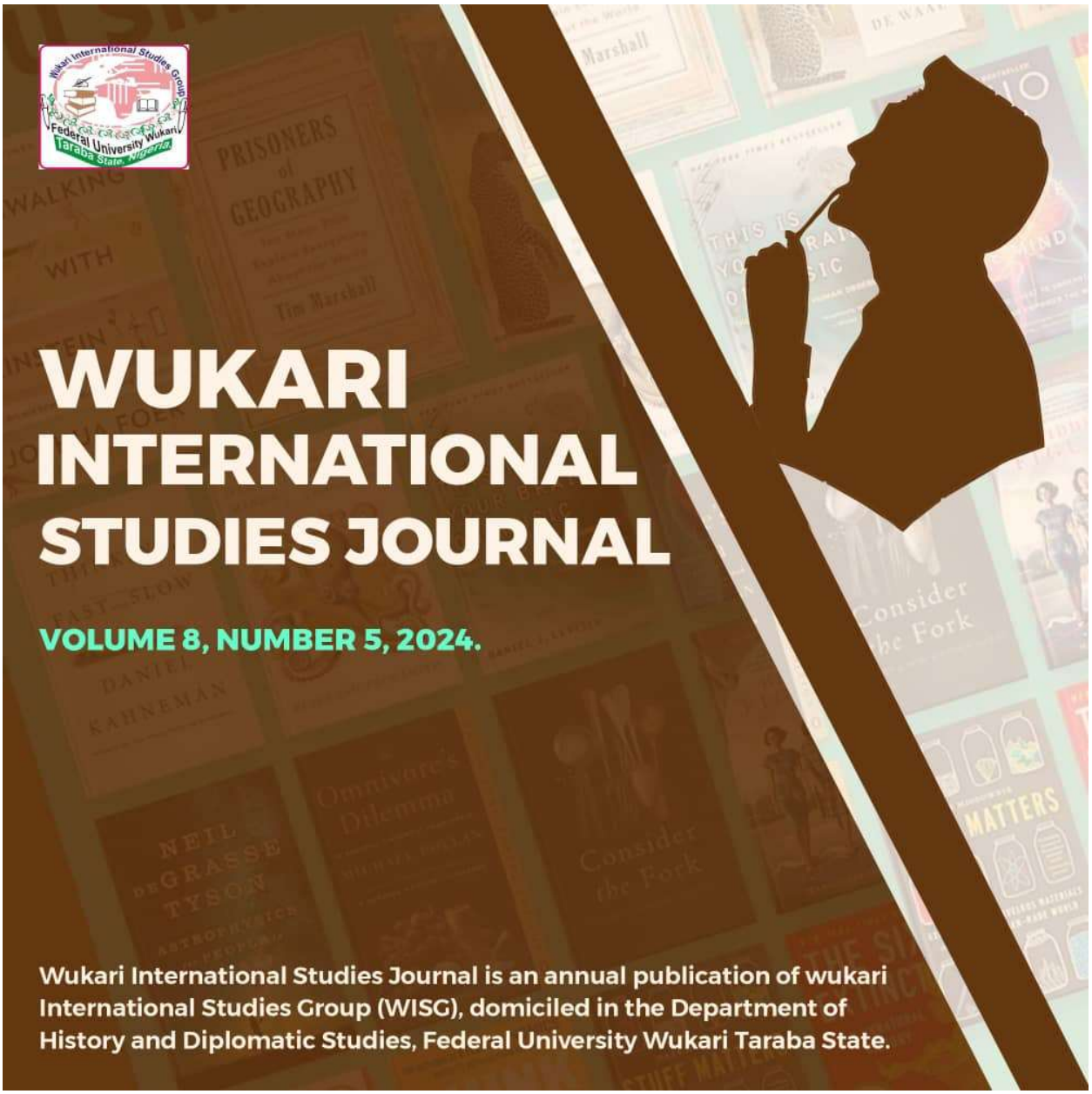
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BOREDOM AND DEMOGRAPHICS AS PREDICTORS OF INTERNET ADDICTION AMONG POLYTECHNIC LIBRARY USERS IN SOUTH-SOUTH, NIGERIA

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KEYWORDS
Internet, Internet addiction, Library users, Boredom, Polytechnic students, Nigeria

ABSTRACT
This study examined boredom and demographics as predictors of internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria. The study adopted the correlational research design. The population for the study was 3,302 library users from which a sample size of 412 library users in five federal polytechnics using the multi-stage sampling technique was selected. The instrument used for data collection was the questionnaire. The study found that the extent of boredom among polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria is great (3.56 > 3.00). It also emerged that there is strong relationship between boredom and Internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South Nigeria (r = 0.446, 0.000 < 0.05). Demographics (r = -.035, 0.484, < 0.05) have weak relationship and do not significantly predict internet addiction among the federal polytechnic library users. From the findings of the study, it was concluded that boredom apart from demographics of library users predict internet addiction among library users in federal polytechnics in South-South, Nigeria. Based on the findings from the study, it was recommended that polytechnic management and library administrators in collaboration with the guidance and counselling unit should organise an awareness campaign for students on the consequences of internet addiction and develop initiatives and policies that promote a healthier internet use among student populations.

Introduction

The use of the Internet has transformed the world in terms of information sharing, business opportunities, communication, learning, relationships, socialization, shopping, and entertainment, all accessible with a single click (Naughton, 2016). Internet addiction can be defined as spending too much time on the Internet, accompanied by psychological overdependence on its use (Hsieh, 2019). The use of the Internet is highly individualized. The healthy way of using it is to accomplish a planned objective within a reasonable period with no behavioural or intellectual distress. Some individuals succeed in limiting their Internet use, whereas others cannot regulate themselves (Diomidous, et al., 2016). Misuse of the Internet has become a health concern worldwide and is growing swiftly and steadily. The field of Internet addiction (internet addiction) has experienced significant debates over the years. At present, there are many uncertainties regarding the conceptualization of internet addiction as a disorder, including Internet gaming disorder (Wang, et al. 2019).

Tiamiya et al. (2024) refer to internet addiction as excessive or compulsive use of the internet, usually incorporating social networking, gaming, and online shopping. Campbell, (2021) described addiction as excessive thoughts about and desire to perform a behaviour, excessive time spent to plan and engage in the behaviour, and possibly recover from its effects (e.g. from hangovers), and less time spent on other activities. In general, at some point, negative consequences tend to ensue due to engaging in addictive behaviour (e.g.) physical discomfort, social disapproval, financial loss, or decreased self-esteem. Continuing to engage in addictive behaviour after suffering numerous negative consequences often has been a criterion of dependence on addictive behaviour (Goodman, 2021). The rapid integration of the Internet into global societies has posed new challenges related to the convenience of accessing aspects of the Internet that can be highly rewarding (e.g., gaming, and social networking). One such issue is a behavioural phenotype called Internet addiction (IA), which is conceptualized as an impulse control problem characterized by an inability to inhibit Internet use to the extent that the usage has an adverse impact on major life domains (e.g., interpersonal relations, physical health) (Cheng & Li, 2014). Some researchers have used different terms as IA correlates such as 'problematic Internet use,' 'compulsive Internet use,' and 'Internet-related addictive behaviour' (Billieux & Van-der, 2012).

Boredom, as described by Danckert et al. (2018), is a prevalent and unpleasant human experience associated with negative outcomes such as depression and substance abuse. It is characterized as a disengaged state where individuals strive to interact with their environment but consistently fail to do so, leading to attentional failures. Boredom involves restlessness stemming from unsatisfactory engagement, contrary to the notion of pathetic boredom. Historical observations support the characterization of boredom as a high-arousal state, although some debate associates it with low arousal. The state of boredom should be understood to be an emotion considered as a state and not as a trait, as a transient, multicomponent response to a situation (Van Tilburg & Igou 2012). Once a person appraises a situation to be boring, then the person undergoes changes in his or her subjective, felt experience (e.g., negative feelings, mental fatigue, feelings of constraint), cognition (e.g., inattention, perception of the slower passage of time, mind-wandering), behaviour (e.g., strong desire to escape situation, changes in posture), and physiology (e.g., low or high arousal, changes in brain waves) (Malik, et al., 2023). The bored student in this context is unable to articulate what it is that he or she desires academically. Boredom is seen as, a negative and low-arousal emotion that is widely experienced by individuals in many situations (Tam et al., 2021), was once thought to be a human "plague" (Pekrun et al., 2010), explained by the expressions "boredom like hell" (Maher et al., 2018). The contention that boredom is an emotion is correlated with the results of a study by Elhai, et al. (2018). The authors provided strong evidence in support of the claim that boredom is an emotion in its own right and can be distinguished from other related emotional states. They found that boredom has a unique experiential content and that manipulation of the state of boredom did not affect other emotional states (e.g., anger, sadness, or frustration).

In turn, Wang et al. (2022) found boredom to be distinct from three phenomenologically-related (apathy, anhedonia, and depression) states providing further evidence that boredom is an independent affective construct. In teaching and learning situations, boredom is typically experienced in class and can be referred

to as Class Boredom (CB), which has a significant negative impact on students 'learning processes and learning outcomes (Camacho-Morles et al., 2021; Mata et al., 2021). For example, Tze et al., (2016) found that (CB) is also negatively correlated with intrinsic goal orientation, task value, learning self-efficacy, intrinsic motivation, degree of effort, learning engagement, use of fine processing strategies, self-regulated learning, and academic performance. Additionally, CB is suggested to be a major antecedent of later learning weariness and dropping out of school (Sulea et al., 2015).

Demographic characteristics, including socioeconomic status, gender, age, and income, thus, play a vital role in internet addiction. The studies on the impact of gender are mixed. Some researchers found that males are more susceptible to Internet addiction. For example, Bisen and Deshpande (2020) found that male students use smartphones more frequently than females. Some researchers reported that males and females exhibit different behavioural patterns concerning internet addiction. Hence, it is more likely that there would be gender differences in the outcomes such as stress, and burnout (Liang et al., 2016). It is also interesting to note that males use the Internet for pleasure rather than for searching information when compared to females. How they spend time on the Internet results in internet addiction differs according to gender. The study by Zenebe, et al. (2021) showed that some online users were becoming addicted to the Internet in the same way that others became addicted to drugs, alcohol, or gambling, which resulted in academic failure, reduced work performance, and even marital discord and separation. Various types of online activities, such as online gaming, social networking, online gambling, online shopping, virtual sex, and information overload, are related to internet addiction (Wu et al. 2015). Although Internet addiction is reported to be associated with various personal, social and psychological factors in the literature, this study has been conducted to investigate the influence of boredom and demographics on Internet addiction among Polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria. To achieve this, the following questions were raised to guide the study:

Research Question.

1. What is the extent of boredom among the polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria?
2. What is the extent of internet addiction among the polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria?
3. What is the relationship between boredom and internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria?
4. What is the joint relationship between demographics (gender, age, level of study) and Internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria?

Hypotheses

1. Boredom will not significantly predict Internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria.
2. Demographics (gender, age and level of study) will not jointly significantly predict internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria.

Literature review

Boredom among the Polytechnic Library Users

Researchers have defined boredom according to several different outcomes associated with boredom, including arousal (Mata et al., 2021), attention (Eastwood, et al 2012). Perhaps the most widely used definition of boredom is the "aversive experience of wanting, but being unable, to engage in a satisfying activity" (Eastwood, et al 2012, p. 482). Tze, Daniels and Klassen (2016, p. 120) described boredom as an "unpleasant, transient affective state, in which the individual feels a pervasive lack of interest" Mikulas and Vodanovich (2022, p.3) defined boredom as "a state of relatively low arousal and dissatisfaction, which is attributed to an inadequately stimulating situation". Cui et al (2021) explored the longitudinal mediation effects of students' perceived task value (PTV)between perceived teacher enthusiasm (PTE) and class-related boredom (CB) and found that controlling for the effects of boredom proneness and perceived task difficulty, students' PTE was a significant predictor of CB, and students' PTV played a significant mediating role in this causation relationship. As shown in the literature, boredom can lead to Internet

addiction among students. Boredom is a very common experience and has to be accompanied by numerous negative psychological, social, academic, occupational and interpersonal problems. Boredom which is a highly complex and multidimensional concept has been conceptualized differently within different paradigms throughout the ages. However, in modern psychology literature, some theorists define it as the opposite feeling of interest and an aversive negative feeling derived from low arousal or monotonous situational factors (Mikulas & Vodanovich, 2022). Boredom is a common experience that affects people on multiple levels, including their thoughts, feelings, motivations, and actions.

Loreta, et al. (2023) conducted a study on boredom and predicted internet addiction through the mediating role of attentional bias toward social networks. In that study, the authors examined the role of boredom susceptibility, as a personality trait, in predicting the risk of internet addiction. Sixty-nine young adults were administered a dot-probe task assessing internet-related attentional bias (AB) and questionnaires measuring internet addiction (IAT) and boredom susceptibility (BS-BSSS). Correlation and t-test analyses confirmed that the tendency to experience boredom and selective attention toward social network information was related to internet addiction. Consistent with a broader argument that boredom encourages the behavioural pursuit of alternative goals, Bench and Lench (2013) argued that, while bored, attention to the current task is reduced, the experience of boredom is negative and aversive, and that boredom increases autonomic arousal to ready the pursuit of alternatives. By motivating the desire for change from the current state, boredom increases opportunities to attain social, cognitive, emotional and experiential stimulation that could have been missed. Some individuals are more prone to engage in repeated experiences, such as watching the same movie, visiting the same places time after time, and eating the same kinds of food, while some individuals are eager to experience new things such as listening to new music, tasting new foods, travelling new to places and meeting new people. In the first case, these individuals easily become bored by repeated experiences. However, more or less, everybody experiences boredom (Bench & Lench, 2013). It occurs in various circumstances, sometimes while reading a paper, listening to a lecture, sometimes while doing household chores, and while having a relationship (Bench & Lench, 2013).

Studies have associated boredom with numerous negative outcomes such as psychological symptoms, depression, anxiety, obsessions, somatization, interpersonal sensitivity (Sommers & Vodanovich, 2020), negative personality traits (Vodanovich, Verner & Gilbride, 2021), sensation seeking, aggression, unsafe driving behaviour and impulsiveness (Sommers & Vodanovich, 2020), decreased academic achievement and loneliness, depression and general dissatisfaction with life (Mann & Robinson, 2021). Also, student boredom has been linked to decreased academic achievement and school dissatisfaction which mostly leads to maladaptive behaviours (Mann & Robinson, 2021). Boredom has been accompanied by a constellation of negative emotions such as sadness, depressive feelings, emptiness, hopelessness, meaninglessness, lethargy, feeling trapped, restlessness, frustration, anxiety, worry, and anger (Hill & Perkins, 2022). Subjectively monotonous activities could lead to a high degree of frustration whereas boredom disliked activities could lead to a low degree of frustration. Based upon the experience of the level of frustration, people may feel aggressive, worried or hostile, in order to cope with these aversive feelings, people could find alternative ways or stimulating processes to handle the onset of boredom and emotional distress (Sommers & Vodanovich, 2020).

Boredom is one of the common triggers of intensive Internet use (Li et al, 2021). The study by Cui et al. (2021) on dampening effects of perceived teacher enthusiasm on class-related boredom in college students provided evidence on the role of college students' perceived task value (PTV) as a longitudinal mediator and found that college students' perceived teacher enthusiasm (PTE) mediated the dampening effect of PTE on class-related boredom (CB) across time points. Wang (2018) explored the relationship between free-time management, leisure boredom, and Internet addiction in undergraduates in Taiwan. The study found that of all the influencing factors, boredom has been proven to be a common trigger for intensive Internet use and can result in particularly problematic Internet use behaviour. Results from the structural model revealed that free-time management decreases boredom during leisure time, and boredom during leisure time enhances Internet addiction. Furthermore,

leisure boredom was revealed to play a role as a distinct mediator between free-time management and Internet addiction. Due to the ease of access to networked mobile devices, students in tertiary institutions may find it difficult to remain on task and tend to switch between tasks, for example, likely, students who turn to the Internet to avoid academic tasks they find boring will suffer in terms of their academic performance (Junco, 2012). The study by Struk et al. (2017) demonstrated that the apparent two-factor solution is a product of the wording of the reverse-scored items instead of reflecting two actual latent constructs. After reversing these items and trimming the scale, they proposed an 8-item version with a single factor, suggesting boredom proneness as a unitary construct.

Skues et al. (2015) studied 'the effects of boredom, loneliness, and distress tolerance on problem internet use among university students 'and found that boredom proneness was significantly associated with problematic Internet use (PIU) and was a significant predictor of PIU in a model that included loneliness and distress tolerance. The study also found that higher levels of problematic Internet use (PIU) were associated with lower levels of academic performance, leading us to the conclusion that university students who are prone to experiencing boredom tend to use the Internet to seek out more stimulating and satisfying activities, which in turn can lead to problematic Internet use patterns that can negatively affect their academic performance. The study by Wegmann et al. (2018) found that people who have a higher susceptibility to experience boredom show higher expectancies to avoid negative emotions online, which promotes higher craving reactions when being confronted with specific cues (e.g. an incoming message) and could result in Internet-communication disorder (ICD) tendencies.

Blunt and Pychyl (2021) found that individuals with a heightened tendency for boredom perceive time as passing more slowly compared to those less prone to boredom. Weiss et al. (2022) asserted that boredom proneness is associated with noisy decision-making and a tendency to alternate between choice options regardless of risk level, rather than being attracted to risks (Tam et al., 2021). Boredom proneness is also connected to cheating behaviours during task performance, with state self-efficacy mediating this relationship (Feng et al., 2022). The text underscores that highly boredom-prone individuals are more likely to violate the rules of social isolation during the pandemic, emphasizing the importance of considering boredom proneness in efforts to encourage adherence to social isolation guidelines (Danckert et al., 2020). Thus, if an individual perceives that an activity lasts longer than its actual duration, this subjective interpretation can contribute to an increased sense of boredom. In simpler terms, the saying "time flies when you're having fun" suggests that when you forget about time, boredom tends to dissipate. Individuals with a high susceptibility to boredom tend to believe that they have been engaged in a task for a longer duration than it takes. As a result, they may feel more impatient with the task and undergo a heightened experience of boredom (Mugon et al., 2020). The literature reviewed shows that boredom is a significant predictor of students' Internet addiction.

Influence of Demographics on Internet Addiction

According to Abadina and Mba (2014), demography is the study of people's general placement in a social and economic environment. This includes work and compensation, educational attainment or level, and family structure or size. Demographic factors such as gender, age, sexual orientation, educational foundation, culture, and wage or income level play important roles in determining changing situations in research conducted. Gender refers to the socially classified hormones, characteristics that a given society considers appropriate for identifying people naturally; educational capabilities on the other hand, refer to the degrees, recognitions, declarations, and professional titles, among others, that an individual has obtained, whether through full-time study, part-time study, or private educational pursuit, whether within or outside the country of residence, and whether presented by educational experts or not (Adeyanju, et al., 2022).

Demographic characteristics have been critical factors in understanding the utilization of information technology, knowledge, library resources, and services especially in higher education across the globe. Demographic characteristics often provide important clues as to what factors contribute to undergraduates' use of online library resources (Quadri, 2013). The role played by demographic characteristics of library users is very important to the

utilization of the library. Usoro, et al. (2018) opined that student demographics are capable of influencing their use of the library. Demographic characteristics include age, marital status, gender, academic discipline, level of study, designation, race, social background, ethnicity, religion, etc (Mahmood, 2013). Ebijuwa and Mabawonku (2019) assert that age, gender, and academic discipline could be possible factors that exert influence on undergraduates' use of e-library resources in Nigeria. Demographic variables have long been acknowledged as important socio-economic elements of an organization's workforce that influence job performance and service delivery. The exploration of the general placement of persons in a social-economic sphere is the focus of demographic variables and research. Researchers are occasionally interested in learning more about how they affect organizational growth and development patterns (Adeyanju, et al., 2022). In this context, demographic factors can be defined as the socio-economic characteristics of employees, such as age, educational attainment, gender, marital status, and years of service, as well as their link to organizational productivity or service output. Hassan and Ogunkoya (2014), as well as Oyewole and Popoola (2015), identified demographic characteristics such as education, gender, marital status, and years of service as having an impact on employees' job performance or service delivery based on these criteria. Personal traits such as gender, education, years of service or work experience, and marital status, among others, could be considered demographic variables in the workplace and their effects on organizational or institutional growth and development.

Internet Addiction among students in tertiary institutions

There is inconclusive evidence regarding the exact magnitude of the problem of Internet addiction because the prevalence varies according to country and study context. Even within the same country, there is a marked difference in the prevalence of internet addiction due to diverse screening scales with inconsistent cut-off scores. For example, studies conducted across various parts of the Indian subcontinent revealed the prevalence estimates of internet addiction among university students (5% to 46.7%) (Balhara, et al. 2018). Mathew and Krishnan (2020) reported that internet addiction can reduce the young generation's productivity and cause cognitive dysfunction, poor academic performance, and physical, mental, and behavioural disturbances. Mathew and Krishnan added that internet addiction can reduce the young generation's productivity and cause cognitive dysfunction, poor academic performance, and physical, mental, and behavioural disturbances. Joseph, et al. (2021) conducted a study to estimate the pooled prevalence of internet addiction among Indian college students and found that the estimated prevalence of severe internet addiction was significantly higher in the Young Internet Addiction Test (Y-IAT) cut-off points of 70 than 80 (12.7% (95% CI: 11.2% to 14.3%) vs 4.6% (95% CI: 4.1% to 5.2%). The sampling method and quality of included studies had a significant effect on the estimation of prevalence in which studies using non-probability sampling and low risk of bias (total quality score ≥7) reported lower prevalence. The overall quality of evidence was rated as 'moderate' based on the Grading of Recommendations Assessment, Development, and Evaluation criteria.

Balasubramanian and Parayitam (2023) studied the consequences of Internet addiction among university students in India and found that time spent on the Internet every day is positively related to internet addiction and internet addiction is positively related to time spent on networking, video streaming, short video apps, educational apps, chat apps, online shopping apps, money involved apps, etc. The study by Raveendran, et al (2021) on Internet addiction among students of the medical college in North Kerala revealed that the prevalence of Internet addiction was 59%. Out of the number, 113 (49.8%) students were average online users (mild addiction), 19 (8.4%) students were experiencing occasional and frequent problems (moderate addiction) and 2 (0.8%) severely addicted students most of the study population-initiated Internet use between the ages of 16 -18 years, 89 (39%). The study also revealed that headache was the most common health problem in 102 (44%) followed by sleep disturbances in 40 (17.6%), back pain in 14 (6.1%), and anxiety, stress, and visual difficulties in 29 (15%) students. Mariavinifa, et al. (2021) studied the prevalence and associated factors of internet addiction among college students using smartphones in Tamil Nadu, India. The study adopted a cross-sectional method to collect data from five hundred students from various disciplines in Annamalai University from October 2019 to October 2020 using a questionnaire, convenient sampling technique was used to

collect data. The study found that the overall prevalence of internet addiction was 61.2% among them 37% had mild, 21% had moderate and 3.2% had severe internet addiction. The degree of internet addiction was significantly associated with age, time spent daily on the Internet, and using the Internet for social media, online communications, and playing online games. The study concluded that the prevalence of Internet addiction is high among college students.

Methodology

The correlational research design was adopted to execute this study. The descriptive correlational research design research aims to provide static pictures of phenomena and also establish the relationship between different variables (Ivy, 2022). The correlational research design does not involve the manipulation of variables. This design is considered appropriate because it enabled the researcher to explore the relationship among boredom, resilience, sensation seeking and demographics as predictors of internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria. It enables the prediction of the changes in the dependent variables based on the value of the independent variables (Obasuyi, 2020). The population of this study is 3,302 registered library users of the federal polytechnics in South-South, Nigeria. These Polytechnics include Federal Polytechnic Ukana, Akwa-Ibom State, Federal Polytechnic Ekowe, Bayelsa State, Federal Polytechnic, Ugep, Cross River State, Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi, Edo State, and Federal Polytechnic of Oil and Gas, Bonny, Rivers State.

A breakdown of the population by institution is in Table 1.

Table 1: Population of the Study

S/N	Federal Polytechnic in South-South, Nigeria	Location	Population (Registered library Users)
1	Federal Polytechnic, Ukana	Akwa-Ibom State	612
2	Federal Polytechnic, Ekowe	Bayelsa State	531
3	Federal Polytechnic, Ugep	Cross River State	622
4	Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi	Edo State	1,108
5	Federal Polytechnic of Oil and Gas, Bonny	Rivers State	429
Total			**3302**

***Source**: Registered Library Users 2021/2022 in five Polytechnics.*

Sample size

The sample size for this study is 412 library users in federal polytechnics in South-south, Nigeria. To select the sample size for the study, the researcher adopted the multi-stage sampling technique. In the first stage, the cluster sampling technique was used to select respondents from the different polytechnics who are registered library users. Subsequently, the proportional sampling technique was utilized to allocate a sample size for each stratum following its proportion to the total population. This approach ensures the representativeness of the sample across the entire population. Following this, the simple random technique was applied to randomly select samples from each stratum.

The research instrument used for data collection in this study was a questionnaire. The adapted questionnaire was based on a scholarly validated instrument: The Boredom Proness Scale (BPS), developed by Struk, and Carriere (2015), and Internet Addiction Scale (IAS),

developed by Young (1995). However, their items were modified to reflect the present study. A five-point ranking scale ranging from "very great extent", "Great extent", "Moderate extent", "Small extent" and "No extent" was adopted in this study. The questionnaire was divided into two parts. Part one was on demographics data, made up of four items which comprised, the name of the institution, gender, age and level of study. The demographics were used to answer research questions four and test hypotheses two. Part two of the questionnaire is made up of two sections. Section A, which was on the extent of boredom among polytechnic library users in South-South Nigeria was used to answer research questions one and test hypotheses one. Section B, which was on the extent of Internet Addiction among Polytechnic Library Users in South-South Nigeria, was used to answer research question two. The researcher, assisted by a research assistant in each of the polytechnic libraries being studied, distributed the questionnaire to the respondents. The administered questionnaires were collected from the respondents on the same day upon completion.

Data analysis

The data obtained from the administration of the questionnaire were analysed using frequency and percentage for the demographics section of the questionnaire. Mean and standard deviation were used to analyse data generated from research questions one and two. While, Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient (PPMCC) was used to analyse data in research questions three to establish the relationship between two variables. Hypotheses 1 to 2 were tested with Linear Regression.

Results

A total of 412 copies of the questionnaire were distributed and 410 (99%) copies were returned. The response rate of 99% is considered adequate for the study. Of the total 410 participants, 136 (33.2%) were from Auchi Polytechnic, 78 (19%) from Federal Polytechnic, Ugep, 76 (18.5%) from Federal Polytechnic, Ukana, 67 (16.3%) from Federal Polytechnic, Ekowe, and 53 (12.9%) from Federal Polytechnic of Oil and Gas, Bonny. It can be concluded that the majority of participants in the study are from Auchi Polytechnic. The majority of polytechnic library users are at the HND Two level, with 116 (28.3%) students, followed by 103 (25.1%) at the HND One level. 96 (23.4%) at the ND Two level, and 95 (23.2%) at the ND One level. This suggests a concentration of library usage among students in their HND two levels. There are 194 (47.3%) females and 216 (52.7%) males, indicating that the majority of library users are male. The distribution of library users by age is as follows: 140 (34.1%) fall within the 21-23 age bracket, 102 (24.9%) within 24-26, 85 (20.7%) within 18-20, 59 (14.4%) aged 27 and above, and 24 (5.9%) between 15-17 years old. Therefore, it can be concluded that the majority of library users belong to the 21-23 age group.

Research Question 1: What is the extent of boredom among polytechnic library users?

The data in Table 2 provide the answer to this question.

Table 2: Extent of Boredom among the Library Users

S/N	Boredom	Very Great	Great Extent	Moderate	Small Extent (2)	No Extent (1)	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	It is easy for me to concentrate on my academic activities.	193	137	57	14	9	4.20	0.95

2	Frequently, when I am doing academic work, I find myself worrying about other things.	132	112	80	59	2	3.64	1.25
3	Time always seems to be passing slowly.	124	113	88	51	3	3.59	1.26
4	I often find myself at “loose ends,” not knowing what to do.	101	104	68	60	7	3.22	1.45
5	I am often trapped in situations where I have to do meaningless things.	102	87	71	72	7	3.15	1.46
6	Many academic works I have to do are repetitive and monotonous.	112	128	83	44	4	3.54	1.28
7	It takes more stimulation to get me going than most people.	102	131	100	47	3	3.56	1.19
8	I am seldom excited about my work.	155	117	83	33	2	3.85	1.17
9	In any situation, I can usually find something to do or see to keep me interested.	158	144	65	28	1	3.98	1.07
10	Much of the time in school, I just sit around doing nothing	77	86	71	83	9	2.93	1.44
11	I am good at waiting patiently.	162	111	91	22	2	3.89	1.16
12	It would be very hard for me to find academic work that is exciting enough.	101	97	91	67	5	3.30	1.35
13	Among my friends, I am the one who keeps studying for a long time.	127	110	106	40	2	3.66	1.20
14	It takes a lot of change and variety to keep me really happy.	112	132	91	37	3	3.59	1.24
15	When I am in school, I find myself in monotonous and tiresome situations.							

	101	90	90	70	5	3.25	1.38
Grand Mean/Standard Deviation						**3.56**	**0.71**
Criterion Mean						**3.00**	

Table 2 showed a grand mean of 3.56 (Std. = 0.71), surpassing the criterion mean of 3.00. This suggests that the extent of boredom among polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria is great. This implies that there may be underlying issues within the polytechnic libraries in South-South Nigeria that may need to be addressed to improve user engagement and satisfaction within these libraries, such as inadequate resources, unengaging environments, or lack of stimulating activities, which contribute to the high levels of boredom among users. Addressing these issues could be crucial for enhancing user experience and library utilization.

Research Question 2: What is the extent of Internet addiction among polytechnic library users?

The data in Table 3 are used to answer this question.

Table 3: The Extent of Internet Addiction among the Polytechnic Library Users

S/n	Internet Addiction	Very Great Extent (5)	Great Extent (4)	Moderate Extent (3)	Small Extent (2)	No Extent (1)	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	Do you stay online longer than you intended?	147	66	95	56	46	3.52	1.39
2	My longer stay online affects my academic work	95	68	89	88	70	3.07	1.41
3	Do you prefer the excitement of the internet to intimacy with your classmates	105	76	86	86	57	3.21	1.39
4	I form new relationships with fellow online users	104	81	85	84	56	3.23	1.38
5	People around me complain about the amount of time I spend online	77	72	85	89	87	2.91	1.41

6	The time I spend online affects my school grades.	70	63	71	103	103	2.74	1.43
7	I check my email before something else that I need to do	92	72	90	76	80	3.05	1.43
8	My academic work suffers because of the Internet	83	61	73	80	113	2.81	1.49
9	I become defensive or secretive when asked about what you do online	82	87	92	75	74	3.07	1.39
10	I block out disturbing thoughts about your life with soothing thoughts of the internet	107	67	98	77	61	3.20	1.40
11	I find myself anticipating when I will go online again	86	72	102	94	56	3.09	1.34
12	I fear that life without the internet would be boring, empty, or joyless	120	84	76	67	63	3.32	1.43
13	I snap, yell, or feel annoyed if someone bothers me while you are online.	91	62	80	94	83	2.96	1.44
14	I lose sleep due to late-night log-ins.	82	74	92	81	81	2.99	1.41
15	I feel preoccupied with the internet when offline or fantasize about being online.	68	79	108	84	71	2.97	1.33
16	I do find myself saying ‘‘just a few more minutes’’ when online.	101	91	92	65	61	3.26	1.38
17	I try to cut down the amount of time I spend online	97	86	108	79	40	3.30	1.29
18	I try to hide how long I’ve been online	71	76	102	76	85	2.93	1.38

19	I choose to spend more time online over going out with classmates	95	82	83	76	74	3.12	1.42
20	I feel depressed, moody, or nervous when you are offline, which goes away when I am back online	94	72	88	76	80	3.06	1.44
Grand Mean/Standard Deviation							**3.09**	**0.93**
Criterion Mean							**3.00**	

Table 3 reveals a grand mean of 3.09 (Std. = 0.93), surpassing the criterion mean of 3.00. Consequently, it shows that the extent of Internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South Nigeria is moderate.

Research Question 3: What is the relationship between boredom and Internet addiction among polytechnic library users?

The data in Table 4 are used to answer this question.

Table 4: Relationship between Boredom and Internet Addiction

		Boredom	Inter.Addiction
Boredom	Pearson Correlation	1	.446**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	410	410
Internet Addiction	Pearson Correlation	.446**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N = 410		**α = 0.05**

Based on the data from Table 4, the Pearson correlation coefficient (r = .446) indicates a positive correlation. With a significant value (Sig.2-tailed) of .000 ($p < 0.05$), it means that the relationship between boredom and Internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South Nigeria is strong.

Research Question 4: What is the joint relationship between demographics (gender, age and level of study) and Internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South Nigeria?

The data in Table 5 are used to answer this question.

Table 5: Joint Relationship between Demographics (gender, age and level of study) and Internet Addiction

		Demographics	Internet Addiction Scale
Demographics	Pearson Correlation	1	-.035
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.484
	N	410	410
Internet Addiction Scale	Pearson Correlation	-.035	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.484	
	N = 410		**α = 0.05**

Based on the data from Table 5, the Pearson correlation coefficient (r = -.035) indicates

a negative correlation. With a significant value (Sig.2-tailed) of .484 (p > 0.05), it shows

that the relationship between demographics and Internet addiction among polytechnic

library users in South-South Nigeria is weak.

Testing of the Hypotheses

1. Boredom will not significantly predict Internet addiction among polytechnic library users.

The data in Tables 6-8 provide the answer to this hypothesis

Table 6: Model Summary Table of

Relationship between Boredom and Internet Addiction

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.446[a]	.199	.197	.83278

a. Predictors: (Constant), Boredom Scale

Table 7: ANOVA Summary Table of Relationship between Boredom and Internet Addiction

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	70.398	1	70.398	101.507	.000[b]
	Residual	282.958	408	.694		
	Total	**353.355**	**409**			

a. Dependent Variable: Internet Addiction Scale

b. Dependent Variable: Boredom Scale

Table 8: Coefficient Summary Table of Relationship between Boredom and Internet Addiction

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1.005	.211		4.766	.000
	Boredom Scale	.586	.058	.446	10.075	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Internet Addiction Scale

The tables 6-8 provide the R (.446) and R-squared (.199) values. The R-value (R =

.446) indicates a moderate positive correlation between boredom and internet addiction. The R-squared value (R-squared = .199) indicates that approximately 20% of the variance in internet addiction can be explained by boredom. The ANOVA table suggests that the regression model predicts the dependent variable, internet addiction, significantly well ($F(1,409) = 101.507$, $p < 0.000$, which is less than 0.05), indicating that the overall regression model is statistically significant and provides a good fit for the data. Furthermore, the Coefficients table provides important information for predicting internet addiction from boredom. The coefficient ($\beta = .000$) indicates that boredom contributes statistically significantly to the model, supporting its role in predicting internet addiction. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected, suggesting that boredom significantly predicts internet addiction among polytechnic library users.

2. Demographics (gender, age and level of study) will not significantly predict Internet addiction among library users.

The data in Tables 9- 11 provide the answer to this hypothesis

Table 9: Model Summary Table of Relationship between Demographics and Internet Addiction

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.035[a]	.001	-.001	.93007

a. Predictors: (Constant), Demographics

Table 10: ANOVA Summary Table of Relationship between Demographics and Internet Addiction

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.424	1	.424	.490	.484[b]
	Residual	352.932	408	.865		
	Total	353.355	409			

a. Dependent Variable: Internet Addiction Scale

b. Dependent Variable: Demographics

Table 11: Coefficient Summary Table of Relationship between Demographics and Internet Addiction

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	3.194	.155		20.553	.000
	Demographics	-.026	.037	-.035	-.700	.484

a. Dependent Variable: Internet Addiction Scale

The tables 9-11 provide the R (.035) and R-squared (.001) values. The R-value (R = .035) indicates a very weak positive correlation between demographics and internet addiction. The R-squared value (R-squared = .001) indicates that approximately 0% of the variance in internet addiction can be explained by demographics. The ANOVA table suggests that the regression model does not predict the dependent variable, internet addiction, significantly well ($F(1,409) = .490$, $p < 0.484$, which is greater than 0.05), indicating that the overall regression model is not statistically significant and does not provide a good fit for the data. Furthermore, the Coefficients table provides important information for predicting internet addiction from demographics. The coefficient ($\beta = .484$) indicates that demographics do not contribute statistically significantly to the model, thereby not supporting its role in predicting internet addiction. Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted, suggesting that demographics do not significantly predict internet addiction among polytechnic library users.

Discussion of Findings

Extent of boredom among the polytechnic library users

The finding revealed that the extent of boredom among polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria is great. It was agreed that time always seems to be passing slowly, they are often trapped in situations where they have to do meaningless things. The respondents asserted that the academic work they do is repetitive and monotonous. They agreed that most of the time in school, they sit around doing nothing, and as well find themselves in monotonous and tiresome situations in school. This finding is in harmony with that of Skues, et al (2015) on 'the effects of boredom, loneliness, and distress tolerance on problem internet use among university students and found that boredom proneness was significantly associated with problematic Internet use (PIU). They revealed that higher levels of problematic Internet use (PIU) were associated with lower levels of academic performance, leading to boredom. The finding of the study also agrees with Li, et al. (2021) which showed that loneliness, boredom proneness, and mobile phone addiction were significantly and positively correlated with each other, as well as significantly negatively correlated with self-control. Boredom proneness and self-control, when operating in parallel, partially mediated the relationship between loneliness and mobile phone addiction, and when occurring sequentially, they fully mediated the relationship between loneliness and mobile phone addiction.

Extent of Internet Addiction among Polytechnic Library Users

Finding from the study in table 3 revealed that the extent of Internet addiction among polytechnic library users in the South-South Nigeria is moderate. It was revealed that more than half of the respondents do agreed that they stay online longer than they intended, prefer the excitement of the internet to intimacy with your classmates, people around them complain about the amount of time they spend online, check their email before something else that they need to do, find themselves anticipating when they will go online again, lose sleep due to late-night log-ins, people around them complain about the amount of time they spend online, fear that life without the internet would be boring, empty, or joyless, and feel preoccupied with the internet when offline, or fantasize about being online. The above finding from the study corroborated the finding of Mathew and Krishnan (2020) who reported that internet addiction can reduce the young generation's productivity and cause cognitive dysfunction, poor academic performance, and physical, mental, and behavioural disturbances. Also, the finding is in agreement with Joseph, et al. (2021) who conducted a study to estimate the pooled prevalence of internet addiction among Indian college students and found that the estimated prevalence of severe internet addiction was significantly higher. In another study by Budak, et al, (2015), of 596 university students, 246 (41.3%) were mild addicts, 91 (15.2%) were moderate addicts, and 259 (43.5%) were not addicted to Internet use. This finding also supported the findings of Daniel (2019) on pattern of Internet use and prevalence of Internet addiction among interns of a medical college in Kerala and found that the prevalence of internet addiction among interns was 47.9% (Mild – 36.3%, moderate – 11.3% and severe – 1.3%).

The Relationship Between Boredom and Internet Addiction among Polytechnic Library Users

This finding of the study from Table 4 revealed that there is strong relationship between boredom and Internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South Nigeria. This study agrees with Wang (2018) finding which explored the relationship between free-time management, leisure boredom, and Internet addiction in undergraduates in Taiwan and found that of all the influencing factors, boredom has been proven to be a common trigger for intensive Internet use and can result in particularly problematic Internet use behaviour. Results from the structural model of Wang (2018), revealed that free-time management decreases boredom during leisure time, and boredom during leisure time enhances Internet addiction. Furthermore, leisure boredom was revealed to play a role as a distinct mediator between free-time management and Internet addiction. Also, this finding corroborated the finding of Skues, et al (2015) on 'the effects of boredom, loneliness, and distress tolerance on problem internet use among university students which showed that boredom proneness was significantly associated with problematic Internet use (PIU).

Relationship between demographics (gender, age and level of study) and Internet addiction among polytechnic library user

The finding of the study in Table 5 indicated that there is weak relationship between demographics and Internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South Nigeria. The finding of the study supported Shan et al. (2021) finding using a sample of 3380 first-year undergraduate students in China and reported that males showed higher scores of internet addiction when compared to females. Similar gender differences were noted among university students in the Slovak Republic (Rigelsky et al., 2021) as the study found that males tend to spend more time on the Internet for pleasure and search for information, whereas females prefer using the Internet for social networking. The finding of the study also confirmed Sulaiman et al. (2016) who explored the role of demographics (e.g., age, gender, and occupational position) in relation to Internet addiction and demonstrated that no significant differences in terms of Internet addiction between the genders. However, significant differences were found in Internet addiction depending on age and occupational position. The study also found a positive relationship between loneliness, shyness, proactiveness, and internet addiction. Ozkan and Ozkan (2023) in their study also revealed that demographic factors have association with internet addiction. Male gender, adolescent age group, separation of parents, high income, and being a student are identified as risk factors for gaming addiction.

Similarly, Terroso et al. (2022), in their study of the associations among Internet addiction, demographic, and cognitive variables, such as impulsivity, aggression, and depressive and/or anxiety symptoms showed that 19.1% of the participants presented moderate or severe internet addiction, with men having a higher prevalence (45.0%) in Brazil. Khubchandani et al. (2021) also discovered that internet addiction was more prevalent among males, young adults, and those with higher education levels.

Prediction between boredom and Internet addiction among polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria

The finding of the study from hypothesis 1 Tables 6-8 revealed that boredom significantly predicts internet addiction among polytechnic library users. It shows that boredom play a crucial role in predicting internet addiction. This finding is consistent with the finding of Loreta, et al. (2023) study on boredom and prediction of internet addiction through the mediating role of attentional bias toward social networks using correlation and t-test analyses which confirmed that the tendency to experience boredom and selective attention toward social network information was related to internet addiction. Furthermore, the mediation model according to them indicated that attentional bias (AB) fully explains the link between, boredom susceptibility (BS-BSSS) and internet addiction (IAT). The study highlighted the crucial role of selective attentional processing behind internet addiction.

Prediction between Demographics (gender, age and level of study) and Internet addiction among library users in South-South, Nigeria

The finding of the study from hypothesis 2 in Tables 9 - 11 indicates that demographics do not significantly predict internet addiction among polytechnic library users. The R-value (R = .035) indicates a very weak positive correlation between demographics and internet addiction. The ANOVA table suggests that the regression model does not predict the dependent variable, internet addiction, significantly well which is greater than 0.05), indicating that the overall regression model is not statistically significant and does not provide a good fit for the data. The coefficient (β = .484) from the data analysis in the table indicates that demographics do not contribute statistically significant to the model, thereby not supporting its role in predicting internet addiction. This finding is consistent with the finding of Sulaiman et al. (2016) who in their study, “exploring the role of demographics (e.g., age, gender, and occupational position) in relation to Internet addiction in terms of Internet addiction between the genders” found significant differences on Internet addiction depending on age and occupational position. The finding of the study is also in support Loreta, et al. (2023) who reported at the University of Benin, through data collected during the 2013/2014 academic session that the value of the library influenced its use and there was no significant difference in library use per faculty status or gender.

This finding is contrary to the position of Quadri (2013) who noted that demographic characteristics have been critical factors in understanding the utilization of information technology, knowledge, library resources, and services especially in higher education across the

globe. Khubchandani et al. (2021) also discovered that internet addiction was more prevalent among males, young adults, and those with higher education levels. Quadri (2013) opined that demographic characteristics often provide important clues as to what factors contribute to undergraduates' use of online library resources. The finding of the study above is consisted with the finding of Usoro, et al. (2018) who in their study found that student demographics include age, marital status, gender, academic discipline, level of study, designation, race, social background, ethnicity, religion, etc are capable of influencing their use of the library. Ebijuwa and Mabawonku (2019) in disagreement with this finding assert that age, gender, and academic discipline could be possible factors that exert influence on undergraduates' use of e-library resources in Nigeria. In related development in Nigeria, Onovughe and Ogbah (2013) established in their study that female students utilize the library more than male students in Delta State, South-south, Nigeria.

Conclusion

Various variables in academic institutions determine the extent to which library users utilize the Internet. However, boredom and demographics are the different variables that determine the extent of internet usage and addiction among students (library users). The findings of this study underscore the intricate interplay between boredom, demographics, and internet addiction among polytechnic library users. By investigating these predictors, there is a deeper understanding of the complex psychological factors driving excessive internet addiction. The results clearly show that boredom is a strong predictor that may push people towards internet addiction. Furthermore, demographics (gender, age, and level of study) exhibit a weak correlation and do not significantly predict internet addiction among polytechnic libraries users in South-South Nigeria.

From the findings of the study, it can be concluded that boredom apart from demographics of library users individually and jointly predict internet addiction among library users in federal polytechnics in South-South, Nigeria. Thus, boredom, significantly have strong relationship and predict internet addiction among the polytechnic library users but demographics has a weak relationship with internet addiction and hence, do not significantly predict internet addiction among the federal polytechnic library users in South-South, Nigeria. In all, this study highlights the critical role that psychological dynamics (boredon, and demographics - age, gender and level of study) play in the development of internet addiction and advocates for comprehensive strategies that take into account each person's unique strengths and vulnerabilities among polytechnic library users.

Recommendations

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

1. In order to avoid boredom which predicts internet addiction, the counselling unit in collaboration with the polytechnic management should help to counsel and organize an awareness campaign for students who are prone to boredom to explore and engage them in offline activities that are stimulating and fulfilling. This could include hobbies, sports, creative pursuits, or socializing with friends and family. They should also encourage and teach them to set clear boundaries around internet usage and encourage library users to limit their screen time, especially during periods of boredom.

2. Library administrators and polytechnic administration should educate and encourage library users to actively work towards minimising internet addiction and enhancing their general well-being by setting reasonable and achievable goals.

3. It is recommended to provide seminars and workshops for library users in order to raise knowledge about the dangers of internet addiction among polytechnic library users. These events will also help to enhance their ability to regulate themselves and control their online behaviour. This is so because, learning to regulate impulses and make conscious choices about online activities help to make library users reduce the risk of compulsive internet usage resulting to internet addiction driven by sensation seeking tendencies.

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INTERNATIONALIZATION OF CONFLICT AS A CHALLENGE TO PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT
It is an indubitable fact that African countries has been highly susceptible to inter and intra conflicts after independence. This has made Africa to be christened the hub of conflicts and wars. Most pathetic is the fact that these conflicts and wars have defied any meaningful solution, and their negative impact has impeded peace and development in the continent. It has eroded to a larger extent the core value of human existence in the continent. The depended nature of African economy is largely blame for this, knowing fully well that whatever affects he developed nations have a rippling effect on Africa. This paper examines the challenges the internationalization of conflict has posed to peace and development in Africa. The paper argues that most of the violent conflict in the continent has external influence and sponsors. It blames the Cold War rivalry between the capitalist United States and the communist USSR as it were, where attempt by the African allies to delink from either of the ideologies to favour the other, always led to intervention by these powerful nations. The paper submits that while the external factors share in the blame for Africa lack of peace, development and progress, African leaders are largely to blame for the myriads of problems that have bedeviled the continent due to their tantrum for bad leadership.

Introduction

The history of Africa as a continent is deplete with conflict. Arguably, there is no part of the continent that is not enmeshed in one conflict or the other. The Cold War rivalry between the capitalist United States and its allies and the communist USSR later Russia and its protégés after the Second World War bifurcated the continent for their selfish gain and interest. Since the 1960s till date, Africa has witnessed series of conflicts and wars such as the Sudan (1985-1990), Liberia (1980-2003), Nigeria (1967-70),

Somalia (1988-93), Angola since 1974, and Burundi, DR. Congo, Rwanda and Sierra Leone (1991-2001) (Alabi, 2006:41).

A cursory look at the above conflicts revealed international influences in its operations. Alarmingly, most of these countries lack the political will and temperament to maintain previous peace agreement; thereby falling prey to the antics of conflict merchants within and outside the continent. The internationalization of conflict in Africa has a deep historical root that dates back to colonial and precolonial periods, and became prevalent and destructive during Cold War and post-Cold War period. The attempt by the foreign powers and international conflict entrepreneur to influence Africa's political and economic system during decolonization and post-independence period has increased the rate of conflict in Africa (Marshall and Knor,2003; Schmidt, 2016).

The wind of conflict blowing across African continent has raised eyebrows among conflict experts who have fingered some range of key forces such as contradictions in globalization and the attendant intensification of identity-based struggle for the control of power and resources, the opposing economic and political reforms and flawed democratization. There is also the declining state capacities and diminishing resources and the proliferation of light and small arms in Africa. The incursion of external influence into Africa have aided in the incubation and spread of conflicting situations in Africa. Example the was overthrow of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana in 1966, shortly after independence and the violent conflict in Congo Kinshasa, now DR Congo which led to the killing of President Patrice Lumumba. Apart from the inter communal war/conflict that have ravaged Africa, there have been class, political, religious and environmental conflicts which are mostly intra (Herbst, 1990: 117-139).

Conceptualizing Conflict in Africa: The Origin

Neo-colonialism, weak governance, exclusionary politics, contested legitimacy, resource competition, globalized conflicts and extremist ideologies have all combined to create various episodes of violent conflict across Africa since independence. This crisis has led to loss of lives, wanton destruction of political, economic, social and environmental gains; thereby leading to lack of peace and development in the continent. Some African countries were enmeshed in violent conflict in the 1960's as groups contested the legitimacy of the government in power in the post-colonial Africa. Examples of these can be seen in the conflict in the DR Congo, Ghana, the Nigerian Biafran civil war and the liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique etc (Gilpin, 2016: 21-32).

The end of Cold War at the end of 1980's changed the character and contour of conflict in Africa as it heralded a new dynamic in conflict trends in Africa, where conflict occurs along the lines of cultures, religion and identity. According to Huntington, this was the reason for the 'clash of civilization'-

> *In this new world, the most pervasive, important and dangerous conflicts will not be between social classes, rich and poor, or other economically defined groups, but between peoples belonging to different cultural entities. Tribal wars and ethnic conflicts will occur within civilizations. Violence between states and groups from difference civilizations, however carries with it the potential for escalation as other states and groups from these civilizations rally to the support of kins in countries (Huntington, 1997:28).*

This ideology has incubated and hatched a lot of tribal conflict that produced ethnic militia and warlords in a lot of African countries. Groups such as Al-Shabaab in East Africa, Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin and North East Nigeria, M23 rebels in the DR Congo, the conflict in Sudan, Mali and the post Ghaddafi violence in Libya etc, have all contributed to the new face violent conflict in Africa. A Cursory look at the above conflict revealed that it is among parties in the same countries and groups.

In conceptualizing conflict in Africa, it must be understood that statehood in Africa is highly contested. African countries during colonialism struggled to relate with their neighbouring countries, as colonial conflicts were about groups survival and freedom from oppression. Inter-state rivalry and intra violent conflict within the same state has been the new face conflict in Africa since independence. However, Small and Singer (1982), identified various types of conflicts in Africa since independence and this are-

1. Inter-state wars.

2. Extra-state war: (a) Colonial conflict with the colony, (b) Imperial-state vs non-state actors

3. Intra-state wars: (a) civil wars for struggle for power and over local issues, regional internal wars and inter-communal wars.

4. Non-state wars: (a) In non-state area, and (b) Across the state borders.

The above conflicts/wars have domestic, transnational and global effect in Africa with an estimated 12 million deaths, over 105% of war deaths and unquantified numbers of displaced persons (IDP) in African countries since the end of 1963. It's worth noting that most African conflict remain unresolved or partially resolved which diminish the number of war related deaths, while underlying drivers such as political alienation, ethnic cleavages and entrenched socio-economic inequality and sustainers such as foreign aids and proceeds from natural resources persist (Lacina and Gleditsch, 2005: 145-156; Gilpin, 2016: 21-32).

Moreover, the activities of non-state actor across the continent since the end of Cold War has led to the resurgence of anther phase of conflict in Africa. Militant groups such the Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, Banditry in Nigeria, the M23 rebels in DR Congo, the Lord's Resistance Army in Mozambique, have all carried out various forms of violence in the countries and regions in which they are domiciled. These non-state actors have engaged in acts of terrorism, insurgency, some of them in the extreme form. Different authors and scholars have given different descriptions and connotations to the modus operandi of these groups in their activities and their contribution to the distortion of peace and development in Africa. They have argued that because some of these groups are faceless, it has been difficult to know their aims and objectives other than to cause disharmony in the society and nation for a selfish few. Examples of these groups are the Boko Harm and the Al-Shabaab etc, militant groups whose grievances remain blurred from the beginning. These authors and scholars submitted that labelling this violent conflict as civil war, an insurgency or genocide is not as important as a comprehensive diagnosis of the causative factors that can help resolve the impasse (Gilpin, 2016: 21-32).

Historical Overview of Conflict Trends in Africa from 1960

The number of countries plagued by violent conflict annually during the pre-independence period rose from three during the 1950s, to more 12 in the 1990s, before it dropped to below nine during 2000s. Therefore, four conflict epoch can be understood since independence- the immediate post-independence years, characterized by liberation struggle and contested legitimacy (1960-1974); the Cold War years, characterized by proxy wars (1975-1992); the post-Cold War years, characterized by recurring violent conflicts that were fuelled by economic and political exclusion (1993-2005); and the era of non-state actors, characterized by extremist groups and globalized violence (2006-2013) (Gilpin, 2016: 21-32).

Emerging Conflict and Security threats in Africa

African countries are facing a number of emerging security threads presently and there is more to come. These includes- 'rapids urbanization', characterized by urban expansion and migration drift in most African countries; 'climate change', characterized by draught that affect agricultural production in most African countries, leading to low food production and hunger; There are also 'border dispute', characterized by humanitarian crisis and attempt to seek for greener pastures elsewhere; 'Demographic transition', characterized by the emergence of youthful population that needs political and economic support by the government; and lastly illicit 'transnational network', characterized by drug cartel and barons who engaged in illicit drug dealing use and abuse (Gilpin, 2016: 21-32). While the above factors could give rise to instability and unrest in Africa, it is pertinent to consider the historical, political, socio-economic and environmental issues that has been discussed so far.

The New Face of International Conflict

With the paradigm shift since the end of Cold War in the violent conflict in the world, international conflict has been broadened to include ethnic conflicts, and other kinds of violence within the national borders. With the new waves of democratization, increasing globalization of information and economic power, there are more frequent efforts for international co-ordination of peace and security in policy articulation and implementation. A rash

of sometimes violent expressions, claims to right based on identity, and redefinition of sovereignty that imposes on African states new responsibilities to their citizens and the world community have sparked conflicts between the host and the international forces or between leaders in the states and the belligerent citizens (Burton,1990).

These transformations are changing much in Africa, with the increase in ethnic conflict among people from the same culture. This revolutionary change is the new face in African conflict and this perhaps describe and redefine the new face of international conflict. Examples of these can be seen in the conflicts in Mali in recent times, Sudan, the Libya conflict, the Boko Haram conflict that is currently raging and has drained the finances of Nigeria and neighbouring countries. Added to this is the international dimension these conflicts have had on the world economy. On the 21 September, 2013, the Westgate shopping mall in Kenya was attacked and a lot of people killed. This attack was carried out by the dreaded Al-Shabaab who said it was in retaliation to Kenya's contribution of troops and resources to fight them in that region.

The inter-connectedness to these conflicts can be seen in the proliferation of small arms in all the countries and regions of Africa. These conflicts have also increased the business of drug cartels in some countries such as Chad, Burkina Faso, Libya and South Africa. The palpable fear in which people in African countries are engrossed in violence are alarming; even as it has highlighted the need for conflict resolution expert to re-strategize and with a template to combat insecurity in the continent.

The effect of globalization on conflict in Africa is another case that deserves mention. The globalization of virtually everything as postulated by the World Bank, IMF and other Washington consensus means that border remains open for businesses (trade liberalization) for prosperity to strive. Recently, following the closure of Nigerian border, it has been discovered that the activities of armed bandits, mercenaries and terrorist attacks have been drastically reduced. Reports emanating from Department of State Services (DSS), Customs and Nigerian Immigrations attest to this.

However, the post-Cold War pattern of internationalization of conflict in Africa is taking a new twist with countries hitherto thought to be "clean" countries indicted/mentioned as sponsors of militancy/terrorism. According to the former aviation Minister in Nigeria, Fani Kayode (2019), Turkey, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, have joined the usual suspects Islamic State, Al-Qaeda and other Islamic Jihadists as the sponsor of the current insecurity in Nigeria and in other West African countries. They have been fingered as those sponsoring Boko Haram, armed bandit and Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria and in other West African countries such as Mali, Burkina Faso etc. In a letter sent to the Federal government and copied to the US President, on the 26 November, 2019, the then Minister advised the federal government to solicit the support from the US President and government in nicking their activities in the bud.

Internationalization of conflict in Africa has done so much harm- politically, economically, socially and culturally in the continent. The case of Libya in which United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 was used to oust former Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi from power comes to mind. Even though the UN said this was done in the spirit of the 'responsibility to protect', it can be seen that the US led coalition went beyond the mandate of protecting the citizens to oust Gaddafi from office (Libya Crisis, 2011). Since the ousting of Gaddafi in 2011, the country has never known peace. Libya has become a hub for militancy and terrorism; the economy that was once very vibrant has nose-dived.

During decolonization, some African leaders fell-prey to the politics of the international system; where for example the first Prime Minister of DR Congo (former Zaire), Prince Patrice Lumumba was killed. His plane was shut down by the Central Intelligent Agency (CIA) for what they termed insubordinate and alleged link with communist Russia in 1960 shortly after independence. Also, the first President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah was ousted from power because he tried to delink from western oriented policies/ideology, and allied with the communist ideology.

Methodology

The study adopts the narrative and descriptive method of data analysis in the profiling of violent conflict trends as it affects peace and development in Africa. The paper critically analysed how global conflict has impacted negatively on peace and development in Africa using relevant reports, books and journals articles. Using content analysis the

paper sourced for opinions from respondent on the effects of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Africa situation in Africa.

Theoretical Framework

International conflicts strive on the mechanics of threat, force, influence and power. In the international system, conflict is more conspicuous and serious due to the deep-rooted understanding of international society as anarchic, Hobbesian jungle where one fights against everyone else because of the absence of a leader. Classical realism argues that conflict is the state of nature in international arena. Walt, (1979) in his neo-realism (offensive) theory argues that the struggle for power has always been the central theme of international relations. Liberal institutionalism also believes that conflict exist as something normal, though it is more optimistic about conflict resolution through international institutions.

Following from the above, it can be deduced that international conflict took another turn following the end of the Second World War in 1945. Therefore, this paper adopts the "ideological theory" that came with the Cold War after the Second World War and "clash of civilization theory" that came after the end of the Cold War in 1990. Before the end of the World War II, George Kennan, the American ambassador to Soviet Union argued that a conflictual relationship would be formed after the war between the United States and the USSR, the two superpowers after the war. After a detailed analysis of the Soviet Union, Kennan concluded that it was the 'ideological' differences between the two major players that would eventually lead to the inevitable conflict between the two giants and in the world (Kennan,2019).

At the end of the Cold War, when the world witnessed the collapse of the conflictual bipolarity, the prediction of the "clash of civilization" was put forward by Huntington. His theory divided the world into several major civilizations, and discusses the differences among them. The theory believed that that the world of different ideologies which had characterised the Cold War years would be replaced by different civilizations such as cultures, religion and identity; leading inevitably to conflict among cultures, religion and ethnic groups (Huntington,1997:21, 207-209).

The above postulations by these theorists are currently the norm in Africa and interestingly it has devalued and retarded peace and development in the continent. A cursory look at the plethora of intra-conflict in Africa since the end of the Cold War reveals some undercurrent within these countries and cross-border crisis between African countries. According to the imperialist theory, international influence in conflict in Africa is geared toward protecting international investment in African countries; whether multinationals, cartel or to monopolise the system. A typical example of these can be seen in Ogoni in Niger Delta of Nigeria where since 1993 till date, no crude oil has been drilled as a result of the internationalization of the conflict by Shell Petroleum Company (Isike, Ojakorotu and Uzodike,2007:19-34).Other cases are Zimbabwe, where the government have been in conflict with the white farmers, the internationalization of oil export between Sudan and South Sudan, the politicization of the peace-keeping operations in DR. Congo, Congo and the conflict in Central African Republic.

Conflicts in Africa: Trends and Dynamics

Conflict trends and dynamics in Africa are interwoven in state fragility as a result of bad governance, corruption, poverty, ethnicity, contested legitimacy, small arms proliferation. These trends and dynamics have made African states to be unstable and always conflict prone. The monopolistic nature of the African leaders and their tantrum for totalitarianism has made most African states to be weak; thereby making it very unpopular. The term violent conflict can come in the form of civil war, ethnic war, and war at high and low intensities as well as violence that fall short of war, such as militarised disputes, terrorism and riot or strikes. Also, trends and drivers of conflict intersect in complex ways. While these imply that the dynamic nature of the factors and processes of conflict contribute to violent conflict, there is great deal of debate about reducing causees of conflict to one factor.

The UK Aid in 2015 identified the following factors as likely to exert and influence the nature and extent of conflict.

- The increasing threat posed by terrorism, extremism and instability.
- The resurgence of state-based threats and intensifying wider state competition.

- The impact of technology, especially cyber threats and erosion of the rules-based international order, making it harder to build consensus and tackle global threats.

- Transnational factors such as population movements, climate change creates risk and opportunities to be managed at multiple levels. This has been confirmed by World Bank and the United Nations in 2018. The Boko Haram and farmers/herders' conflicts in Africa and other developing countries is fluid: spreading across borders to affect regions due largely to greater connectivity of countries (International Security and Arm Control). It has been asserted that the same network that allow for trade across the border can be exploited for organised crime by conflict entrepreneurs to spread violence. There is also the regional impact of conflict and the flow of refugees from conflict situations; all add to international dimensions of conflict (UK DFID, 2019).

Traditionally, the term "international conflict" refers to conflicts between different nations-states and between organizations in different countries. It can also be seen as conflict that is transported from one country to another or conflict that is flayed along ethnic, regional or continental lines. It can even be imported from outside the continent.

The Challenges of Conflict to Peace and Development in Africa

Cross Border Crime

Most of the conflicts in Africa result from crimes/conflicts across the border or across the continent. This incident has been so rampant in Africa; where in the Horn of Africa the activities of militants/terrorist groups like the al-Shabaab in east Africa and the Moslem brotherhood/fundamentalist in the North of Africa are mostly imported from the Middle east and these groups have link or affiliation with renowned terrorist groups like the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda and the Hezbollah in Lebanon. Even the Boko Haram in Nigeria and the insurgents in Mali and Libya all have links outside Africa.

Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons.

Arguably, the decolonization period constitutes the defining moment in small arms proliferation in Africa. Although the reason was genuine i.e., for national interest, peacekeeping and for law enforcement, the abusive use of these weapons by the state agencies led to these weapons getting into wrong hands, especially the non-state actors who uses it to perpetrate criminality against the state and citizens. The struggle for political and economic power, weak security architecture and the management of the weapons by the security agencies and even bad governance all combine for surge in arms supply into Africa. In some countries, there is the failure of the government to carry out comprehensive disarmament and destruction of arms that were used in the previous crisis/wars. For example, some of the weapons that were used during crisis Congo DR after independence, Nigeria after the civil war, Uganda during Idi Amin regime etc all helped in perpetrating violent conflict in those countries because they were not mopped-up after the crisis. (Fleshman, 2011).

According to Best-

> *As it is Nigeria, that is how it is in other places. We have failed to build togetherness, failed to build a nation out of national identity. It is forcing people back to primordial sentiment- ethnicity, religion, state, tribes, region and so forth. There are small arms and light weapons in the hands of the people who cannot control it and this is against the law. The introduction of small arms and light weapons is prolonging conflict and make it get out of control. For example, the conflict in Plateau State and Nigeria you can agree with me that the security architecture is weak. The security apparatus in Nigeria is not interested in arresting and persecuting those carrying arms, perpetrators of conflict in the state, rather they take side. Our security agencies have failed to guarantee internal security in Plateau state and in Nigeria in general (Best, 2023)*

Bad Governance

Bad governance has become a recurrent decimal in Africa since independence. Regimes in Africa since decolonization has been fraught with mismanagement, dictatorship, irresponsibility, bickering, endemic corruption,

etc. Political leadership in Africa is characterized by misrule, abuse, personalization and authoritarianism, insensitivity, etc. When this happened, conflict will set in and this will further lead to public distrust. Almost all the leaders in Africa have all exhibited this character in their relationship with the people. Failure of the social contract on the part of government has made some aggrieved citizens to constitute themselves into rebel groups in an attempt to replace the government. In doing this, they always seek the support of conflict entrepreneurs from outside Africa (Ikelegbe,2013:213-216)

Economic Development/Decolonization Theories

During the process of decolonization in Africa, there were fundamental disagreement over both the short-and long-term outcome of the process of economic development in Africa, considering the fact that much of Africa's wealth was used in the development of Europe or the metropole. African counties were granted political independent but economically they depended on Europe for its development. With this development, the socio-economic well-being and development of the continent was under the influence of the former colonial powers. African countries were not to exert energies in working for development on their own, but rather rely solely in the international politics and economics of the developed nations. Also, the decolonization process according to the theory must undergo evolutionary process as dictated by the developed economies till it achieved political and economic autonomy. Independence to the imperialist represent only an initial step and the reforms will continue through bilateral and multilateral in military, population (active), economic reforms and cultural resurgence (Rodney,1972:107-125).

Most African countries have been seen to be weak, irresponsible as a result of negative effects of external debt burden which leads to poverty and the problem of the heterogonous ethnic composition of African states that has made some of these states to be hub of conflict as a result of the scrambling for scarce resources and political allocations. Countries such as Nigeria, Rwanda, Liberia, Cote'divoire, Burkina Faso, among others fall into this category. "Poverty has not only reduced the ability of the people to lead a productive live in Africa, but also exacerbated identity politics along communal, ethnic, religious and regional lines" (Adetula,2006:392).

Peace and Development in Africa: The Way Forward

At the continental level, the African Union (AU) takes the lead by fashioning out a blueprint in its agenda 2063 during the 26 Ordinary Session of the African Union (AU) executive council in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 2016. According to the then AU chairperson, Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, the blueprint is for social, political and economic transformation of the continent. It emphasized on the need for a bottom-up, inclusive, participatory and people-oriented approach to development in Africa. There is the need for African elites and regions to spearhead the transformation of the continent in order to direct its peace and development, not forgetting the protection of human right, especially the rights of women and children. Some of the problems plaguing the continent such as chronic poverty, political instability, and violent mobilization by various subcultures, corruption and other forms of impunity were discussed. Others like terrorism and violent extremism has to be dealt with and this Africa Union is doing its best (Mbaku,2015).

Secondly, it is important to note that development is a process and not a one-off event since it is considered as a progression from what existed previously. As such development should always occur and be maintained to ensure that people live a positive life. Access to better health, higher income, greater individual freedom, and better opportunities in jobs, economics, better education and housing, as well as a richer quality of life should be considered. It is also very important to note that only inclusive economic growth and development and the establishment, within each African country, of governance systems that guarantee the rule of law, including respect for human rights, can deal fully with terrorism and other types of violent and destructive mobilization (AU,2015).

Thirdly, social contract between the government and the governed should be prioritized so as to create more synergy that can go a long way toward introducing a sense of civic responsibility and national cohesion. Strategic investments should be focused on the domestic revenue of the social contract. Coupled with transparent policy, mechanisms and accountable official should anchor on such

efforts that could replicate what is obtainable in other parts of the world.

Lastly, there should be security sector transformation in Africa, which is define by citizen-centric prerequisite, including the non-state actors. There should be a shift from the conventional focus of security to comprehensive security where the safety and welfare of all the citizens are catered for. Those measure will help redefine professionalism to safeguard the social contract and foster more productive citizen-security relations in Africa.

Conclusion

Africa has experienced various forms of violent conflict since independence. From the Cold War years to the post-Cold War years, conflict has evolved to the era when the non-state actors and globalized crimes become the norms in most African states. Although some of these conflicts can be blamed on weak governance, exclusionary politics, contested legitimacy, resource competition, globalized conflicts and extremist ideologies, external influences in exacerbating violent conflict in Africa cannot be left out. The effects of this globalized conflict on African peace and development cannot be over-emphasized. At independence, almost all African countries were not strong enough politically and economically to resist external pressures and manipulations; thereby aligning themselves to the United States led capitalist and the USSR Communist orientations. These unholy alliances made these super-powers to always interfere with anything that happened in Africa. With conflict currently embedded in culture, religion and identity, peace and development have continued to elude the continent. It is the submission of this paper that with inclusive governance by African leaders, strong economy devoid of corruption, peace and progressive development will return to Africa.

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TRANSNATIONAL THREATS AND FOREIGN POLICY SHIFTS: INVESTIGATING THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON WEST AFRICAN COUNTRIES

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Globalisation, transnational threats, foreign policy, terrorism; regional cooperation

ABSTRACT
Globalisation is a blessing as well as bane to humanity. Its impact on societies around the globe is diverse, presenting both opportunities and challenges. For most developing countries, the challenges are more than the opportunities. The challenges of terrorism and insurgency in West Africa countries is highly facilitated by the advent of globalisation, and this has greatly impacted how these nations position their foreign policy, shifting from the traditional way of foreign policy making to one that encompasses collaborations to tackle emerging threats. This research therefore explored transnational threats and foreign policy shifts, with a focus on investigating the impact of globalization on West African countries. The paper adopted the use of secondary data collection. Thus, sources of data in the conduct of the study were derived from journals, books, newspaper, institutional publications, and the internet. The paper adopted Complex Interdependence theory as a theoretical framework. The paper observed that West African countries have been significantly affected by globalisation, which has brought them a variety of challenges and opportunities. Therefore, the findings revealed that globalisation, while promoting economic growth, cultural interaction, and technical progress in West Africa states, has also given rise to non-state actors like terrorists and has disruptive consequences for sovereignty and national security. Therefore, the paper concluded that it is necessary for West Africa nations to establish efficient governance systems, regional collaboration platforms, and policies that capitalise on the advantages of globalisation while minimising its negative consequences. The paper recommended that West African

countries should prioritize deepening cooperation through regional organizations like ECOWAS, enhancing mechanisms for intelligence-sharing, joint military operations, and capacity-building initiatives to effectively combat transnational threats.

Introduction

Globalisation has become a significant influence in creating the geopolitical landscape of the 21st century, due to the extraordinary interconnection of our time. The increasing interconnectedness of nations and the removal of obstacles to communication and trade have led to the widespread influence of globalisation, which has radically transformed traditional concepts of sovereignty, security, and statehood in societies around the world (Ernst & Haar, 2019). However, despite the fact that globalisation has brought numerous advantages, its effect on developing countries, especially those in West Africa, provides a situation of opportunities and difficulties.

West African countries, located at the intersection of various regional and global forces, experience the profound effects of globalisation. The region, which possesses rich natural resources and cultural variety, has experienced a significant increase in transnational risks due to the widespread influence of globalisation. Non-state actors, including terrorist organisations and transnational criminal networks, take advantage of weak borders and leverage technical progress to commit acts of violence, engage in illegal trade, and create instability throughout the region (Akanji, 2019).

Furthermore, the interdependent nature of the globalised world has significant consequences for the foreign policy goals of West African nations. In order to effectively address emerging difficulties, states in the region are now adjusting their foreign policy methods and objectives as they traverse the dynamics of an increasingly interdependent international system. The conventional model of diplomacy centred around the state is being replaced by a more diverse approach, where collaborating with regional and international entities becomes crucial for protecting national interests and fostering regional stability (Grevi, 2018).

In light of this context, this research aims to examine the nexus between globalisation, transnational challenges, and the foreign policy responses of West African nations. The research aims to gain a thorough understanding of how globalisation affects the security situation in West Africa and influences the strategic decision-making of its policymakers by examining the dynamics of this phenomena. Thus, this research highlights the urgent necessity to analyse the consequences of globalisation on how West African countries deal with non-state actors and emerging challenges. The research will establish a solid foundation for a more efficient strategy to tackle the continuous security threats in the region.

Conceptual Clarification

Transnational Threats

Transnational threats are security concerns that reach beyond national borders and constitute substantial dangers to the stability, prosperity, and sovereignty of governments (Reveron, 2018). These threats involve a wide range of criminal activities, including terrorism, organised crime, cyber warfare, and pandemics. Furthermore, transnational threats, in contrast to traditional security concerns, transcend national borders and take use of the interconnection of the globalised globe to carry out their malicious operations. Therefore, these threats challenge traditional ideas of a country's authority and geographical boundaries, requiring organised and cooperative actions at both the regional and global levels (Koch & Stivachtis, 2019).

Terrorism is a significant example of transnational threats, as extremist organisations and radicalised people utilise worldwide networks and communication channels to spread their violent ideology and carry out acts of terror in many regions (Renard, 2022). Modern terrorism, which is characterised by its ability to adapt and change, is made easier by improvements in technology and communication. This allows terrorist groups to easily find new members, obtain funding, and plan attacks. As a result, national security

agencies and law enforcement authorities around the world have significant hurdles in combating this threat. In addition, the unbalanced characteristics of terrorist strategies, such as suicide bombs, guerrilla warfare, and cyber strikes, make it challenging to effectively counter this global threat (Asongu & Biekpe, 2018).

Furthermore, transnational organised crime is a significant part of the wider range of transnational threats, alongside terrorism. Transnational criminal syndicates, which extend across many continents and operate in various unlawful marketplaces, partake in a wide array of illicit endeavours such as drug trafficking, people smuggling, arms proliferation, and money laundering. These illicit organisations utilise worldwide distribution networks, networks of corruption, and digital platforms to avoid detection by law enforcement and take advantage of weaknesses in national regulations. As a result, they weaken the authority of the legal system and diminish public confidence. Furthermore, the connection between international organised crime and other illegal activities, such as funding terrorism and cybercrime, adds to the difficulty of dealing with these interconnected dangers (Shettimma, 2021).

Additionally, in the digital era, cybersecurity has become a crucial aspect of transnational threats. Cyber attacks provide significant threats to the security of national infrastructure, financial systems, and repositories of sensitive data. Government-sponsored cyber attackers, organised crime groups, and activist hackers take advantage of weaknesses in network defences and utilise advanced malicious software to penetrate government agencies, private businesses, and parts of essential infrastructure, resulting in extensive disruption and financial harm. The absence of borders in cyberspace, along with the ability to remain anonymous through digital technology, makes traditional methods of cybersecurity outdated (Gunduz & Daz, 2020). This requires international collaboration to successfully reduce this transnational threat.

Foreign Policy

Foreign policy, as defined by experts in the fields of international relations and political science, encompasses the strategic objectives, principles, and actions that a nation-state employs to handle its interactions with other governments and international entities. It is fundamentally shaped by a state's understanding of its own national interests, values, and security concerns within a global system that is becoming more interconnected and intricate (White, 2018). Foreign policy therefore implies a comprehensive strategy that involves many diplomatic, economic, military, and cultural tools used by governments to pursue their interests, safeguard their independence, and foster stability and prosperity globally.

Furthermore, experts in foreign policy emphasise the fluid and flexible nature of foreign policy processes, influenced by several elements such as domestic politics, historical influences, international conventions, and evolving geopolitical dynamics (Panke, 2019). States consistently evaluate and readjust their foreign policy plans in reaction to changing global patterns, rising dangers, and chances for collaboration, thereby demonstrating a solid interaction of interests, values, and power dynamics in the field of international relations (Baylis, 2020). Thus, foreign policy is essentially the way a country's goals and talents are shown to the world. It is an important tool for dealing with the challenges of the globalised world and achieving national objectives in a constantly changing geopolitical environment.

According to Northedge (1968), foreign policy is the dynamic interaction between external and internal factors, which is a fundamental notion in the field of international relations. Frankel (1973) sees foreign policy as a dynamic process that involves the interaction between evolving home demands and the changing international environment. In addition, Rourke (2008) expressed the view that foreign policy encompasses the objectives pursued, beliefs upheld, decisions made, and acts done by states and national societies. It represents an endeavour to strategize, oversee, and regulate the international interactions of national societies. Thus, foreign policy can be seen as a strategic tool that nations employ to exert influence on their relationships with other countries and to accomplish their goals within the global framework.

Foreign Policy Shifts

Foreign policy shifts can be understood and analysed from numerous angles, representing distinct aspects and viewpoints of international relations. It simply refer to the process in which a country modifies its alliances, partnerships, and geopolitical posture in order to adapt to evolving global dynamics (Zaidi & Nirmal, 2023). This could involve moving away from conventional allies towards new strategic partners or adjusting diplomatic and military commitments to better correspond with evolving challenges or possibilities. A critical example is that of the United States' strategic shift towards Asia during the early 21st century and Saudi Arabia's endeavours to broaden its ties in the Middle East.

Another definition of foreign policy shifts pertains to alterations in a nation's policy priorities and agenda. This entails a reassessment of a country's interests, values, and goals, resulting in changes in how resources are distributed, diplomatic efforts are made, and participation in international collaborations is approached. These adjustments might happen as a result of changes in domestic politics, economic difficulties, or changes in global standards and priorities (Walgrave, Varone & Dumont, 2013). For example, a nation can give greater importance to economic diplomacy rather than military involvement or place a strong emphasis on promoting human rights in its foreign policy.

Additionally, foreign policy shifts can also pertain to alterations in a nation's moral position and ideological alignment regarding global matters (Rathbun, et al., 2016). This entails changes in the fundamental principles, values, and beliefs that shape a nation's interaction with the global community. Normative shifts might encompass a transition towards increased compliance with liberal democratic standards, multilateralism, or non-interventionism. Alternatively, they can comprise a shift towards authoritarianism, nationalism, or protectionism. These changes can have substantial consequences for a nation's global reputation and alliances.

Foreign policy shifts or adjustments can also be characterised as alterations in a nation's geographical concentration and preferences. This entails realigning diplomatic, economic, and security approaches towards certain regions or subregions in reaction to changing geopolitical dynamics, regional conflicts, or economic prospects (Taffet, 2012). For instance, a nation might redirect its attention from one area to another as a result of evolving security risks, reliance on certain resources, or changes in trade dynamics, resulting in a redistribution of diplomatic assets and strategic investments.

Consequently, it can be seen as adaptive reactions to external shocks, crises, or systemic alterations in the international system. This pertains to a nation's capacity to adapt its strategy and tactics in foreign policy to effectively navigate through unpredictable situations, minimise risks, and take advantage of unexpected possibilities. These adjustments may encompass crisis diplomacy, conflict resolution endeavours, or humanitarian initiatives that try to tackle urgent difficulties while simultaneously protecting long-term interests and stability (Frank, et al., 2014).

Thus, foreign policy shifts can be understood via different lenses, including strategic realignment, policy prioritisation, normative changes, regional reorientation, and adaptive responses to external challenges. These factors contribute to understanding the shifts in foreign policy.

Globalisation

Globalisation is a frequently researched term in the fields of economics, sociology, and political science. It describes the growing connectivity and interdependence of civilizations, economies, cultures, and governance systems worldwide. Globalisation is primarily characterised by the increased movement of products, services, capital, information, technology, and people across national borders (Keohane & Nye, 2020). This movement is made possible by developments in transportation, communication, and digital technologies. This phenomena surpasses conventional limits and obstacles, restructuring the manner in which individuals, communities, and nations engage and assimilate into the global system (Kobrin, 2017).

There are several aspects of globalisation, such as economic globalisation, which involves the opening up of markets, the growth of trade and investment, and the merging of national economies into a worldwide system of production and consumption. Economic globalisation is propelled by causes such as technical advancement, deregulation, and the expansion of multinational firms. This results in heightened specialisation, improved efficiency, and the spread of wealth and opportunity across national boundaries. Nevertheless, globalisation also presents difficulties such as disparities in wealth, displacement of jobs,

and susceptibility to financial crises, underscoring the intricate and diverse effects of globalisation on economic systems and procedures (Islam, et al., 2019).

Furthermore, globalisation also includes cultural globalisation, which refers to the dissemination of ideas, values, conventions, and practices throughout societies, assisted by the interchange of information and the widespread availability of mass media, entertainment, and digital platforms. Cultural globalisation promotes the uniformity of cultures, as Western standards and consumer behaviours have more influence worldwide. This phenomenon sparks discussions over cultural variety, individual identity, and cultural domination (Anim, et al., 2022). In addition, globalisation has led to the development of a global civil society. This society is defined by international networks of non-governmental organisations, advocacy groups, and social movements that unite around common values, causes, and concerns. They use their influence to pressure governments and international organisations to tackle global problems and advance human rights, environmental sustainability, and social justice (Clarke, 2019).

Theoretical Framework

This research adopted the Complex Interdependence Theory. The Complex Interdependence Theory, formulated by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in their influential publication "Power and Interdependence" (1977), arose as a counter to conventional realist viewpoints in the field of international affairs. It became more prominent during a time when globalisation was starting to speed up, which questioned the old perspective of international relations that focused on the state (Mija & Teosa, 2014). The theory postulates that states are interconnected through diverse channels, including economic, social, and political connections, highlighting the mutually beneficial nature of their interactions. According to the theory, non-state entities such as multinational businesses, NGOs, and international organisations have a substantial impact on influencing global politics. In the setting of complex interdependence, military force is often regarded as less efficacious than diplomacy, economic incentives, and other manifestations of soft power (Walker, 2013).

Complex Interdependence Theory offers valuable insights into the impact of globalisation on the foreign policy shifts of West African countries grappling with transnational concerns. The process of globalisation strengthens the interrelationships between West African nations and the rest of the world, resulting in heightened susceptibility to transnational threats such as terrorism, drug trafficking, and infectious illnesses. Also, globalisation enables economic interconnectedness, which exposes West African nations to global economic shocks and weaknesses. Again, social and cultural interactions facilitate the dissemination of ideologies and networks linked to transnational threats. As a result, West African countries need to change their foreign policies from traditional state-centric methods to more cooperative measures in order to address these difficulties.

However, this theory has been highly criticised. The critics of Complex Interdependence Theory contend that it tends to underestimate power dynamics and the significance of military force in international relations, which may not sufficiently grasp the realities of geopolitics, particularly in conflict-prone countries such as West Africa. Moreover, the theory's focus on cooperation and interdependence may not provide a comprehensive explanation for instances of conflict and security rivalry, where governments prioritise their own national interests over shared benefits. Again, critics argued that the theory fails to consider the existence of structural disparities in the global economy. These inequalities have a greater impact on less-developed countries such as West Africa, restricting their capacity to fully capitalise on economic interdependence. Nevertheless, the Complex Interdependence Theory provides a useful paradigm for understanding how globalisation affects the foreign policy shifts of West African nations.

Transnational Threats and Foreign Policy Shifts: The Nexus

The interaction between global challenges that transcend national borders and changes in foreign policy creates a connection that influences how countries act in the modern global system. In this wise, transnational threats are threats that go beyond national borders and impact numerous countries at the same time. These threats include terrorism, organised crime, pandemics, and environmental degradation (Yakubu & Idehen, 2021). These challenges present substantial security, economic, and social threats to

states and societies, leading governments to reevaluate their foreign policy objectives and actions in reaction.

An important factor in the relationship between transnational threats and shifts in foreign policy is the acknowledgment of the connectivity and interdependence in global events. The existence of transnational threats highlights the necessity for countries to work together and synchronise their actions across borders in order to efficiently tackle common concerns (Bala, 2017). Therefore, changes in foreign policy frequently entail a heightened focus on multilateralism, regional collaboration, and collective security institutions. Also, states can pursue alliances, enhance international institutions, and participate in diplomatic initiatives to effectively handle transnational dangers through cooperative endeavours.

Furthermore, transnational threats have the potential to trigger modifications in the strategic decision-making of nations, resulting in adaptations in their foreign policy orientations and objectives. For instance, the rise of novel security dangers like cyberattacks or hybrid warfare may compel nations to redistribute resources, redirect military assets, or embrace fresh diplomatic approaches to mitigate growing threats (Kshetri, 2019). Thus, changes in foreign policy in reaction to transnational threats may require adjusting alliances, partnerships, and strategic engagements to better match developing security dynamics.

Simultaneously, transnational threats can worsen pre-existing tensions and disputes among states, resulting in increased competitiveness, distrust, and instability within the global system. Instances of territorial conflicts, resource competition, or ideological disagreements can be intensified by the existence of transnational threats like terrorism or arms trafficking (Nelsom, 2010). During such instances, changes in foreign policy may entail a strengthening of stances, heightened security measures, and a prioritisation of independent actions rather than cooperative resolutions.

In conclusion, the nexus between transnational threats and shifts in foreign policy emphasises the complex interaction between local needs, international influences, and worldwide trends.

Globalization and Its Impact on West African Countries

Undoubtedly, West African countries have been significantly affected by globalisation, which has brought them a variety of challenges and opportunities. An important factor is the rise of non-state players, including multinational businesses, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and transnational criminal networks, which have gained enormous influence in influencing the socio-economic environment of the region (Shittu, et al., 2020). These actors frequently engage in activities that span multiple countries, taking advantage of the interconnections created by globalisation to advance their own interests. However, while several non-governmental organisations (NGOs) make a good contribution to development endeavours, others may worsen existing issues by engaging in exploitative practices or by contributing to conflicts. Transnational criminal networks that participate in illicit operations such as drug trafficking, arms smuggling, and human trafficking provide substantial security risks to West African countries. These networks take advantage of ineffective government systems and easily crossed borders (Anang & Pokoo, 2014).

In addition to these emerging issues, globalisation has also introduced disruptive consequences for sovereignty and national security in West Africa (Clare & Walshe, 2019). The conventional understanding of sovereignty, which involves the authority over boundaries and government inside a nation-state, is being increasingly questioned due to the impact of global economic forces and transnational dangers. The process of economic globalisation has resulted in the deregulation of markets and the incorporation of West African economies into the worldwide economy, making them susceptible to external disturbances and vulnerabilities that are beyond their influence (Okafor & Enyi, 2022). Furthermore, the process of globalisation has also weakened the power of states by making it increasingly challenging to control the movement and actions of individuals, ideas, and information within a country's boundaries. For instance, during the Twitter Ban era in Nigeria, individuals still use the social media platform despite ban pronouncement by the president.

Furthermore, the impact of globalisation on national security in West Africa can be clearly seen in the increase of transnational risks such as terrorism, organised crime, and contagious illnesses. Terrorist organisations such as Boko Haram and Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) take advantage of weak

borders and socio-economic issues to enlist members and carry out attacks in several nations within the region (Maza, Koldas & Aksit, 2020). Likewise, criminal syndicates exploit inadequate law enforcement and corruption to participate in illegal operations, which undermines the effectiveness of governance and stability. Moreover, the interdependent structure of the globalised world enables the swift dissemination of contagious illnesses, exemplified by epidemics such as Ebola and COVID-19, which provide substantial health security hazards to people in West Africa (Bernes, et al., 2020).

Conclusively, globalisation has presented both advantageous prospects and difficulties for nations in West Africa. Although it has promoted economic growth, cultural interaction, and technical progress, it has also given rise to non-state actors and has disruptive consequences for sovereignty and national security. To tackle these challenges, it is necessary to establish efficient governance systems, regional collaboration platforms, and policies that capitalise on the advantages of globalisation while minimising its negative consequences.

Effects of Transnational Threats on Foreign Policy Shift in West Africa Countries

The West African region has had substantial repercussions from transnational challenges or threats such as war, globalisation, terrorism, and arms trafficking. These challenges have had a profound impact on the foreign policy decisions of the countries in the region. Primarily, the high incidence of war and armed conflict in West Africa, encompassing civil wars and regional disputes, has compelled countries to reevaluate their foreign policy priorities and strategies (Bolarinwa & Yakubu, 2022). However, as a response to the disruptive consequences of conflict, governments in the area frequently endeavour to enhance regional cooperation structures, participate in peacekeeping missions, and solicit assistance from international allies to tackle security concerns. For instance, nations like as Nigeria and Senegal have assumed prominent positions in regional peacekeeping endeavours, indicating a transition towards proactive involvement in resolving conflicts and fostering peace (Adeleke, 2017).

Furthermore, foreign policy shifts in West African countries have been significantly influenced by globalization (Asongu, 2012). The growing interdependence of economies, communities, and cultures has intensified the necessity for governments in the region to embrace more sophisticated and flexible foreign policy strategies (Ubi & Akinkuotu, 2014). Hence, West African governments have responded to globalisation by attempting to broaden their diplomatic and economic alliances, utilise regional integration efforts, and collaborate with non-governmental entities such as multinational firms and civil society organisations. This has prompted a reassessment of conventional alliances and a heightened focus on economic diplomacy and the projection of soft power.

Consequently, terrorism has become a prominent transnational threat in West Africa, with organisations like Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), and Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP) operating beyond national boundaries and presenting substantial security challenges (Pham, 2016). Due to the increase in terrorism in the area, foreign policies have been adjusted to focus on improving collaboration in counterterrorism efforts, reinforcing border protection, and tackling the underlying factors that lead to radicalization and extremism. Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger have strengthened their collaboration with international allies such as the United Nations, European Union, and African Union to counter terrorism and bring stability to regions devastated by violence (Bacon & Warner, 2021).

Furthermore, arms trafficking worsens security challenges in West Africa by intensifying conflicts, escalating bloodshed, and undermining the authority of the state. The illegal trafficking of small arms and light weapons has enabled the spread of armed factions and criminal syndicates, exacerbating the instability in the area (Mohammed & Baba, 2017). Hence, West African nations have taken steps to bolster arms control measures, fortify border security, and expand law enforcement collaboration in order to combat the illegal trafficking of weapons. The changes in foreign policy have also included active participation in global initiatives such as the Arms Trade Treaty, as well as regional frameworks like the ECOWAS Convention on Small Arms and Light Weapons. These efforts aim to tackle the cross-border aspects of arms trafficking.

Thus, transnational threats, including war, globalisation, terrorism, and arms trafficking, have significant impacts on the changes in foreign policy in West African nations.

Conclusion

The nexus between globalisation, transnational threats, and shifts in foreign policy in West Africa countries highlights the complex interaction between worldwide influences, regional factors, and internal obstacles. The process of globalisation has enabled West African countries to become more intertwined with the rest of the globe, resulting in both advantageous prospects and potential weaknesses. The interconnectivity in this region has increased its vulnerability to transnational threats such as terrorism, organised crime, and contagious illnesses. These risks go beyond country boundaries and necessitate cooperative actions. Consequently, West African nations have experienced substantial changes in their diplomatic strategies, adjusting to the changing security environment and striving to tackle emergent issues through collaboration among neighbouring countries and alliances with international partners.

These shifts in foreign policy may be seen in a range of efforts designed to improve security cooperation, bolster border management, and foster socio-economic growth. Regional organisations, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), have been instrumental in coordinating efforts to address transnational threats. In addition, West African nations have collaborated with global allies such as the United Nations, European Union, and individual donor countries to garner assistance for counterterrorism initiatives, border security initiatives, and development projects that target the underlying causes of instability.

Recommendations

Based on the analysis above, the following recommendations are put in place:

i. First and foremost, it is important to strengthen regional cooperation. West African countries should prioritize deepening cooperation through regional organizations like ECOWAS, enhancing mechanisms for intelligence-sharing, joint military operations, and capacity-building initiatives to effectively combat transnational threats.

ii. Secondly, addressing root causes of violence in the region should be prioritised. Efforts to address transnational threats should go beyond security measures to tackle underlying socio-economic and political factors contributing to instability. This includes promoting good governance, rule of law, and inclusive development to address grievances and prevent radicalization.

iii. Border security should be enhanced. Given the porous nature of borders in West Africa, investing in border management technologies, training for border security forces, and cross-border cooperation mechanisms are essential to prevent the movement of illicit goods, weapons, and extremist elements.

iv. West African countries should incest in sustainable development goals. Investing in education, healthcare, infrastructure, and job creation programs can address socio-economic disparities, promote social cohesion, and reduce vulnerabilities to extremism and criminality, contributing to long-term stability and prosperity in West Africa.

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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE SOCIETY AND CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT
Women from the early days of the Church have contributed immensely to the development of the society and Church. The need to recognize the contributions of the women to socio-religious and economic spheres of our national life is becoming increasingly urgent, especially now, that Nigeria is in dire need of rapid socio-cultural cum economic development. The work, which is anchored on preference theory, will explore the concepts of the Holy books about women, concepts of African culture and about women; subordination of women, total neglect of women from advent of Christianity in Nigeria; women in Church history, the role of women in the development of society; women in Church Development; factors affecting the role of women in the society and church development and then conclusion. The paper recommends among others that women should always recognize their worth and position in the quest for societal development and national transformation and so should brace up to confront gallantly all the social, religious, economic and political impediments that hold then down.

Introduction

The need to recognize the contributions of women to religious and socio-economic spheres of our national life is becoming increasingly urgent, especially now that Nigeria is in dire need for rapid socio-cultural cum economic development (Eya, 2005). Historical records have portrayed women as important agents of positive change in socio-cultural and religious developments despite several cultural attempts to relegate their contributions to the background (Anaele, 2012). In the sphere of religion, the non-projection of lofty achievements of women in the male dominated systems has been a long standing issue. Most institutionalized religions are patriarchal, meaning that men lead like father figures. Women activities are often relegated to the background as fringes of religious organizations. Their numerous supportive roles in the church and society are hardly accorded a place of prominence in our contemporary socio-religious scheme of things. That therefore reflects existing social distinctions between men and women (Fisher, 2008). In some cases, women are even considered incapable of realization of spiritual goals or dangerous to men's spiritual lives.

However, it is heart-warming and encouraging to note that in recent times several scholars have attempted in no small measure to rectify the anomaly of neglect for women. Their

efforts notwithstanding, some major areas of women activities are still relatively unexplored, under-explored or passively explored. In most orthodox churches in (Nigeria) women are not considered as true missionaries (Kirkwod: 1993). On the global scene, the United Nations Statistical Department (2000) shows that:

> *Women form one third of the world's population, do three-fourths of worlds' work, receive only one-tenth of the world's salary, and own one-hundredth of the world's land, two-thirds of illiterate adults are women, over three-fourths of starving people are women and their dependent children.*

It is on this premise of greater attention for women by the United Nations and other organizations on the empowerment of women for meaningful contributions to socio-religious and economic development of the society in general and church development in particular that this study is focused on women in church development. The study will therefore explore the unrecognized but important roles women play in the society and churches.

Theoretical Framework

Preference Theory

Catherine Hakim (2004), in her preference theory upholds the view that contemporary women have been lifted to a position of authority where they can compete favourably with their men counterparts. She views things from a different angle or perspective. This theory seems to suggest that the destiny of any contemporary women is right now in her own hands. However, in her preference theory she posits that, although women are known in history as victims of discrimination and marginalization in the society, but presently things have changed for the better for women. Hakim observes that before the 1960's a number of barriers made it very difficult for all but a small minority of women to be able to pursue a career on anything like equal terms with men. She listed five changes that have transformed the situation so that there are now better labour market opportunities for women. These changes are:

1. The Contraceptive Revolution: She claimed that from about 1965, the introduction of contraceptives made it possible for women to control their own fertility.

2. The Equal Opportunities Revolution: Which Hakim believes ensured that women for the first time obtained equal rights to access all positions, occupations and careers in the labour market but still maintains that there may still be some instances of discrimination against women.

3. The Expansion of White Collar Jobs which created jobs women find attractive.

4. Jobs for Secondary Earners e.g. part time jobs in which some women can fit in.

5. Increased Affluence has led to a situation in which personal preferences about work have become more important than financial necessity in determining work patterns. Many women can afford to work part time or even not at all. With the arrangement, women have choices to make. Some can decide to combine paid work with family work, others may decide to focus on career development while yet there are some who would rather prefer not to do paid work (Hakim 2004).

The implication of this theory is that women's fortune in our contemporary time depends on the type of preference or choice they make in life. This is due mainly to the fact that a lot of labour market opportunities have been made available for them by the provision of sound education for both men and women in our present day societies. Women have equal opportunities now to embark on the educational pursuit that will usher them into the career of their choices in future. Women are no longer tied down to their families by child bearing because through proper family planning they can decide the number of children they will like to have and use the rest of their life to engage in their career, full time or part time job. Women because of increase in affluence can also prefer or choose not to work at all or decide to combine paid work with family responsibility. Women who make their preference choices on the ground of the foregoing situations should not be interpreted to have been marginalized or discriminated against by their husbands or the society. Women should therefore make the

wisest choice or preference so as to maximize the available opportunities to contribute significantly to socio-economic development of their families, church and the society at large.

Concept of the Holy Books about Women

Among the several allusions are concepts from the Holy Bible in the book of Genesis where the woman is admonished thus: "Your desire shall be to obey your husband and he shall rule over you" (Fisher, 2008:26). The Holy Quran also directed that men are appointed guardians over women in respect of whom Allah has made some men excel over others and virtuous women are always obedient (Armstrong, 1993). The Holy books have been quoted severally as affirming that the man is the head of the home". Wives are instructed to be submissive to their husbands ... as the perfect will of God. Armstrong argues that none of the major religions has been particularly good to women. They have usually become male affairs and women and their developmental roles have been relegated to a marginal position (1993). Although women may have made significant advances in many areas of life, but a lot of religious and cultural factors have succeeded in relegating all these to the background. Women have continued to be excluded from key roles in many societies and religions. The exclusion of women is supported by the biblical account of creation where Eve, the woman was created out of the bone from the rib of Adam the man as a mere helper.

Concept of African Culture about Women

Apart from theological accounts, the African culture is rich with evidence of male dominion. This as it were, results to constant down playing of roles and contributions of women to the development of African society. Olejide (1996) opined that the review of concepts of culture formulation in Nigeria and in most parts of the world show that women are ascribed a subordinate status. This view she claims, rooted in the social, economic and political structures, is reproduced by the socialization process. Today, one finds out that African family as agent of socialization contributes significantly to gender inequality by providing a male child with rugged playing materials such as football, bicycle, and so on, and the female child with a doll or toy (Benson, 2003). This type of action prepares the male child for tougher challenges while the female counterpart is being treated and psychologically positioned as a weakling. The foregoing finds practical relevance in views expressed by Lengermann and Neibrugg (1995) that gender difference results from the different roles that women and men are taught to play or come to play within various institutional settings. From the family setting, socialization takes cognizance of gender division of labour. By the method of socialization boys are provided towards manhood and girls towards womanhood.

Subordination of Women

Holm (1994), reviewed some of the ways in which women are subordinated or exploited in contemporary religions, though they constitute over half of their total population and contribute immensely to their spiritual, financial and numerical growth. He argues, that "while the classical teachings of many religions have stressed equality between men and women; in practice women have usually been far from equal. It is argued by many scholars that "Women have a role to play in many religions, but it is almost always subordinate to the role of men, and it is likely to be in the private rather than the public sphere (Holm, 1994). In Buddhism, both men and women can have a religious role; as Monks and Nuns, as in Roman Catholic, respectively. However, all monks are seen as senior or even superior to all Nuns. Orthodox Hinduism only allows males to take a full part in ceremonies. In Islam, Moslem women for example, are not allowed to enter Mosques for worship. Holm (1994) agrees that Christianity also has been male chauvinistic.

Total Neglect of Women from Advent of Christianity in Nigeria

Why women role are neglected in Christianity may have started from the advent of Christianity in Nigeria. Christianity made its first incursion into Nigeria in 1842 through the joint missionary effort of the Church Missionary Society and the Basel Missionary Society. Among the officials, there was no record of any woman crew member. The pioneer missionary work was carried out by Henry Townsend, who was the first Anglican reverend (missionary) to visit Nigeria. He did the spade work. Since then, Christianity has made a gradual but remarkable progress from the coast to the hinterland. Women missionaries were not involved at that stage. Christianity was embraced by both men and women in Nigeria but while the role and activities of men were recognized and promoted, the role of women was ignored, even till now.

The role of men like Bishop Ajayi Crowther, C.A. Gollmer and others were highlighted while the women who assisted them in cleaning the church, in prayer meeting, teaching the women and children and so on were omitted.

One is perplexed to observe that in many churches where the women ministries provided a good platform for women to address issues that border on church growth, pastoral welfare, family affairs of church members and sponsorship of various church projects, the church has been unremittingly silent over the activities and achievements of women. Pathetically, women constantly risk their lives in evangelizing under rain and sun, spend their huge financial resources to carter for the needy members of the church, engage in charitable activities of all kinds and so on, yet the whole honour and glory go to the men. it is quite perturbing that little or no mention is being made of the numerous contributions of women to the development of the churches. This unconscious neglect of the women religious, social, moral, spiritual and economic contributions to church development has erroneously made women passive members of the church.

Women in Church History

Sterling (2010), observes that the subject of the role of women in the church has endeared the hearts of many especially those around by present day agitations in society for women to be freely admitted to the areas from which customs and traditions have excluded them. It is also of interest to those at the church's leadership since they have a genuine interest in all those elements making up the total church, and who sincerely desire women to have every opportunity to contribute their full potential to the universal church's growth.

Sterling opines that in the industrialized countries, women complete their family role much earlier in life, than ever before and yet outliving men in general almost everywhere. With the diminishing number of children whom parents find they can adequately support and educate, there is much, women could accomplish in the church. Sterling observes that women have served effectively in such roles as nurses, secretaries and teachers but seldom in church's management though, are women frequently made treasurers and departmental leaders in conferences, local and union. According to Sterling women were to be preferred as physicians ministering to women since they are in better position to understand what their fellow women might be passing through.

Christianity is often criticized for being chauvinistic toward women. However, the Bible portrays a special position for females in the church and society. Christian women shall have a major role in evangelizing and be able to serve because they share the same objective as Christian men: to fulfill God's commandments.

Throughout the bible, women have played significant roles in fulfilling God's plan. They have also held positions of leadership and responsibilities in spreading the gospel.

Paul acknowledged the female workers in the church and their efforts to further the message of Christ; even though he clearly discouraged them from having authoritative involvement in the church (1 Tim. 2:12 and 1 Corth 14:3).

In Romans 16:1, Paul mentions Phoebe, a female deacon or servant in the church. In other books, he refers to women that held churches in their houses, such as Nympha in Colossians 4:15 and Chloe in 1 Corinthians 1:11.

Women have a biblical role in society from helping within the church to fulfilling the Great Commission. The bible encouraged all Christians – both male and female to follow the command of God in telling others about Him. Women can use avenues such as serving in church and political appointments to accomplish this charge. Women in the bible have been variously used by God, and they will continue to be used by Him in the future.

The Role of Women in The Development Of Society

The rate at which women's contributions to the development of the society is being downplayed has become exasperatingly worrisome in the recent time. History has shown that women have contributed tremendously to the development of many societies, including Nigeria, because of their endowment with capabilities and qualities meant to complement those of the menfolk in the society. In line with the above, Onwunyi (2018) has noted that over time in history, a few women who have been entrusted with the leading role to manage human and material resources have more often

than not proved the same that, given adequate backing and free hand they can exceed normal expectations. A look at some of the areas where women have excelled and keep on excelling in their efforts towards societal development will lend more credence to the assertions above.

For instance, in community development and youth empowerment, women have done relatively enough as they do not fail to register their influence in every community development project through their huge financial donations. Women through their annual August meetings raise funds to embark on key projects like reconstruction of community markets, health centres, renovation of community primary and secondary schools, building of community halls, recreation centres and so on, which fast-track development in their communities. They also build skills acquisition centres where unemployed youths and indigent rural women can acquire bread-baking skills, such as fashion and designing, soap-making, pomade-making, computer repairs and programming, hair dressing, GSM repairs, Tailoring, interior decoration, bead-making, barbing saloon and so on. They equally establish rice mills, oil mills and cassava processing centres that help to provide jobs for jobless youths in their various communities. Unemployment and poverty are pervasive among the rural dwellers because the people are backward and undeveloped and cannot afford minimum standard of living (Iheanacho, 2016). Women are the most economically active group in rural communities. They play outstanding roles in national development as well as in rural community development (Obizue, Ogidi & Ejim, 2016).

Similarly, women contribute to the development of society through their active involvement in rural agricultural development. Greater percentage of women in the rural areas is into rural farming, where they engage in food and cash crops planting in different quantities. They are predominantly involved in food production and preservation and other agro-based activities (Obizue, Ogidi & Ejim, 2016). Findings from food and agricultural developing world, according to Meleki and Osaji (2016, p 790), "show that rural women represent approximately 43 percent of the agricultural labour force. With reference to Nigeria, rural women constitute 49.6 percent of the total population and are responsible for 60-80 percent of the food produced in the country. In Africa, 80 percent of the agricultural production comes from small farmers who are mostly rural women. Women are found at various acting points in the value chain in the agricultural sector either as primary producers, processors, input suppliers, commercial buying agents and market linkage providers (Urom, Ibiam, Abu & Chukwu-Oko, 2020). Without women, agricultural activities in general would have been put into extinction in most of our rural communities.

In politics, women have contributed significantly in shaping our national democracy and the entire political system through the creation of political awareness among women and political mobilization for active participation in politics. Women have arisen to demand for more representation in keeping with the principle of representative democracy which holds among others, that elected assemblies should reflect the composition of the electorate (Njoku, 2018).

Women constitute greater percentage of the electorates in Nigeria and other African countries today. Days are gone when women bowed low to political intimidation and marginalization by the menfolk. They have influenced the government to realize that democracy presupposes a genuine partnership between men and women in the conduct of the affairs of the society in which they work in equality and complementarity drawing mutual enrichment from the difference (Njoku, 2018). Women are known for their capability to bring about a paradigm shift in the political landscape of the society. Alapiki (2004) in Njoku (2018, p. 174) remarks that:

> *Experience from across the world where women play key roles in public office has shown that women politics and decision-making contribute to redefining political priorities, placing new items on the political agenda that reflect and address concerns as well as providing new perspectives on mainstream political issues.*

Women are also known for their commitment to community peace and stability. Women are naturally peaceful with high aversion to crisis and social instability in the society. They partner with the menfolk to ensure that there is peace in the community. Peace is the basis of human creativity, societal development and growth (Uyanga, James & Emena, 2019).

Women continuous advancement in contributing to societal peace and stability has impacted on the peace, unity, progress and socio-economic wellbeing of the society. Awe (1990) in Onwunyi (2018) sees the importance of women from their roles as promoters of peace and stability at homes and communities through their inherent managerial abilities.

Another area where women have played outstanding role in the development of the society is in family economic advancement. Women are naturally industrious, creative and finically intelligent. They have succeeded in transforming the bleak economies of their families, communities, local governments, states and nation to vibrant economies through their inherent economic strength, managerial skills, innovative ideas and their capacity to partner with visionary men (Akosile, 2010 in Njoku 2018).

Women, no doubt, are agents of cultural transmission and development in the society. They transmit acceptable values, cultural norms, mores, folklores, songs, dances, work of arts and so on to their children and by so doing help in preservation and transmission of culture from one generation to another. Culture is the totality of the patterned way of life of any people (Amah, 2018). It is the advanced development of human powers, intellectually, physically and spiritually by training and experience (Okonkwo, 2018). Otite and Ogionwo (1979) in Okonkwo (2018) see culture as a complex whole of man's acquisition of knowledge, morals, belief, art, custom, technology and so on, which are shared and transmitted from generation to generation. Culture of a group of people is expressed through language, symbols, norms, material goods, tools, clothing and so on (Okwara, Oluigbo & Okeke, 2012). The family is the first place where culture is taught and learned through the process of child socialization. The mother is the first informal teacher of the child. The bulk of the work of child socialization is done by the mothers in the family.

Similarly, women contribute to the development of the society through children moral development. Women take the duty of children good up-bringing and sound moral development as part of their primary responsibility. They show high concern in producing children who when they grow into full adults will contribute meaningfully to national development, using their fully developed potentials (Awusaku & Ugwulebo, 2013). Adult citizens of proven integrity are products of sound moral training (Kitause & Gemade, 2020). Children's sound moral training mainly comes from their mothers. Every mother carries with her such inherent power, influence and capacity to exercise real control over her children and steer their lives to any direction she wants (Thomas, 2016).

Women in Church Development

In most churches both orthodox and Pentecostals, women contribute immensely for the development of the churches. In our dispensation, women have become the bedrock of the church contributing significantly to the development of the church. Women are involved in church cleaning, choir, Sunday school minister prayer, giving huge donations towards the building of churches both in cash and kind, caring for the widows and indigent members, feeding the priest's family etc. no church presently can claim to survive without the women ministries. The ministries of the women in the churches today can be properly described as one of the strongest arms of the church. Women contribute to build Nursery and primary schools, church stalls or stores that give financial benefits to the churches. Women organize long vacation programmes for the youths in their churches. Women also install water projects for the churches and pay fees and hospital bills for children of indigent members and widow in their churches.

Women especially in most churches e.g Anglican Churches are solely incharge of youths' organizations in the churches. Time and time again, the women organize academic programmes during long holidays to keep the youths busy. They organize moral education classes where they teach the children especially the youths to prepare them as future parents. They inculcate in the youths' respect for elders, fear of God, hard work, principles of morality. Women have been playing significant roles in church development, women overwhelmly support every church project. They shoulder most of the financial, spiritual and social responsibilities of the church.

The role of women in socio-religious, cultural, economic and political development of any society cannot be underscored. In various churches today, women constitute the bedrock on which the foundation of church growth is anchored, which encompasses, development in

physical structures, spiritual, moral, numerical and financial aspects of the church.

Women contribute to church growth and development through grassroots evangelism. Today, it is clear that churches in Nigeria are replete with women who are active in ministry. These women organize themselves into special units in the church in order to address issues relating to their life and growth of their churches (Anyanwu 2000). Examples of such units are Anglican Mothers Union, Women Guild, Girls' Guild, Catholic Women Organisation (C.W.O), Good Women Association (G.W.A) of Christ Apostolic Church, Baptist Women's Missionary Union and so on. These women, who are energetic and enterprising as the men, work in synergy with the men folk in church leadership to move the church forward. Women are usually zealous, active and timely in actualizing their set financial targets for the up-keep of the church (Anyanwu 2000).

More so, women contributions to church growth and development take anchorage in their role as mothers, nurturers and children's moral educators. Christian women make more converts at home through Christian child-rearing practices which prepare children from grassroot as future dedicated members of the Church of Christ. Through conscious exercise of their maternal vocation, Christian women preserve certain Christian values in Children which make them active members of the church and responsible citizens in the society. They are thus called to contribute to church growth and society's values by inculcating in their children Christian values (Ihuagwu 2013:61). The above roles notwithstanding, women have not been seen by many scholars as playing pivotal role in church development.

However, some opinions suggest that women's role is biblically defined as helpers and should not compete with man, a superior sex. Some of them have limited the role and activities of women to the home as mothers and wives. The first and most basic nature of humanity is that human beings, both male and female, have been created in God's image and likeness. They were given a joint task to have dominion over the rest of God's creation. This was why Thurston (1998:28) asserts that "man without women cannot represent the complete man, so man without woman cannot render a complete ministry"

Factors Affecting the Role of Women in the Society and Church Development

Women role in the society and church development is being constrained by a number of factors which include among others:

Lack of Proper Education

Lack of proper education is one of the factors impinging on women's ability to play meaningful role in the development of the society and the church today. Education is the process by which individuals are trained to be mentally sound, emotionally stable, physically fit and socially well adjusted (Bisong, 2020). Lack of quality education affects individuals in all ramifications (Obanya, 2014). Illiteracy has incapacitated some women and made them begin to see themselves as those destined to always depend on men for almost everything. For such women, they cannot contribute to their personal welfare let alone contributing to societal and church development.

Cultural Prejudices

There are several cultural prejudices, stereotypical beliefs, and notions about women in the society today. In some cultures, women are not allowed to take up leadership roles where there are men, their leadership role are only restricted to women groups. They are not allowed to speak in the public, bless or break cola nuts, and pour libation as in Igbo society; they are restricted to the kitchen and other household chores, and child bearing. Women are believed to be inferior to men, second class citizens, weaker sex, who are meant only to seen and not heard (Kalu, 2018). These culminate in the general feeling that development of the society and church is the responsibility of the men and not the women. The above challenge is rooted in the patriarchal nature of our society which made the men lords and heads over the women.

Financial Incapacitation

Most women are not financially buoyant enough to engage in certain development programmes, either in the society or in the church. This is as a result of certain traditional values that hold sway in most African societies. For instance, in Igbo land, women are not given any inheritance in their father's house, and everything a woman possess in her husband's

house automatically becomes that of her husband. (Onwunyi, 2018). Thus, their noble ideas and wonderful aspirations become mere day dreams amidst lack of wherewithal to make them a reality.

Home Challenges

Women are always bogged down in the heaps of household chores, the care of children, general home management that constant draw their attention away from social and religious activities. Naturally a pregnant woman or a nursing mother may not be able to take up certain responsibility in the society or in the church (Onwunyi, 2018).

Conclusion

The need to recognize the rights and dignity of women in the society and church is becoming very important. In the social and religious affairs, the exclusion of women in the male dominated system has been a long standing issue. Historical records have portrayed women as important agents of change in socio-cultural and religious development despite several cultural attempts to relegate them to the background.

Some biblical teachings such as 1 Timothy 2:12, 1 Corinthians 14:3, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35, stand as road block to women serving as elders in the church. All these are opposed to the views of proponents of egalitarianism which states that men and women are the same with respect to their roles, not just equal before God. The proponents of this theory believed that women should be allowed to hold any position in the church just as men (Ephesus 5:21).

Women are playing very significant roles in the society and church development in spite of the hindrances. It is high time such impediments that have allowed the men to occupy and enjoy all the positions of honour in the society and churches be removed so that women would come up and take leadership positions in the church. If we should go back to the drawing board, one would equivocally and clearly agree that the society and the church cannot stand strong without the contributions of the women.

Recommendations

In order to enhance women capacity to play more efficient roles in the society and church development, this paper makes the following recommendations:

1. Women should always recognize their worth and position in the quest for societal development and national transformation and so should brace up to confront gallantly all the social, religious, economic and political impediments that hold then down.

2. The government and the church should take practical steps to emphasize and at the same time make special funds available for girl-children education in the society, especially those from the poorest of the poor, to enable them have access to quality education. This has become very imperative because of the importance of quality education in unlocking women's capacities for meaningful contributions to the society and church development.

3. The government and the church should synergize efforts to douse the flame of inequality kindled and fanned by the patriarchal structure of our environment by creating a platform of equality and inclusiveness that will enable men and women have equal access to decision-making structures, organizations and institutions that affect their lives.

4. Members of the society should cooperate and give unflinching support to the women folk in their efforts to contribute diversely to the development of the society. All the wrong notions, cultural biases and stereotypical beliefs about women should be thrown overboard in order to fully harness the galaxy of their natural endowments for national development.

5. The church should see the need to incorporate women of substance or high endowments among them into their decision-making desk so as to explore such wonderful endowments for church development.

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THEOLOGY, INSECURITY AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN NIGERIA: CHALLENGES AND THE WAY FORWARD

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ABSTRACT
No time in history had Nigeria waded through troublous moments than now, when it is sunk deep in the mire insecurity which continues to impinge tremendously on its national development efforts. It is indeed very sad to note that insecurity has brazenly defied almost all the containment strategies and approaches put up by the government and well-meaning citizens of Nigeria in the recent times. There is now an ever-burgeoning feeling of fear, anxiety, uncertainty about one's safety and safety of one's property and family members, among Nigerians. Our national integration and the concomitant unity in diversity are now seriously threatened. This situation is made worst by alarming increase in the rate of moral turpitude and lack of fear of God among the youth, who have been turned into evil tools in the hands of unscrupulous agents of insecurity and terroir in Nigeria. Thus, the youth population needs moral, spiritual and intellectual transformation to be redirected to the path of peace and responsible citizenship. The role of theology in this regard should not be underscored as it can offer our nation the much-graved solution to the malaise of insecurity and doubtful national integration. It is against this backdrop that this paper seeks to examine 'Theology, insecurity and national integration in Nigeria: Challenges and the way forward. It begins by clarification of key concepts used in the study. It then goes ahead to briefly survey the problem of insecurity in Nigeria; Nigeria's national integration travail, the place of theology in finding solution to the problem of insecurity in Nigeria, and theology and national integration in Nigeria.' It equally examines challenges facing theology and theological education in Nigeria and the way forward. The paper uses a combination of theological, phenomenological, sociological and interpretative methods to achieve its objectives.

Introduction

Nigeria is presently at a cross road as the problem of insecurity has seemed to assume an unmanageable proportion. No part of the country is free from the ravaging influence of insecurity which manifests in different forms, such as Boko Haram terrones attack, armed banditry, kidnapping, herdsmen attack, ritual killing, armed robbery, armed struggle for political independence, inter-communal violence, ethno-religious clashes and so on. Uneze-Amby, Ononogbo and Obunadike (2020) corroborate the above when they observe that insecurity in Nigeria is fast becoming a wildfire horrifically sweeping through the country with an alarming frequency and intensity. Furthermore, apart from the instances given above, there is general insecurity in the country arising from the activities of criminal gangs that are called by various names cult boys, area boys, militants and so on, who molest, rob, main, kidnap and at times kill innocent citizens on the roads, highways and waterways, making road and riverine transportation quite hazardous in the country (Briggs, 2019).

Nigeria, a country reputed to be the giant of Africa, now wallows in troublous moments, enmeshed in the sinister web of insecurity and political violence, which impinge greatly on its national development striving. The present situation has become, indeed very worrisome and challenging that Modumere, Awusaku and Onu (2020, P132) have to remark:

> *No day passes without one hearing blood-chilling news of scores of people massacred by the Islamic fundamentalist sect, Boko Haram, Hausa Fulani Herdsmen, armed robbers, yahoo-plus, Malaysian boys, Militant groups and so on. Nigeria is becoming more and more insecure everyday as on one knows what may happen the next minute, people now live in fear and uncertainty every day, including men of the armed forces, who are supposed to guard and protect the ordinary citizens.*

The general effects of insecurity in Nigeria has been devastating. It has caused a sharp decline in national economy, loss of revenue both to private industries and oil companies and reduction in Direct Foreign Investment (DFI). As observed by Enemuo and Eze (2019), unforeseen circumstances arising from insecurity and political instability Niger Delta Zone, have hampered government discharge of essential duties because of shortage of revenue from oil gas supply from oil firms, investors both local and foreign have become scared and certain capital intensive development projects cannot be flagged on and some in progress are put on hold. In addition to the above, Nigeria's public life is currently characterized by despair, despondency, intolerance, grief, acrimony and violence. Nigeria is now a country where peace is in dilemma, people's tempers flare without notice and almost in every public place argument quickly degenerate to insults and bitter recriminations (Onuoha & Amadi, 2019) our national integration and age-long belief in unity in diversity are now seriously threatened.

Nigerian youths, who are the leaders of tomorrow are fast being converted and used as 'instruments of destruction and terror' in the hands of scrupulous agents of insecurity and terrorism, who exploit their moral weakness, unemployment, poverty and illiteracy to enlist a number of them into their mischief-making groups. It is regrettable that moral turpitude and lack of fear of God and crave for sudden riches have increased astronomically among the youth population in Nigeria. The spectator index (2023) cited in Adeiye (2023) put population projection of Nigeria at 217, 079, 601 with the youth population accounting for 70 percent (151 million) of the entire population. When this number becomes vulnerable to to immoral habits, crimes, insecurity, terrorism and related anti-social behaviors, our security, national peace and integration will invariably at stake. Indeed, the youth population needs moral, spiritual and intellectual guidance and transformation in order to become godly, responsible, peace-loving and law-abiding citizens capable to contribute meaningful to national development, peace and integration.

The role of theology in this regard cannot be underscored as it has been an accredited intellectual discipline that studies faith, God, God's character and actions in relation to the universe. The wealth of knowledge embodied in theology is deemed capable of proffering our nation the much-carved solution to the malaise of insecurity and problematic national integration. Thus, paper, therefore seeks to examine 'Theology, insecurity and national

integration in Nigeria: Challenges and the way forward.'

Conceptual Clarifications

There is the need to clarify some of the key concepts used in the study to enable readers and various scholars to flow along with the thought-pattern of the researcher. Key concepts such as, theology, insecurity and national integration will be briefly explained hereunder.

Theology:

Theology is defined by Wikipedia (2024) as the study of religious belief from a religious perspective. It is the study of the nature of the divine. Google.com (2020) defines theology as the study of God, God's character, God's actions in relation to the Cosmos, and especially God's relationship to humanity (that is, as it affects the character and history of human kind) in its responsive relationship to God within the panorama of the world and history, space and time. Theologians are committed to examination of different religions of the world and their impact on society. It goes ahead to define theology as the study of religion, which seeks to examine the human experience of faith, and how different people and cultures express it.

Migliore (2004) expresses the view that the study of theology may help a theologian more deeply to understand their own religious tradition and other people's religious traditions. It may help them to explore the nature of divinity without reference to any specific tradition.

Theologians employ different methods in the study or analysis of the phenomenon, such as experiential, philosophical, ethnographic, historical and so on, it is taught as an academic discipline particularly in universities and seminaries.

Insecurity:

Insecurity means a state of being of being insecure unsafe, unprotected and likely to be hurt or harmed. Jando and Ngutswen (2020) define insecurity as the opposite of security, a state of being insecure and vulnerable to physical and psychological harm. Achumba, Igbomereho and Akpan-Robaro (2013), cited in Jando and Ngutswen (2020) describe insecurity as the state of danger, hazard, uncertainty, and doubt, inadequately guarded or protected, exposure to trouble, lack of protection and being unsafe, want of confidence and safety.

Uchendu and Obiozo (2020) see it as the feeling of being insecure in one's environment, a state of mind which is characterized by unsafe feelings, feeling of being vulnerable to attack and danger.

According to Madumere, Awusaku and Onu (2020), insecurity is a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection. Ojukwu and Amusa (2020) conceptualize insecurity from two perspectives, firstly, insecurity is the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger.

Secondly, insecurity is the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety: Similarly, Anyadike (2013) describes insecurity as a situation where a person or thing is exposed to any form of danger. In all, an insecure person or a person subject to insecurity is not sure of the safety of his life, his property and all those related to him, found within his immediate environment.

National Integration:

National integration has been conceptualized differently scholars in Nigeria. The simplest meaning and conception of the term is the process of bringing together or assembling different parts of components of the nation into a single whole. Muhammad (2017) conceptualizes national integration as the process of bringing diverse cultural and social groups into a single territorial unit and the establishment of a national unity. Adebayo (1995) cited in Muhammad (2017) defines it as the progressive removal of antagonisms and reduction of cultural and regional decisions and differences in the process of creating a homogenous political unit. National integration aims to foster a sense of unity among citizens, who come from different cultural, religions and ethnic backgrounds and engendering among them a sense of love, tolerance acceptance and appreciation of one another irrespective of perceived differences and establish a peaceful and united community of people with one destiny and shared values.

Furthermore, Akah (2018) sees national integration from a more encompassing perspective. According to her, national integration is the awareness of a common identity amongst the citizens of a country. It means that though we belong to different castes, religions and regions and speak different languages, we recognize the fact that we are all one. As observed by Akah, the decision which was made by the people of Nigeria prior to

independence to become the Federal Republic required that the people will be integrated with one another for the purpose of co-existence, unity, national integration, and development. Awa (2013) in Akah (2018) sees it as a process of creating a sense of national consciousness, uniqueness of identity and loyalty among people of different socio-cultural identities – racial, ethnic, language, religion and so on, into a single territorial political society. In fact, proper harnessing of Nigeria's plurality and diversity to achieve stability and socio-political and economic progress becomes the nitty-gritty of national integration.

A Brief Survey of the Problem of Insecurity in Nigeria

Insecurity has become one of the most worrisome problems plaguing our nation in the recent times: Niger Delta area and Northern Nigeria are no longer the only places where insecurity reign supreme in Nigeria but its foul fragrance has pervaded the whole parts of the country, making everybody to sleep now with one, eye open as anybody can just be a victim regardless of whether he or she is a uniformed person or ordinary citizens. Pages of our national dailies are regularly being inundated with blood chilling news of scores of people killed by herdsmen, or number of communities displaced; number of school children kidnapped by armed bandits and Boko Haram; number of policemen killed and police stations set ablaze by unknown gunmen, number of buses and their passengers kidnapped along Lagos-Ibadan express way and along Abuja express way; number of churches and mosques burnt down and worshippers massacred by Boko Haram or armed bandits, number of oil workers both foreigners Nigerians kidnapped by militants; the number of oil pipeline blown up and vandalized by the militants, the list could continue.

Insecurity and its associated problems worsen every day in Nigeria. Ewetan and Urhie (2014) blame this on the government inability to control or regulate the activities of various ethnic militia, vigilantes, cult groups and secret societies in our various tertiary institutions and communities, political thugs sponsored and used by different political parties to achieve cheap political success and so on. These have continued to fan the flame of insecurity in different dimensions and forms in different parts of the country. The struggle for domination among various ethnic groups and between two major religious groups Muslims and Christians has resulted to persistent ethnic conflicts and religious clashes which disrupted peace, stability and security of lives and properties of innocent Nigerians.

Madumere, Awusaku and Onu (2020) observe that religious fanaticism has contributed enormously to the worsening security challenges in the country. Religious fanaticism, according to them, is associated with terrorism, religious intolerance, crisis, violent demonstration and confrontation. They describe Muslim's move and consistent struggle to push sharia law into the Nigeria legal code against the will of millions other Non-muslim Nigerians as an aspect of religious fanaticism. Almost all the religious crises we have experienced, including the current Boko Haram insurgency have their link with forceful projection of sharia law in the country. In their efforts to relate crisis of insecurity to sharia-propelled religious fanaticism, Madumere, Awusaku and Onu (2020 p 139) remark thus:

> *In 2000. Sharia crisis reged in Northern states, threatening the security, peace*
> *and unity of Nigeria as Sharia law was forcefully introduced ionto the legal codes of states like Kano, Sokoto, Zamfara and so on, without minding the implication for non-muslims in those states. The earliest religious crisis was the maitatsine crisis which occurred in parts of Kano and Maiduguri in the early 1980's which claimed many lives and properties worth millions of naira. Similar religious crisis took place in Jimeta – Yola in 1984, Zango Kataf in Kaduna in 1992, Muslim – Christian clash during a Christian procession at Easter in LloriaKwara State in 1986 and other crisis such as the violent clash with the Yoruba traditional worshippers and Hausa groups in Ogun and Ondo states in 1999 and Gombe sharia violence of 2000, which reportedly claimed 609 lives and over 1944 houses destroyed. A total of 746 vehicles and about 123 churches and 55 mosques were set ablaze.*

In Benue state, violent opposition mounted by the Miyetti Allah Kautal Hore, the umbrella body of Fulani cattle breeders associated in Nigeria in January, 2018, in their reaction against anti open hraping law established by the state government on 27th May 2017, disrupted peace and security of Benue state and its neighbouring states. The Miyetti Allah mobilized Fulani groups from other parts of West Africa in Benue state to fight against the said 'anti-open grazing law and its implementation: in the process, they killed 73 persons in their genocidal attack in Guma and logo local government area of the state.' Security agents in the state could not arrest mass one of them. The 73 dead persons were given mass burial by the Benue state government on January 11th 2018 (Afaor & Anaana, 2020). In recent times state like Nasarawa, Borno, Yobe, Kogio, Zamfara, Kaduna, Plateau, Taraba, Adamawa, Benue, Enugu, Anambra, Abia, Ebonyi and others have witnessed insecurity and breach of peace resulting from farmers – herders (Miyetti Allah) clashes.

According to statistics given by the Amnesty International (AI) (2018) about 3641 persons last their lives with the three years (2015 - 2018) in the activities of the Hausa/Fulani herdsmen attack due to the government week security system. The prevailing problem of insecurity in the country sends a fearful signal to Nigerians as the government could not offer protection to the citizens which is its primary duty. More than 35,000 people are estimated to have been killed as a result of Boko Haram attacks between 2009 and 2020. Their tactics include suicide bombings, abductions, fortune, rape, forced marriage, recruitment of child soldiers and attacks directed against government infrastructures, traditional religious leaders and civilians (Global centre for the responsibility to protect, 2024) . From late 2023 and March 2024, high rate of destruction violence and atrocities have been perpetrated against residents of Northern Nigeria. On 25 November, at least 150 civilians, including women and children were kidnapped in coordinated attacks by armed groups on four villages in Zamfara state.

In Plateau state, similar attacks by suspected herders in 20 communities left at least 190 people dead and 300 others seriously injured. From 23 – 24 January, 2024 at least 30 people were killed in clashes between herders and farmers in several villages in Mangu and Barkin Ladi local government areas of Plateau state. On 3 January 2024, at least 17 people were killed and 42 kidnapped after bandits attacked Kajuru and kauru local government areas in Kaduna state. On 13 February 2024 at least 40 people were kidnapped by armed men in Zamfara.

Causes of the prevailing rate of insecurity in Nigeria are summarized by Madumere, Awusaku and Onu (2020, pp 145) as follows:

- Unemployment and poverty
- Bad governance
- Weak security system
- Political motivated violence
- Pervasive material inequalities and discrimination.

The above situation has continued to impinge tremendously on our national unity and integration because when things fall apart, the centre could no longer hold (Achebe, 1958).

Nigeria's National Integration Travail

Nigerian nation has continued to grapple with the hydra-headed challenges of national unity and integration since its emergence in 1914 via the amalgamation of Northern and Southern protectorates by Sir Frederick Lord Lugard, the then governor general who represented British government in the area now called Nigeria. In this amalgamation, different ethnic nationalities, different cultural groups, different language groups and people with different religious backgrounds were merged together to form one single whole and one people with one destiny and value.

This has often resulted to lack of trust and unwillingness to wholeheartedly abide by the forced agreement and marriage by incompatibility organized and sustained by Lugard. Today trying to weld together people's diverse cultures, histories religions, value orientations and worldview into one nation-state becomes difficult as their primary and original identities which they still cherish much seem to override national loyalty. Lyttelton on encountering the above problem while governing Nigeria introduced some principles of

federalism in his constitution of 1954 to take care of the diversity of the nation.

Unfortunately, those federal principles did not help Nigeria which has remained unbalanced, lopsided in nature, where the North seem to dominate in everything. There has been strong and fierce competition and struggle for power sharing, which was reduced to a struggle for hegemony among the three main ethnic groups namely, the Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo. Those who fall outside the main three in the course of the struggle were regarded as minorities who were marginalized not only in the allocation of power but of resources as well (Muhammed, 2017).

The perceived differences and diversity have, today been the genesis of the nation's integration travail. As observed by Afaor and Anaana (2020), differences in religion, language, cultural practices and individual prejudice have played key roles in the lives of the people. As people of different religious beliefs, perceptions, codes of conduct, norms, values and laws, Nigeria's integration and unity as a political; entity has been continuously threatened.

The current increase in the quest and agitation for self-government or political independence among some ethnic groups is an eloquent testimony to the fact of a threatened national integration in Nigeria. There are in South Eastern Nigeria, the movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign state of Biafra (MASSOB), the indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB), in the South-South, there are movement for the survival of Ogoni people (MOSOP) and movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) and in the South West, there are agitation in some quarters for the realization of Oduduwa Republic Championed by Sunday Igbogho.

Some of the factors threatening our national integration and peaceful co-existence were highlighted by Afaor and Anaana (2020, pp 159 - 163) as:

i. Religious intolerance

ii. Religious fundamentalism and fanaticism

iii. Ethnicity and religious bigotry

iv. Fulani herds men attacks on Christian communities in Northern Nigeria and

v. Discrimination and social injustice

Other ones include cultural biases, ethics profiling, disregard of federal character principles in making key political appointments and in giving federal jobs in the country, leadership incompetence, lack of patriotism, lack of fear of God, lack of love for one another, greed for power acquisition and retention, bad governance, corruption and nepotism, disregard for our various religious values or tenets of faith, lack of obedience to rule of law and respect for fundamental human rights and what Agunwa and Okoye (2018, p 6) describe as 'desire to actualize ethnic agenda'. The eradication or at least, a mitigation of their adverse effects of the above factors on our fragile national integration will, no doubt, pave a smooth sway for the survival and growth of values of cooperation among the diverse ethnic and cultural power and strength in our diversity as a pluralistic and heterogeneous nation.

The Place of Theology in Finding Solution to the Problem of Insecurity in Nigeria

Theology as an academic discipline that teaches about God, his nature, actions and how he relates with humanity, emphasizes on the nature of God as peace loving, righteous, merciful great, powerful, loves justice and equity, places value of human life and dignity, very caring and ready to give mankind support through his act of providence to achieve their potentials in fullness. It also tries to explain the reason underlying the presence of evil in the entire cosmos and final destiny of evil ones in the society.

Thus, theology has not and cannot lag behind in the struggle for the realization of a secure, peaceful and violence free Nigeria society, where fear of the unknown, anxiety about possible outbreak of war, terrorist attacks, kidnapping, armed robbery, assassination and so on. To achieve this, theology teaches the principals of peace and peaceful co-existence and conflict management strategies both in the church and the larger society. Theology sees Jesus as the prince of peace and that one of the core mandates of the church is peace (Jando & Ngutswen, 2020). Where peace prevails, insecurity travails, fear anxiety and sense of danger plee. Theology lays emphasizes on man's religious beliefs and teachings. Osaji (2016) expresses the view that religion is the sure way out of the nation's security and social problems

and firmly avows that since religion is central to the man's existence, its tenants will help to unite man and uplift him spiritually. Sticking to the tenets of religion will aid man to live at peace with one another and to shun greed, jealousy and corruption. Thus, the teaching on peace which religion (theology) takes as its central role is capable of reducing religious conflicts and insecurity which are endemic in Nigeria in the last two decades. It can create practical awareness that can bring to an end the wars which Muslims and Christians adherents are fighting in Nigeria and cause them to channel their energy towards fighting for peace and national security among the citizenry. Theology, to say the least, is a force in peace making within and outside the church. Theology does not play down the Biblical Israel type of collective national security that helped them secure themselves from attacks by adversarial neighbours such as, the Philistians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Edomites, Horonites, Amalekites and so on. Theology takes practical steps to arouse security consciousness of the learner and church adherents bearing in mind that the first step towards overcoming insecurity is being security conscious. Israel as a nation were also commanded to put their trust in Yahweh for the safety of their lives and property. (Deut 33:27). God (Yahweh) is seen as the eternal God , Mighty and all-powerful to defend, protect, keep and secure Israel from every attack from the enemy and preserve them from all forms of mishap. In Deuteronomy 33:27-29.

> *The eternal God is your refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms; and he shall thrust out the enemy from before thee; and shall say, destroy them.*
>
> *Israel shall dwell in safety along; the foundation of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and wine, also his heavens shall drop down dew.*
>
> *Happy are you o Israel, who is like unto you o people saved by the lord, the shield of your help, and who is the sword of your excellency! And your enemies shall be found liars unto you, and you shall tread upon their high places.*

Theology promotes human value and by so doing brings to the awareness of people that 'human life' is highly valued by God and should not be tampered with by man for whatever reason. No body has the right to terminate the life of another person. Theology seeks to humanize persons, making them truly and genuinely human creatures, created in the image of God (Imago Dei), and therefore possess a humanity that is divine (Dan Fulani, Nwadkwon & Danfulani, 2020). Life should, therefore, be protected, safeguarded, and maintained and not be wasted in the name of terrorism, suicide bombing and ritual killing, kidnapping.

Similarly, theology is built on the foundation of teaching and helping learners to understand God's nature, principles, actions and how he manifests and reveals himself to man. The emphasis here is on the inculcation of God's consciousness in the learners, church workers, religious practitioners and so on. God's consciousness has the capability of influencing individuals to desist from doing what is bad and holding unto things that are good and acceptable by God. Perpetration of insecurity and terrorism is bad and is condemned by theology. The fear of God helps the society to depart from the snare of insecurity. Proverbs 14:27 reads:

The fear of the lord is a fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death.

Theology also teaches and inculcates in people the required values and moral capacity necessary for good governance and leadership in the society. They include, fear of God, honesty, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, humility, creativity, self discipline, good sense of judgement, integrity and so on. Theology emphasizes on integrity in leadership, whether in the home, church or in the society (Gbinde & Ukpe, 2020). Lack of integrity in leadership has been blamed as one of the causes of soaring rate of insecurity in Nigeria. Most leaders who fight insecurity at the local government, state and federal levels administration often do not mean what they say and sometimes do not say what they mean, just because personal moral weakness and fear. Theology emphasizes that for Nigeria to win the age-long battle against insecurity leaders should incorporate greater measure of integrity in their leadership styles.

Theology and National Integration in Nigeria

The role of theology in national integration in Nigeria cannot be underscored. Nothing unifies people of different cultural, economic, social and ethnic background like religion, which is at the centre of theology. Religion serves as an agent or instrument of social cohesion. Every religion

preaches unity and social solidarity. As observed by Madukwe (2014), despite perceived differences in religious affiliations, and the underlying politics, elements about in the different religions which if properly harnessed have the potential to support and sustain the building of a cohesive nation. Islamic theology, according to Madukwe, emphasizes unity among all irrespective of religious inclination Madukwe (2014) cited the chapter of Al-Hujura contained Alkhateeb (1970, pp 11-12) which reads:

> *O mankind lo, we have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that you may know one another. Lo, the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the best in conduct. Lo Allah is knower of all (Qur'an Surah 49 vs 13).*

Christian theology also emphasizes the need to live in unity and have peaceful relationship with all men irrespective of tribe, religion, social, economic and cultural background. Hebrews chapter 12 vs 14 reads:

Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the lord.

Christian theology of love transcends brotherly love and spans into love for strangers (foreigners people of other faith and ethnic backgrounds). Hebrews 13 vs 1 reads:

Let brotherly continue. Be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.

Theological positions of other world religion, including African Traditional Religion, on unity, love for all men are so pronounced that they are difficult to be swept away by unfounded criticisms of denigrators of theology.

Similarly, theology teaches universal fatherhood of all mankind and emphasizes the need for global cooperation, integration, mutual assistance and support irrespective of religious affiliation, ethnicity, political differences and so on.

Theology discourages the maintenance and sustenance of those things that engender division, discrimination, suspicion, acrimony, reactionary response, prejudice and marginalization among people in the society. They are deemed to be breeders of disintegration, public uproar, demonstration, quest for cessation and political independence and associated arm struggle. Such things include but not limited to, abuse of fundamental human rights, oppression, injustice, deprivation, hate speech, fraudulent practices, partiality, lopsided appointment in the state and federal civil service system; appointment based on religious background, electoral rigging and related irregularities; political domination by one ethnic group, lack of accountability, transparency and credibility in the discharge of one political or administrative duties and so on. Nigeria's national integration efforts since 1960 have been marred by corruption and insecurity on the path of our political leaders who have upheld sectional and tribal politics among others.

Challenges Facing Theology and Theological Education in Nigeria

Theology and theological education have failed to win the intellectual and socio-religious interests of many scholars, students, parents, government, church workers and even ordinary people in the streets of Nigeria. It is poor perceived and rated among the academic disciplines that are studied in our schools, college and tertiary institutions today, due mainly to the fact that it lacks bread-baking potentials, its job-catching prospects is adjudged minimal and its thrust of enquiry seems only otherworldly.

Theology has often been abused by its lecturers, instructors, who use it as a proselytizing tool and for projecting and fortifying their church denomination, doctrines, values, beliefs, practices and so on which are generally accepted across the board. In line with the above theological curricular of most institutions are narrow and are oriented towards production of pastors of churches, active church workers, priests church evangelists among others. They do not necessarily make allowance for empowerment with the intellectual skills needed to fit properly into the favourably with spiritual needs of concerned few.

Lack of well trained and qualified teachers also poses a serious challenge to the teaching and learning of theology and theological education in our tertiary institutions. Most lecturers who handle theology in most theological institutions are half-baked, they are

not really experts in the field of theology. They just jumped into it because of lack of job and desperate need for money. Therefore, they are bereft of the requisite pedagogic skills for display of mastery over the discipline and for production of qualitative students capable of contributing to their own well-being and to the security and integration of our nation Nigeria.

Theology and theological education of some institutions in Nigeria are still incapacitated and helplessly silent over women inclusion in the priestly offices of some of the mainline churches in Nigeria. Women are still marginalized, excluded, discriminated against in these churches and theological orientation and prowess have not added to their personal values of their wealth of spiritual gifts, innovative ides creativity which always culminate in positive paradigm shift in every organizational set up they are found.

The Way Forward

In order to reposition theology and theological education for effective contribution to finding solution to the problem of insecurity and national integration in Nigeria, this paper makes the following recommendations as the way forward.

1. There is the need for the review of theological curricula of most theological institutions in Nigeria to make room for panoramic studies, especially as it affects challenging areas of national needs such as theology and security, theology, peace and conflict management, theology and stress management, theology and poverty reduction, theology and crime control, theology and gender studies, theology and national integration and so on. This type of panoramic theological will replace the old theology of indoctrination and denominational projection, mainly oriented towards the production of church clerics.

2. Theological institutions should ensure that only well qualified lecturers and instructors are employed to handle the discipline in their institutions. There should be the use of modern instructional materials such as, personal computer projectors, internet, e-library, textbooks, journals and magazines in the teaching and learning of theology in our higher institutions.

3. Inter-religious education and ecumenical studies should be fully incorporated into the study to make students global citizens with knowledge that cuts across denominational boundaries.

4. Theological education should be structured in such a way as to equip students for effective participation into the secular world and labour market after graduation and not only for ministerial services.

Conclusion

The need for security and sustainable national integration in our pluralistic and heterogeneous nation has, indeed, become an ontological necessity. Our contemporary educational system should be reformed to properly take care of our current challenges as a nation, such as insecurity, widespread poverty, unemployment, political instability, poor leadership ethnics, corruption, ethnic-religious crises, violence against women, child-abuse, cultism, environmental degradation and the host of other national challenges.

The nation's corporate existence since 1914 amalgamation by sir Frederick Lugard has been under serious threat as different cultural, religious, ethnic and linguistic group concatenated by Lugard's marriage of convenience from time to time, seek to identify with their original identity which held in higher esteem than the national identity. There is the need for new mindsets among the entire citizenry to enable them appreciate and value themselves, irrespective of faults, difference in tribe, culture, language, values and norms. Theology is indeed the answer to the above need for new national mindset as it is capable of mending the minds of citizens through inculcation of God's consciousness, God's type of love, unity. Love, brotherhood and inter-faith cooperation and others in the citizens to enable use achieve national security and national integration in a rapidly globalizing age.

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RESIDENTS' COMPLIANCE WITH BUILDING SETBACKS IN IBADAN NORTH LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA OF OYO STATE, NIGERIA

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Planning standard, Building setback, Airspace, Compliance, Residential densities, Ibadan

ABSTRACT
Housing standards violation in cities of Nigeria is worrisome particularly in urban centers where activities of planning authority should be effective. The nexus between the socioeconomic characteristics of residents and the desire to violate the standards despite their inherent benefits is yet to be unraveled. This study, therefore, examines the residents' compliance with housing setback standards in Ibadan North Local Government Area, Oyo State. The cross sectional research design was used. Both primary and secondary information were sourced. A total of 327 copies of pretested questionnaire were administered to residents of Ibadan North Local Government Area, especially building owners in three randomly selected communities representing high, medium and low residential densities. Issues that were investigated include, the extent of compliance to the building setback and the rate of conversion of the setbacks to other uses. Findings revealed that majority of residents who complied with setbacks standard were males (55.6%), Yoruba (84.9%) and graduates (62.5%). The sum of 30.3% and 34.9%, respectively, complied to the rear and front view setbacks of their buildings. More than half of the residents (50.8%) did not comply with 30meters setback between septic soak away and well/borehole location. The majority of the setbacks that were converted to other uses in low residential areas was used for security post (81.6%) while the largest proportion (35.4%) in medium and high-density areas (15.7%) were used for shop construction. Among all socioeconomic variables considered, the contribution of education (χ^2=19.650) to the residents' level of compliance with building setback was the highest. There was no association between income (r=-0.273) and the level of compliance with setback standards in

the study area. Therefore, the study suggests community-based public enlightenment on the benefits of adherence to housing standards by the planning authority while the authority should be equipped for effective monitoring and development control.

1. Introduction

Housing is a word that has been misconstrued to mean the physical structure comprising the brick and mortar together with the roof which provides shelter for man. Therefore, housing has been commonly used interchangeably with shelter. Housing, however, is more than the four walls and the roof. Housing includes all the facilities, utilities and services, the surrounding of the house, the neighbourhood environment together with the people living within the house and around the neighbourhood. This implies that housing is more than the physical structure, but encompasses the immediate physical environment of man, especially the man-made environment, within which man lives out his lifetime (Agbola, 2005). Housing is one of the basic needs of man, the others being food and clothing, thus it should be adequate to support healthy living. One of the key elements of adequate housing is habitability, where there must be provision for adequate space or ventilation within the housing surrounding among others.

provisions that will protect against factors that may pose a threat to the health of inhabitants (UNHR, 2023). Adequate housing is, therefore, important for the physiological and psychological comfort of man (Muhammad et al., 2014) as well as his social and mental well-being.

Achieving a balance in the physiological, psychological, social and mental well-being of man, therefore, requires that man must comply strictly to the minimum required standards for housing. Non-compliance to these standards may result in overcrowding, pollution (air, water and noise), slums, squatter settlements, pressure on the available housing stock, urban decay (Adedeji and Arayela, 2018, cited in Omollo, 2020) and uncoordinated urban sprawl (Fuladlu, 2019, cited in Omollo, 2020). The resultant effect of non-compliance may have direct or indirect health implication on man. Problems, like poor lightened and lack of access to roads pose risk to building in case of fire incidence and sometimes result in on-street parking, which leads to unsightly city growth (Raji and Attah, 2017). Where necessary setback between two buildings is not adequately provided, either of the building is at risk if one of them is dilapidated and should be demolished because of the close distance. Therefore, provision of adequate setback and airspace is beneficial both buildings beside each other.

In practice, non-compliance with housing standards has been found to be a common phenomenon among developers regardless of social status, religion, level of education, etc. The setback, especially, has been found to be one of the most violated of the planning standards (Arimah and Adeagbo, 2000; Alnsour and Meaton, 2009; Aluko, 2011; Omollo, 2019; Jimoh and Olagunju, 2022). The significance of setbacks between buildings and within a building compound is crucial to urban planning regulation, not only influences aesthetic value of cities but also plays a vital role in ensuring safety, accessibility, and creating harmonious coexistence between structures and their surroundings. The setbacks from access road, stream or river, other buildings and fence must be maintained for the safety of the building in question and immediate adjourning structures in case the building is affected by any natural or man-made disaster. These setbacks are essential to provide ventilation, better air quality, protect from noise elements, ensure easy access to buildings and provide parking space. The shortage of setbacks in many residential buildings and conversion of available setbacks to some other uses is worrisome and of great concern because of its indescribable consequences. The violation of prescribed setbacks by building developers have been attributed to corruption of planning authority and failure of enforcement capacity and lack of adequate monitoring within the government agencies (Okafor, 2020). The violation of setbacks may have implications for adequate ventilation, encouraging choking environment, increased growth of slum areas which impact on health of the inhabitants. Therefore, the need to know the exact uses of the setbacks, reasons for the use, and their possible health implications is

imperative. The study, thus, examined the socio-economic characteristics of the residents against the actual use of the setback and the possible discomforts and effects of such housing standard violations on the residents.

2. Conceptual Clarification on Housing Setback Violation

The concept of development control provides explanation for this study particularly the violation and adherence to housing setback. Development under section 109, Lagos State Urban And Regional Planning Law, 2005 (repealed) and section 102 of 2010 law refers to;"the carrying out of any building, mining or other operation in, on, over or under any land; the making of any material change in the use of land building structure, or conversion of land, building structure from its established or approved use, and/or including the placing or display of advertisement and urban furniture on the land, building or structure, the making of any environmentally significant change in the use of any or demolition of building including felling of trees" (Aluko, 2011). SID (2021) elucidated development as a process that creates growth, progress, positive change or the addition of physical, economic, environmental, social and demographic components to the environment. The objective of development is to enhance the quality of life of the people, and the creation or expansion of local regional income and employment opportunities, without damaging the resources of the environment. However, some developments have produced contrary outcome to the society. The possible negative effects or outcome of development necessitated functional development control.

Development control, therefore, refers to activity carried out by planning authority in order to ensure compliance with the approved development plan to ensure orderliness (Aluko, 2011). Kecha (2021), while noting that development control is the backbone for urban planning, views development control as the process of ensuring that development applications conform with policy guidelines, planning regulations, standards, approved physical development plans, local authority by-laws as well as other relevant planning and regulatory rules.This implies that building approval must be sought from the appropriate town planning authority, before any form of development takes place on land or, before any building is erected. For any additional development, such as the construction of a well/borehole, sewage system, soak away system, adjoining buildings or any demolition work, approval must be sought from the development control unit of the appropriate town planning authority. Apart from approval or development permit issued by town planning authority, development monitoring is another function that the planning authority performs through the development control unit. The unit ensures that what is constructed or built is what was approved. This goal makes monitoring an imperative aspect of building development process to ensure that building standards are complied with during the construction stage. Constant monitoring from the appropriate department of the town planning authority helps to ensure control of development of buildings and its ancillary facilities.

The purpose of development control in locating building auxiliary facilities is to ensure that these facilities conform tobuilding standards set by the town planning authority so that the negative effects that accompany physical development are minimized (Obabori et al., 2017). At the construction stage, development control is important to ensure that housing standards are complied with and also ensures that standards set are strictly adhere to.

3. Study Area

Ibadan North Local Government Area was created in 1991, from the sub-division of Ibadan Municipal Government (IMG). It is located between longitude 3°53¹ and 3°56¹ East of Greenwich meridian and latitude 7°23¹ and 7°29¹. It is an urban area bounded in the north by Akinyele local government, in the east by Ibadan north east local government and in the west by Ido local government. Having its headquarters at Agodi, it covers an area of 145.58km². The population of the people according to the 2006 census was put at 308,119 while the projected population for the year 2022 was put at 440,400 at a 2.3% annual population change (Brinkhoff, 2022).

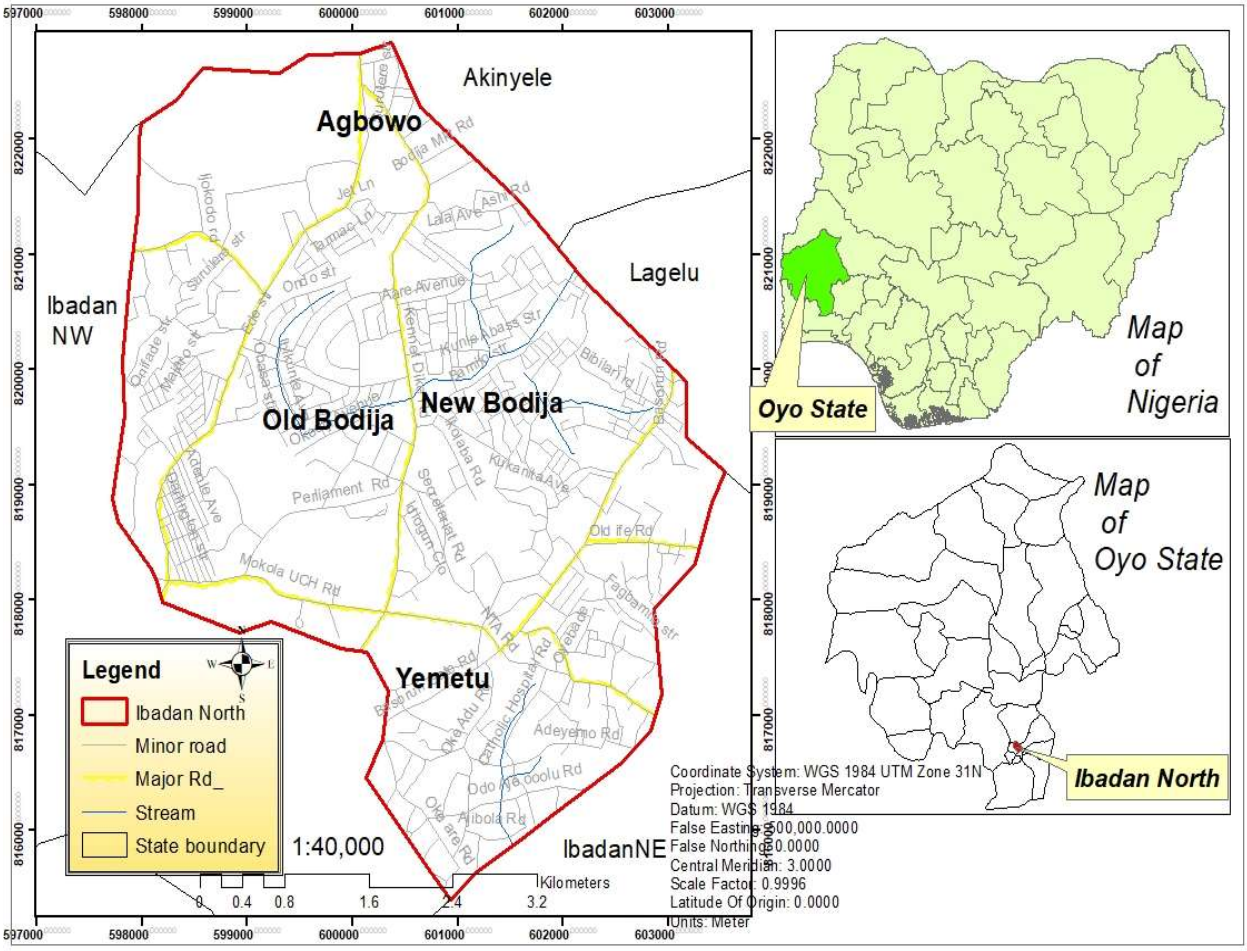


Figure 1: Study area in the context of Ibadan North, Oyo state and Nigeria.

4. Methodology

A combination of cross-sectional research and observation method were adopted to generate data for the study.A multi-stage sampling technique was used. Ibadan North Local Government Area was delineated into three residential density zones (low, medium and high). Then Yemetu, Agbowo and Bodija were randomly selected representing high-, medium-and low-density areas respectively. Using a google earth imagery, the entire buildings in the selected density areas were ground-truth and a total of 5,148 residential buildings, comprising of 1,469, 759 and 2,915 in Yemetu, Agbowo and Bodija, respectively. Therefore, 10% of the entire sample frame was selected, which comprised of 146 in Yemetu,76 inAgbowoand 291 in Bodija Estate. The sample was systematically selected in each residential density and analysed with both descriptive and inferential statistics.

5. Findings and Discussion

5.1 Socio-economic characteristics of the respondents

The socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, such as sex, religion, educational attainment, primary occupation and monthly income were examined. The study revealed that majority (51.4%) of the respondents were male. However, the distribution across the residential density areas showed that there were more males (64.5%) and (54.6%) in the low density and medium density residential areas respectively, while the high-density area had more (60.3%) female population. However, the study showed

a marginal difference (3%) between the male and female residents which aligns with the report of the population census provided by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2006) where the trend has always been that there are more males than females in Oyo state. Investigation into the religious distribution revealed that Christians constituted the highest (61.8%) percentage in the low and medium density (54.6%) residential areas, while Muslims (52.9%) constituted the majority in high density residential area. The revelation is a true image of Ibadan city settlement population characteristics where more Muslims reside in the high-density areas. This area is characterized by less educated people who engage in petty trading around their residential homes. Some of these traders are house wives who are religiously discourage to do white collar job but the husband have to build retail shop on setbacks to have source of livelihood.

The educational attainment of the residents revealed that in all 49.8% had tertiary education. More importantly, most of the residents 85.5% and 55.4% in the low and medium density areas respectively have tertiary education while only 21.5% of the residents have tertiary education in the high-density area. The presence of free education in Ibadan, before and after political independence up till date (Onajete, 2006) may have accounted for the high percentage of people with western education in the study areas. Spatial disproportion still exists in educational level of respondents which is largely determine their occupation. The implication of this is that the more educated the people are, the more they are likely to be aware of housing setbacks and airspace through the various media of information and the more they may comply with housing setbacks and airspace.

The study revealed that the self-employed group among the respondents, constituted the highest percentage in all the residential density areas accounting for 28.9%, 53.8% and 56.2% in the low, medium and high-density residential areas respectively. This may be due to the unavailability of white-collar jobs for majority of the citizens hence taking up self-employment. The revelation may not be unconnected to the religion practices of residents especially in high density areas. Analysis of the monthly income revealed that those earning less than one hundred thousand naira (<₦100,000) have the highest percentage in medium density and high density residential areas, accounting for 63.1% and 59.5% respectively; while those earning from one hundred thousand naira to four hundred and ninety nine thousand, nine hundred and ninety naira (₦100,000-₦499,999) constituted the highest percentage in the low density residential area, accounting for 47.4% (759614.3±1346786.1). The implication of this for compliance with housing setbacks and airspace is that the more the income of an individual, the more he is likely to comply with setback and airspace standards. Conversely, the lower the income, the less likely an individual will comply with setback and airspace standards. This is premised on the findings of Offiong et al. (2018), which revealed a strong positive relationship between income and compliance. It further revealed that a unit increase in income would increase the level of compliance. Atamewan (2019) also recognized poor income level as a factor for non-compliance.

Table 1: Socio-economic characteristics of respondents

Variable		Total		Low density		Medium density		High density	
		Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Sex	Male	168	51.4	49	64.5	71	54.6	48	39.7
	Female	159	48.6	27	35.5	59	45.5	73	60.3
Religion	Christianity	171	52.3	47	61.8	71	54.6	53	43.8
	Islam	148	45.3	28	36.8	56	43.1	64	52.9
	African traditional	8	2.4	1	1.3	3	2.3	4	3.3
	No formal education	11	3.4	0	0.0	4	3.1	7	5.8

Highest educational attainment	Primary education	42	12.8	4	5.3	10	7.7	28	23.1
	Secondary education	111	34.0	7	9.2	44	33.8	60	49.6
	Tertiary education	163	49.8	65	85.5	72	55.4	26	21.5
Primary occupation	Civil servant	65	19.9	30	39.5	16	12.3	19	15.7
	Self employed	160	48.9	22	28.9	70	53.8	68	56.2
	Retiree	17	5.2	9	11.8	6	4.6	2	1.7
	Private sector worker	22	6.7	9	11.8	10	7.7	3	2.5
	Student	50	15.3	6	7.9	27	20.8	17	14.0
	Artisan	13	4.0	0	0.0	1	.8	12	9.9
Monthly income	No income	66	20.1	6	7.9	23	17.7	37	30.6
	<100,000	160	49.0	6	7.9	82	63.1	72	59.5
	100,000-499,999	72	22.0	36	47.4	25	19.2	11	9.1
	500,000-899,999	11	3.4	11	14.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
	900,000 and above	18	5.5	17	22.4	0	0.0	1	.8

Source: Field Survey, 2023

5.2 Nexus between the Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents and their Level of Compliance

The Chi-square result on Table 2 reveals that at residential density level of analysis, none of the socio-economic characteristics under consideration (sex, religion, and education) has a significant relationship with the residents' level of compliance with housing setback and airspace. This suggests that the sex, religion or education of residents does not necessarily result in compliance with housing setback and airspace standards. However, the overall result reveals that only education (χ^2=19.650) has a significant influence on the residents' level of compliance with housing setback and airspace standards. This suggests that education (formal and informal) plays a vital role in disseminating information about housing setback and airspace standards to the citizen and in more probability would influence their decision on compliance or otherwise. This finding is synonymous with the outcome of Arimah and Adeagbo (2000) which revealed that education reinforces the understanding and adherence to information.

Table 2: Chi-square test of relationship between socio-economic characteristics of respondents and compliance with housing setback and airspace standard

Variable	Low			Medium			High			Overall		
	X^2	Df	P	X^2	Df	P	X^2	Df	P	X^2	Df	P
Sex	0.186	1	0.666	1.019	1	0.313	0.150	1	0.698	2.349	1	0.125
Religion	2.565	2	0.277	0.255	2	0.880	1.428	2	0.490	2.169	2	0.338

Education	0.739	2	0.691	2.107	3	0.550	0.982	3	0.806	19.650*	3	0.000

Source: Field Survey,2023

However, Pearson Product Moment Correlation result shows (Table 3) that income (r=-0.273) is inversely correlated (i.e. as income increases, the compliance level decreases) with the level of compliance with housing setback and airspace standards in the study area.

Table 3: Pearson's Product Moment Correlation (PPMC) analysis of residents' socio-economic characteristics and compliance with housing setback and airspace standard

Variable	**Low**		**Medium**		**High**		**Overall**	
	R	**P**	**R**	**P**	**R**	**P**	**R**	**P**
Income	0.125	0.304	0.090	0.357	-0.008	0.944	-0.273*	0.000

Source: Field Survey, 2023

5.3 The Use to which Setbacks/Airspaces were converted

The finding revealed that the commonest use to which setbacks/airspaces were converted to,was gatehouse, particularly in the low-density areas accounting for 18.4%. In the medium and high-density areas, 35.4% and 15.7% of the sampled residential buildings respectively converted the setbacks to shops. The low percentage of shops in the low-density area may be attributed to the high-income level of the residents and awareness of the benefits of the setbacks through the level of their education. Conversely, the high percentage of shops in the medium density (35.4%) and high-density (15.7%) areas may be attributed to the inadequate income of the residents, and quest for other sources of livelihoods/income. This revelation may imply that there is high preference for commercial activity among the residents. This discovery is synonymous with the results of the study carried out by Arimah and Adeagbo (2000) where most of the use of the violated airspaces were for commercial activities thereby rendering such a residential building to mixed use residential building. Except for low density residential area where setbacks were not used for poultry, some house owners in all residential zones likewise converted setbacks/airspaces to poultry, dog pen and boys' quarters (Table 4). The implication of this for residential zoning is that a lot of residential zones are changing to mixed use zones (residential/commercial zones).

Table 4: Uses of setbacks and airspaces in each of the residential density areas

	Total		**Low Density**		**Medium Density**		**High Density**	
Variable	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**
	Freq. (%)	**Freq. (%)**	**Freq. (%)**	**Freq. (%)**	**Freq. (%)**	**Freq. (%)**	**Freq. (%)**	**Freq. (%)**

Gatehouse	295 (90.2)	32 (9.8)	62 (81.6	14 (18.4)	118 (90.8)	12 (9.2)	115 (95. 0)	6 (5.0)
Place of worship	316 (96.6)	11 (3.4)	74 (97.4	2 (2.6)	128 (98.5)	2 (1.5)	114 (94.2)	7 (5.8)
Shops	253 (77.4)	74 (22.6)	67 (88.2	9 (11.8)	84 (64.6)	46 (35.4)	102(84.3)	19 (15.7)
Poultry	325 (99.4)	2 (0.6)	76 (100.0)	0 (0.0)	129 (99.2)	1 (0.8)	120 (99.2)	1(0.8)
Boys' quarters	319(97.6)	8 (2.4)	74 (97.4	2 (2.6)	125 (96.2)	5 (3.8)	120(99.2)	1 (0.8)
Dogs pen	313(95.7)	14 (4.3)	74 (97.4	2 (2.6)	124 (95.4)	6 (4.6)	115 (95.0)	6 (5.0)

Source: *Field survey, 2023*

5.4 Relationship between socio-economic characteristics and the use of setbacks and airspaces

The study revealed that the female population (27.7%) had a higher percentage in the use of their setbacks/airspaces for shops. Residents with no formal education (27.3%) and the private sector workers (36.4%) constituted the highest percentage of people who used their setbacks/airspaces as shops while those who earn less than one hundred-thousand-naira (<100,000) as monthly income (26.9%) constituted the highest set of owner-occupiers(respondents) who used their setbacks/airspaces as shops. Overview of the Table 5 shows that the commonest use of the setback /airspaces in the study areas is shop.

Furthermore, the study revealed that a proportion of the male respondents (14.3%) used the setback/airspace for gatehouse which was commonly observed in low density residential areas. The civil servants (18.5%) are mostly found among the proportion of people who used setback/airspace for gatehouse. The use of setback/airspace for dog pen is noticeable in the study area.

Table 5: Socio-economic characteristics and the use of setback/airspace

Variable		**Gatehouse**	**Place of worship**	**Shop**	**Poultry**	**Boss Quarter**	**Dogs pen**
		Freq (%)	**Freq (%)**	**Freq (%)**	**Freq %**	**Freq %**	**Freq %**
Sex	Male	24 (14.3)	8 (4.8)	30 (17.9)	2(1.2)	4(2.4)	1(0.6)
	Female	8 (5.0)	3(1.9)	44(27.7)	0(0.0)	4(2.5)	13(8.2)
Religion	Christianity	14 (8.2)	2(1.2)	41(24.0)	1(0.6)	4(2.3)	10(5.8)

	Islam	18 (12.2)	8(5.4)	32(21.6)	1(0.7)	4(2.7)	4(2.7)
	African traditional	0 (0.0)	1(12.5)	1(12.5)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)
Highest educational attainment	No formal education	0 (0.0)	1(9.1)	3(27.3)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)
	Primary education	7(16.7)	3(7.1)	9(21.4)	0(0.0)	1(2.4)	2(4.8)
	Secondary education	8(7.2)	3(2.7)	24(21.6)	1(.9)	4(3.6)	8(7.2)
	Tertiary education	17 (10.4)	4(2.5)	38(23.3)	1(.6)	3(1.8)	4(2.5)
Primary occupation	Civil servant	12 (18.5)	2(3.1)	12(18.5)	1(1.5)	1(1.5)	1(1.5)
	Self employed	13 (8.1)	6(3.8)	38(23.8)	0 (0.0)	5(3.1)	10(6.3)
	Retiree	0 (0.0)	1 (5.9)	3(17.6)	0(0.0)	1(5.9)	0(0.0)
	Private sector worker	2 (9.1)	0(0.0)	8(36.4)	0(0.0)	1(4.5)	1(4.5)
	Student	4 (8.0)	1(2.0)	9(18.0)	1(2.0)	0(0.0)	1(2.0)
	Artisan	1(7.7)	1 (7.7)	4(30.8)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	1(7.7)
Monthly income	No income	7(10.6)	3 (4.5)	16(24.2)	0(0.0)	0 (0.0)	2(0)
	<100,000	8 (5.0)	5 (3.1)	43(26.9)	2 (1.3)	6 (3.8)	9(5.6)
	100,000-499,999	8 (11.1)	3 (4.2)	15(20.8)	0(0.0)	2 (2.8)	3(4.2)
	500,000-899,999	4 (36.4)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0 (0.0)	0(0.0)
	900,000 and above	5 (27.8)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0(0.0)	0 (0.0)	0(0.0)

***Source**: Field survey, 2023*

5.5 The Motivator of the Use of Setback and Airspace

Investigation on who initiated the idea of conversion of the setbacks to other uses revealed that, respondents who were indifferent consisted the majority (56.0%), comprising of relatively 59.2% in low density, 51.5% in medium density and 58.7% in high density. This was closely followed by

Husband accounting for 21.4% shared relatively with 25.0%, 21.5% and 21.0% for low, medium and high density respectively. Meanwhile, the proportion of the respondents whose wife masterminded the conversion of the airspace accounted for 16.2% with low, medium and high-density accounting for 15.8%, 20.0% and 12.4% respectively. Others generally include friends/relatives (3.7%), joint decision of husband and wives (6.6%). The variation across the study area is contained in Table 6. Overall, above information showed that the husband was mostly instrumental to the use of the airspace. This may be attributed to the patriarchal nature of the society where the husband is regarded as the head of the family who should spearhead most of the decisions taken in the family. Also, the husband is known for the ownership of the building except for few cases where both husband and wife claim ownership of building. This study corroborates the work of Arima and Adeagbo (2000) where most of the airspaces converted into shop for commercial purposes

Table 6: Masterminder of the use of Airspace

	Total		Low density		Medium density		High density	
Variable	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**	**Freq**	**%**
No idea	183	56.0	45	59.2	67	51.5	71	58.7
Husband	70	21.4	19	25.0	28	21.5	23	19.0
Wife	53	16.2	12	15.8	26	20.0	15	12.4
Friends/relatives	12	3.7	0	0.0	8	6.2	4	3.3
Husband and wife decision	9	2.7	0	0.0	1	.8	8	6.6

***Source**: Field Survey, 2023*

5.6 Reasons for Violation of Setback

Focused Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted to elicit information on the reasons why some owner occupiers converted setbacks into different uses. It was evident that a proportion of the residents did not have clear understanding of the benefits of setbacks. Therefore, the space was converted into different uses due to low understanding about the reason for the open spaces around the building. Similarly, the discussion revealed that some have to use the space for commercial purposes such as erection of kiosk/shop where commercial activities can take place to cushion current economic hardship. Some of the shops were built to create job for housewives. It was equally gathered among the residents of low residential area where setbacks are commonly used for gatehouse and dog pen that the conversion of the space is imperative because of the security of the building and residents. Some home occupier converted the space into Boy's quarter in order to house some members of the family where there was shortage of space while some built for letting to generate income. Among other reasons for conversion of setbacks for other uses is low effective performance of the planning authority. It was disclosed by 65.1% of the respondents that there is no sanction from the planning authority due to low monitoring as

well as fear of non-approval (37.3%) by planning authority encourage illegal conversion. Similarly, 67.9% of the respondents disclosed that high cost of planning approval has compelled them to embark on the conversion of airspace for other uses. It was evident that none among those who have converted the space into other uses sought approval/permit from the planning authority.

5.6 Effect of the Airspace Conversion to other uses

Investigation on the effect of the use of the setback/airspaces for other purposes on the comfort of the residents. While the highest percentages (10.5%) and (34.7%) in the low density and high-density areas respectively cited noise pollution as the effect of the airspace utilization as high as 28.5% of the residents in the medium density area cited inadequate ventilation as another effect of the airspace conversion. Of all the respondents, a few percentages of the respondents (38.8%) admitted that the airspace conversion into other uses have effects on their comfort of residents. A significant proportion (61.2%) were unaware of the effects of the use of airspace on their comfort. This may be due to habituation, whereby majority of the residents are accustomed to the negative health effect of the utilisation of the airspaces. The major effect of airspace conversion is the gradual development of slum environment which will result to urban decay and blighted community. Where setbacks are converted into different uses, airflow will be impeded and this may consequently result into respiratory problems for the residents.

Table5.8: Effect of the setback conversion

Variable	Total		Low density		Medium density		High density	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
	Freq%	Freq%	Freq (%	Freq%	Freq%	Freq%	Freq%	Freq%
Inadequate ventilation	277(84.7)	50(15.3)	74(97.4)	2(2.6)	93(71.5)	37(28.5)	110(90.9)	11(9.1)
Noise pollution	249 (76.1)	78(23.9)	68(89.5)	8(10.5)	102(78.5)	28(21.5)	79(65.3)	42(34.7)
Air pollution	276 (84.4)	51(15.6)	76(100.0)	0 (0.0)	112(86.2)	18(13.8)	88(72.7)	33(27.3)

Source: Field survey, 2023

6. Conclusion and Recommendation

The study revealed that building airspace conversion into different uses is a usual occurrence in every part of residential areas of Ibadan, particularly Ibadan north local government area. No residential density can be exonerated from the menace. However, the study showed that the use of airspace or setbacks is more common in high and medium residential density. Except for education of residents, socio-economic attributes do not determine the compliance to housing setback/airspace. Most of the setbacks were used to build shops where commercial activities take place. The husband was identified as the major person who was instrumental to the use of these setbacks/airspace.

The study recommended a regular public enlightenment on benefits of housing setback /airspace. The enlightenment process would popularize the importance of planning standard, provision of adequate setback/airspace and benefits of compliance with setback/airspace standards. The study suggests the adoption of

both formal and informal means of communication to disseminate the enlightenment. In addition, development control section of the local planning authority should be more proactive and adequately empowered with monitoring gadgets such as vehicles, surveillance equipment and qualified personnels. Non-compliance and illegal development should attract penalty where and when it is apprehended. Development control should be given a strong recognition and accorded with high importance with adequate facilities for effective performance. Preservation of open space, airspace and setbacks should be considered as major struth of sustainable development.

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UNPACKING THE LEGACY OF MILITARY RULE: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN NIGERIA (1985-2007)

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ABSTRACT
This study examines the Human rights violations perpetrated during Nigeria's Military rule from 1985 to 1999, and the lingering impact on the country's democratic transitions from 1999 to 2007. Through a critical analysis of archival materials, interviews, and secondary sources, this research uncovers the systemic abuses, impunity, and institutional weaknesses that characterized the military era. The study reveals how the military's draconian laws, extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances and torture, created a culture of fear and silence, which continues to influence Nigeria's human rights landscape. The research also assesses the efforts of successive democratic governments to address these violations, including truth-telling initiatives, judicial reforms and reparations. The findings highlight the need for a more comprehensive and inclusive approach to transitional justice, institutional reform, and accountability to effectively confront and the legacy of military rule and promote sustainable human rights protection in Nigeria. The paper contributed to literature through conceptual definitions and through methodology with new insightful information.

Introduction

Nigeria's experience with military rule, spanning from 1985 to 1999, was marked by widespread human rights violations, which have left an indelible mark on the country's political, social, and economic landscape. The regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, which began in 1985, and the subsequent regime of General Sani Abacha, which ended in 1998 were characterized by culture of impunity, where human right was systematically violated with no regard for the rule of law or accountability.

During this period, Nigerians faced numerous challenges, including extrajudicial killings, forced disappearances, torture, and arbitrary detention. The military government's draconian laws and decrees criminalized dissent, restricted freedom of speech and assembly, and suppressed political opposition. The human rights community including activists, journalists, and ordinary citizens, were particularly targeted, facing harassment, intimidation, and violence.

Despite the return to democracy in 1999 the legacy of military rule continues to shape Nigeria's human rights landscape. The failure to

address the past violations and bring perpetrators to justice has perpetrated a culture of impunity, undermining the rule of law and the protection of human rights. This study aims to unpack the legacy of military rule, examining the human rights violations perpetrated during this period and the ongoing challenges to accountability, justice, and human rights protection in Nigeria. Many literatures were consulted to bring an insightful knowledge to the gap been investigated and to proffers solution through thorough methodological approach to human rights violations during military rule in Nigeria.

Conceptual Definition of Human Rights

Rousseau (2000) says the strongest is never strong enough to be always the master unless he transforms strength into rights and obedience into duty. He sees force as a physical power and fails to sees what moral effect it can have. He argues that to yield to force Is an act of necessity, not of will. He also argues that if force creates right, the effect will inevitably change with the cause, since in greater than the first former. He further contends that if it is possible to disobey with essence, every force that is Impunity, disobedience is legitimate and the strongest been always in the right, the only thing that matters is to act so as to become the strongest. He continued by asking, what type is that which is perishes when force fails? Therefore, he says it is clear that the word “right adds nothing to force and in this connection, it means absolutely nothing.

Gierke (2003) asserts that Human rights are not the urge to satisfy ones desire, such desire as committing murder, and for instance which cannot be grounded in human rights. In essence that right is then that claim which the force of the state will, upon the order of his court be used to substantiate its legality. (Ewings: 2001) This means that changes in the law then can produce changes in the substance of right and a periodic review of statue books and decision underlies the verdict of judicial officers. But a purely legalistic view has nothing to contribute to an adequate political philosophy. (Appadoral: 1995) Therefore, a legal theory of right will tell us what in fact the character of a state is, it will not tell us, surely by the judgment we express upon some particular states, whether the rights recognized there are the right that needs adequate recognition.

Laski now goes ahead to define rights as "those conditions of social life without which no man can seek, in general to be himself at his best". That people basically have right so that they may make contribution to the societal growth. The contribution must be personal, or it is not a contribution at all. He also emphasizes that the rights of the individual are given to perform some given duties, therefore, he that will not work or perform any function cannot enjoy rights any more that he who is ready to work. He says he who will not work should not enjoy bread. Laski submitted that any system of rights has three essential aspect or part from which it must be regarded namely:(a) interest of the individual(b) interest of various group in which the individual finds channels of expression(c) interest of the community which is the total result of the whole pressure of social forces.

Laski (1999) states that every state is known by right it maintains as an avenue to a creative view of politics, hence the need to define with some care the meaning they embody. Such rights do not implythe reflection of a natural order which lies behind the shifting appearance of contemporary society, for such an order according to Laski "cannot be permanent in a world where science changes at a peace as rapid as we have come to expect".

Rousseau states finally that force does not create right and that we are obliged to obey only legitimate powers. He also talks about the general will. He argues that the right of an individual cannot be treated isolation, but must conform to the right of the other within the society. There are equal rights under the law and these Right must conform to the will of the society. He also says that any individual who infringes on the rights of others contrary to the general will must be made to conform.

What is Human Rights Violation?

Human violation occurs when an individual’s fundamental rights and freedoms, as enshrined in international law, are infringed upon or disregarded by a government, institution, or individual. Human right violation is as old as man itself, this phenomenon is not strange to Nigeria and many countries of the world despite the fact that attempts are made to protect the rights of individuals within the society.

Human Rights violation is basically the denial of the rights of an individual or a group of people

by the Government. These rights and privileges meant for the better living condition of the masses are curbed or restricted by the authorities Human Rights violations are rampant in several countries of the world such as Burma, Germany Cambodia, Angola, Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Liberia, Yogoslavia, Uganda, Serbia and many others who were and still under the grip and firm old of despots, tyrants and totalitarian regimes of wicked rulers like Adolf Hitler, Slobodan Milosevic, Saddam Hussein, Idi Amin Dada, Charles Taylor, Sani Abacha, Benito Mussolini etc. Eze (2001). The Governments in Nigeria has coined a popular phrase which is "threat to National Security" to legalize and justify such actions that violates or abuses the fundamental rights of the people. Dudley (2000)

Human Rights Violation under the Military

Military Governments wherever and whenever they emerged are known to rule by decrees. The first pronouncement of a military regime is the suspension of all democratic structures, the constitution and the legislature. The military comes on power through the barrel of the gun and they also maintain their strong-hold on power by the use of force of coercion. A careful study of some countries, where at one point or the other these Khaki boys have taken over the reins of Government, lends credence to this statement.

In Nigeria, we will take the regimes of General Ibrahim Babangida and General Sani Abacha as case-studies. These two regimes as soon as they assume power constitute what they called the "highest ruling body", which was responsible for the churning out of various obnoxious decrees. This body is composed of not more than ten (10) senior officers of the armed forces, usually the Service Chiefs of the Army, Navy and Air-Force as well as commanders of various Army Formations of Divisions. General Babangida called his own Armed Forces Ruling Council (A.F.R.C.) while General Abacha called his Provisional Ruling Council (P.R.C.). Under the Babangida Regime, many cases of human rights violations were recorded, the most prominent being the brutal murder by parcel bomb of Mr. Dele Giwa, the Editor-in-Chief of magazine on Sunday, October 19, 1986. He was alleged to be in possession of certain classified information which was to appear in his magazine and also the proscription of media houses like Concord newspapers, Punch and so on. The detention of some prominent Nigerian intellectuals who were critical of his Government, such as Professor Wole Soyinka, Chief Gani Fawehinmi, Dr. Beko Ransome- Kuti and others were put in detention.

His Government was known to have clamped into detention so many Nigerian who at one time or the other spoke against his regime. On June 12, 1993, a Presidential election was conducted by the National Electoral Commission (N.E.C) in which he approved two registered political parties, namely the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republic Convention (NRC) after disbanding about thirteen political associations seeking registration as parties. Chief M.K.O. Abiola was the Presidential candidate for the S.D.P. While Alhaji Bashir Tofa was the Presidential candidate for the N.R.C. The N.E.C. Chairman, Professor Humphrey Nwosu announced the results of about sixteen states out of the thirty states that Nigeria had at the time. From that result, the S.D.P. candidate was in the lead, however on June 23, 1993, General Babangida announced the cancelation of the entire election without any concrete reason, except that there were irregularities which cannot be substantiated. Fourteen (14) million Nigerians came out in large numbers to cast their ballots for the candidate of their choice. The election was adjudged to be the freest and fairest in the history of this country and it was attested to by both the local and international observers and monitors.

There was unrest and confusion everywhere as a result of the annulment. Workers went on strike a sit at home directive by the Nigerian Labour Congress (N.L.C.) the umbrella body of all Trade Unions in Nigeria which includes the National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Worker (NUPENG) Chief Frank Ovie-Kokori, the Secretary-General of N.U.P.E.N.G. who was one of the arrow-heads of the strike was arrested and detained as a result arrow-heads paralysis of the socio-economic life in the country. There was wild protest in every nook and cranny of Nigeria leading to loss of lives and properties. The government drafted armed suppress the people's will and mandate.

General Ibrahim Babangida was forced to relinquish power because of this crisis and on August 26, 1993, he announced in a Nation-wide broadcast to the people that he was "stepping aside". He handed over to an Interim National Government (I.N.G.) headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan. The I.N.G. lasted between August 26 and November 17, 1993, a period of 82 days. On November 10, 1993, a remarkable judgement was delivered by Justice Dolapo Akinsanya of the

Lagos High Court declaring the Interim Government as illegal, unconstitutional, null and void. The I.N.G. was removed from office on 17 November, 1993 in a place coup that brought General Sani Abacha to power.

As reported African by journal of Human Rights (2001) The Abacha junta also has it on record as being one of the most despotic regimes in Nigeria and even in Africa, his Government jailed several pro-democracy activists, closed down media houses that were critical of his policies and ultimately his Government executed the popular writer and President of the Movement for the survival of Ogoni People (M.O.S.O.P.) on whose land Nigeria derives her crude oil, which is the main source of the National Income (N.I.) which is also called the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.) the man in question is Mr. Ken Saro-Wiwa, he was executed for his resolve to fight for the emancipation and better living condition of his people whose land and the rivers surrounding them have been devastated and polluted due to oil spillage: His execution led to Nigeria has been declared a "pariah state" by the International Community and the Commonwealth of Nations, an organization consisting of former British colonies placing a "suspension order" on her.

There was gross violation of human rights of the people by the Abacha Government. Alhaja Kudirat Abiola, Chief Abiola's wife was assassinated on a Lagos Road on June 4, 1996 after she has been clamouring for her husband's release. So many prominent Nigerians who were seen as being hostile to his government were murdered, thrown into detention or forced to flee to exile. These include Pa Alfred Rewane who was murdered in his bedroom in Lagos, Chief Gani Fawehinmi and Mr. Femi Falana others were detained while Professor Wole Soyinka fled into exile after series of death threats.

On June 8, 1998, General Sani Abacha died suddenly in a in Aso Rock, Abuja. Before his death Nigeria had been suspended from the Commonwealth of Nations due to the murder of Mr. Ken Saro-Wiwa and his refusal to release Chief Abiola. Even the Catholic Pontiff, Pope John Paul II during his visit to Nigeria in March, 1998 also lent a voice of the release of the detainees, but General Abacha bluntly refused to heed this call.

Human Rights Violation in the 4th Republic

Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's administration since May 29, 1999, has been operating a Democracy that cannot be said to be total of one that conforms to the basic tenets of democratic ideals, yet we can say categorically that the political landscape in Nigeria today is freer and the populace can express their opinions and views on matters of public importance without any fear or let, particularly when it comes to referring to the media Houses. There has been freedom of the press as its highest level. These part seven years journalists have been free to write a lot for or against the Government, yet there has been no recorded incidence of closure of any media house, this is highly commendable on the part of the present civilian government, however we cannot afford to ignorecertain instances in which the fundamental human rights of Nigerians have been infringed.

Some Nigerians have been arrested and detained for questioning by this government; this activity is usually carried out by the various security agencies such as the State Security Services (S.S.S) and the investigative unit of the Nigerian Police. Officials of the Government claim to have no knowledge of such action, stating that these agencies often carry out their functions without recourse to the top echelons of Government. People who have been so detained and later released include AlhajiAbubakarRimi, Brigadier General Mohammed BubaMarwa (Rtd). Dr. Fredrick Fasheun and so on.

This Government has also been known to flagrantly disobey court injunctions delivered by competent Judges in properly constituted courts on so many instances. This does not angur well for the practice of democracy, because the judiciary which is the third arm of the Government is not being respected. This branch of Government is generally referred to as "the last hope of the common man" and if this hope of the people is subjugated and their rights trampled upon, then our democracy cannot be said to be real by any standard.

Classification of Abuse of Human Rights and Privileges under the Fourth Republic

The violation of human rights and privileges under the fourth Republic can be classified as follows: (i) personal assault, deprivation of liberty, arrest and detention and (ii communal violation or abuse of human rights.

(i) Personal Assault, Deprivation of Liberty and Detention

In the course of this Administration a lot of people has experienced and suffered so many unconstitutional actions by Government and its agencies. Some people suffered arbitrary arrests and detention without trial. Some others were faced with physical assault and brutality from security operatives. Two journalists for the Vanguard Newspapers were brutalized and unnecessary injuries inflicted upon them. This happened in 2003 in Lagos, Oba Rilwan Babatunde Akiolu, this heinous act was carried out by the security officials who were attached to Vice President Atiku Abubakar. The Journalists were carrying out their legitimate duty and responsibility when they were man-handled by the over-zealous security aides. The office of the Vice President later apologized to the Journalists and their employer, the Vanguard Newspapers, but no compensations was paid to the people concerned to settle their medical bills.

A number of Nigerians were arrested and detained without trial or even knowing the crime they committed. Brigadier General Mohammed Buba Marwa (Rtd) a former military administration to Lagos State experienced this in 2005, he was arrested and detained for a couple of days, he was later released and the State Security Service (SSS) insured a statement explaining why he was arrested, the release stated that he was invited for routine questioning on an investigation. Some other Nigerians too, experienced such deprivation of liberty and denial of their right. This explains why the country has her prisons overflowing nationwide with suspects and people who have been detained without trial. This is a violation of the people Human Rights.

(ii) Communal Violation or Abuse of Human Rights: the Case of ZakiBiam in Benue State and Odi in Bayelsa State

The brutality that took place in the two states of the Federation can be described as almost the same, though; the incidents took place at different periods of time during the first term of this government between 2000 and 2001.

These two communities, Zaki-Biam in Benue state and Odi in Bayelsa state were reportedly involved in the killing of some policemen who were deployed to the communities. The people of the communities were said to be un-comfortable with the presence of the policemen, who were said to be exploiting the members of the communities instead of protecting them and maintaining law and order within the communities. The policemen in these communities were reported to be extorting money from the inhabitants and also sexually harassing the girls and women of the two communities. The people of these communities particularly the militants, the came together and decided to eliminate some of the policemen. The actions of these youths itself is totally wrong and condemnable, though their defense was that they did it to protect their people from further abuse.

The Federal government responded by deploying an undisclosed number of military personnel, but it was clear that they were heavily armed and large in quantity. This army went to these two towns and overturned it, there was destruction and arson, human lives and properties were destroyed, the girls and the women in these towns were also raped. The level of the violations of the fundamental Human Rights of the people of these communities is of unimaginable proportion; the Newspapers reported the body of an old man, still clutching firmly to a copy of the Holy Bible in a pond behind an Anglican Church. The destruction was total to the extent that crops and farms were set ablaze, and every house in the community with the exception of the First Bank building, a Community Health Care Centre and that Anglican Church sacred places of worship such as a churches, ancestral shrines, sacred forests and even cemeteries and burial grounds were demolished, a case of not even allowing the dead to rest in peace.

A large number of people were arrested and taken away by the soldiers to military barracks in Elele, Port-Harcourt and Warri. The 60,000 residents of the community had fled into the forest, been arrested and killed. The invasion of Odi town in Bayelsa state according to investigation was premeditated. It was carefully planned to annihilate the people in order to make things smooth and easy for the oil prospecting companies. The invasion was termed "Operation Htakuri II" by the then Minister of Defence, General Theophilus Yakubu Danjuma (Rtd). He announced that the operation was initiated with the mandate of protecting rig terminals and pipelines of refineries as well as power installations in the Niger Delta areas. This translated to the fact that it was for oil and oilalone that the soldiers who are today maintained with the same oil money from Odi and other communities of Niger Delta

went to Odi to perpetrate this atrocity and unwholesome act. It can be said to be a case of killing an ant with a sledge hammer.

Assassination of Some Selected Nigerian Citizens

In the last seven years of democratic rule in Nigeria, some very prominent Nigerians have been cut down prematurely for reasons that are majorly political, going by reports and circumstances surrounding the dastardly acts. For the sake of this study, I will be treating about four separate instances of assassination of people who have been actively involved in this present political dispensation. These people are eminent citizens of Nigeria and they are also respected citizens of the world. They are:

i. Chief Bola Ige, former Governor of Oyo State, renowned layer and Senior Advocate of Nigeria (S.A.N.) and as at the same time he was assassinated on December 23, 2001, he was the minister of Justice and Attorney-General of the Federation. He was murdered in his bedroom in Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State, he was a former presidential candidate of the Alliance for Democracy (A.D.) and a strong factor in the policies of Osun State and the entire southwest of Nigeria.

ii. Chief Aminosari K. Dikibo, he was assassinated in March, 2003 and as at that time he was the National Vice-Chairman (South- South) of the People Democratic Party (P.D.P.) and also a political stalwart in the six states that makes up the south-south of Nigeria.

iii. Engineer Funsho Williams, a consultant Civil Engineer and Gubernatorial candidate of the People's Democratic Party (P.D.P.) in Lagos State. He was assassinated on July 20, 2006, at his Dolphin Estate, Ikoyi Lagos twice he has contested for the same office and lost, and he refused to challenge the election results in Court as his party men had wanted him to. He said he will wait for another four years; he was warming up for the next election year when he was gruesomely murdered.

iv. Dr. Ayodeji Daramola, an economist and consultant to the World Bank, he is also a Governorship candidate of the People's Democratic Party (P.D.P.) but in Ekiti State he was murdered on August 14, 2006 at his Home in Ijaye-Ekiti, Ekiti State.

We should also take note that Mr. George Akume, the Governor of Benue State miraculously escaped an assassination attempt on his life in April 2004, while driving in a convoy along the Makurdi-Abuja Expressway. A group of gunmen numbering about twelve (12) opened fires on his entourage and two of his companions, his childhood friend and a security aide were shot at and they both died on the spot. These assassinations and attempted assassination have been said and reported to have political undertones or linkages.

Causes of Human Rights Violations

There are many factors that can lead to human rights violations. The abuse of an individual's rights may be caused by some reasons, such as insecurity of the Government in power and to curb the incessant condemnation of Government policies by opposition parties or groups. Human rights violation is a phenomenon that is common to autocratic regimes. It is also caused by a desperate determination of dictators to hold on to power tenaciously.

Constructive criticism is forbidden and human rights activities are harassed and detained within the country and the rest are forced to go on exile for the sake of their dear lives. Dictators are known to use this crude machinery to undermine the collective will of the people and to create fear and instability in the minds of the people. These intimidations erode the values of human rights from the people in a state. The psyche of the citizens is negatively affected and they are unable to appreciate the rights of their fellow citizens.

Unfortunately, the Nigerians seem to see President Olusegun Obasanjo as a dictator, despite the fact that he is a civilian. Though a retired Army General, people still view him and his administration as that of a military man. In fact, a cross section of the news media has termed Obasanjo's Government as that of a Militarized Democracy" because of his somehow uncompromising style of leadership. This can be seen in situations whereby he intentionally leadership follow public opinion of Nigerians, for instance, the incessant increase in the pump price of petroleum products, which has led to series of strike actions as led by the umbrella body of al trade unions in the country, that is the Nigeria Labour Congress (N.L.C.) which resulted into the shutting down of Government activities

and the paralysis of both the social and economic pursuits of the people in Nigeria.

It is pertinent to state here what two prominent Nigerians have to say on the present Government in the country. Prof. Sam Aluko, a retired Professor of Economics at the Obafemi Awolowo University (O.A.U.), Ile-Ife said that "Obasanjo's Government is worse than that of Abacha because majority of Nigerians are more impoverished than they were under Abacha". Chief Gani Fawehinmi (S.A.N.) a veterian human rights activities and lawyer also said that "this Government is under the stronghold of a military dictator in civilian babanriga or agbada" he said as far as he was concerned, there is no difference between this dispensation and that of Abacha.

Effects of Human Rights Violations on the People and the Society

The greatest damage human rights violation has caused on the people is the erosion of public confidence. Several young Nigerians have never witnessed what human rights is, they onlyread about it in textbooks and are aware that is been practiced in some foreign lands: The absence of human rights values in the speak out on certain issues, fearing arrest and detention.

Human Rights violation has done untold damages to the psyche of Nigerians to the extent that their ways of reasoning and their disposition towards fellow Nigerians and the society at large became negative. An average Nigerian is frustrated and does not see anything good in what the leadership at various levels are doing to impact positively on the lives of the people.

It should be noted that the long period of military rule in Nigeria has rendered the people incapacitated. The large scale exploitation of the natural resources in the Niger Delta, which is mainly petroleum and the gross abuse of human rights of the people by past military regimes has led to a high rate of military in that area. The devastation of the land of the inhabitants of the area has not been compensated. The attempt of the people of the Niger Delta to voice out against this anomaly, has led to brutal suppression, murder, intimidation and even rape. However, the present government has been making very serious attempts in making sure that all these problems and violations are adequately amicably.

Recommendations and Challenges

At this juncture, it is necessary to make concrete recommendations which will serve as a guide to the government.

i. There shall be due consultation to the people of Nigeria whatever policy government wants to embark on and make sure such policy and to not affect the right of Nigerian citizens.

ii. The Government should respect the rule of law, not minding the position of government on such law and obey the court order.

iii. A man rights should be enjoyed and protected by the government to all the Nigerian citizens.

iv. Government should provide basic necessities of life to the average citizens of Nigeria such as food, clothing, shelter, water, light good roads and so on.

v. Lastly, this Government must carry out an extensive overhauling of our society apparatus in this country, the Nigerian police and other security agencies must be restricted in such a way that he lives and properties of the people are better protected.

Sophisticated crime detecting gadgets should be provided for them. The officers should be sent on training and re-training within the country and abroad for necessary exposure. The bad eggs within the ranks should be flushed out and the good ones should be motivated in their remunerations and allowances. The special awards that are insurance policy should be established for all police officers and security operatives as it is been done in the developed democracies this will encourage them to put in more efforts and to be more dedicated in their duties and assignments.

Conclusion

In conclusion therefore, one could have observed many human right violations in Nigeria during the periods reviewed above and a lot of injustice perpetuated by Government to the people of Nigerian. In as much that all these rights are individual rights that are supposed to be protected by the government. All these

human rights violations are disobedience to rule of law, unlawful detention of citizens, personal assault, and deprivation of liberty, communal violation and abuse of human rights and so on. All these rights are to be enjoyed and protected by the government.

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BORDER MANAGEMENT, ARMED BANDITRY AND TERRORISM MITIGATION IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT
The greatest social, human and economic challenge facing Nigeria today is the menace of both international, national and local terrorism that is adversely aided by strong force of religious extremism, porosity of borderline and cross-border security challenges and crime in its highest wave. Of a truth, the existence of porous border and cross-border frontier activities in Nigeria has given credence to crimes of diverse magnitude and utmost security challenges across Nigeria borders for long without any specific headway or solution. This paper is set to examine key security challenges and socio-economic effects of insurgency and Armed Banditry in Nigeria; seeing that the country as a nation state is under a severe internal socio-economic and security threat. In consequence, the paper dwells on key concepts of the work on border management and its demands, activities of armed banditry and how to mitigate terrorism in Nigeria, with case studies of North Central, North-West, North East and others, just to mention but few. The study data were collected through documentation of secondary sources, including review of related literature, journals, write ups, library research, even as it built on the findings of already existing works about emerging security threats in Nigeria. The study is concluded by recommending among others; that the country should in fact evolve a sustainable border management, and social security system which will discourage public office holders from engaging in corrupt practices of sponsoring of banditry, kidnapping, e.t.c as economic gains, and with good information network sharing techniques, and by providing gainful employment opportunities to the citizenry of which will curb, reduce or eradicate the social habits of armed bandit, cross-border security challenge and mores as enshrined in the work.

Introduction

Attacks by armed bandit groups as well as continued violence by Boko Haram and the Islamic state in West Africa province (ISWAP) leave civilians in Nigeria at risk of mass atrocity crimes across border regions within and outside border lane. (Global Centre for responsibility to protect 31st August, 2023.)

It was established that the issue of Armed banditry, and terrorism ravaging the peace of the country Nigeria, stems from cross-border porosity and other national and international loopholes in border governance, control and management, to some extent. Taking the main theme, trans-border movement is an integrative process that links people on both sides of the border. It breaks down artificially imposed barriers and generates interaction. Thus, movement of people across the international boundaries is a universal phenomenon. This type of movement can be illegal or illegal depending on the circumstances warranting such type of trip; when a national or foreigner passes across an international boundary without having the entire necessary document that back up his trips such movement is regarded as illegal and unconstitutional. These are the likes of the current wave of book haram, armed banditry and terrorists crossing the border to cause mayhems in the nation populace among communities, tribes, race, state, villages, hamlets in Nigeria states.

The spate of insecurity occasioned by terrorism, armed bandits and terrorists unleashing heinous act on the masses assumed to be caused by trans-border movement triggered this study on border management, Armed bandit and terrorism mitigation in Nigeria.

What is Border Management?

Border management and terrorism mitigation among other measures, have gained recognition as ways to prevent or counter the spread of terrorism, armed banditry, boko-haram, organized transnational crime, and pandemics; it was established through research that, since November 11, 2001, Al-quedi terrorist assault in the USA have sparked a significant shift in border management-framework all over the globe; thus border security management has continued to acquire renewed importance as a safeguard against growing transnational security challenges in different parts of the world, despite growing commitment among states to the ideals of globalization, regionalism, and supra-nationalism with their differing degrees of emphasis on borderless communities due to some natural porosity in some cases; Ogbonna, Lenshie and Nwangwu (2023).

Border management, also known as border governance is the facilitation of the authorized movement of individuals for business, tourism, refugee resettlement, and so on, across the territorial-frontiers of nation states. According to Rubinskaya (2019) in Ogbonna, Lenshie and Nwangwu (2023), border management involves the use of strategies, such as the imposition of visa requirements, career sanctions against transportation companies bringing irregular migrants to the territorial interdiction at sea, and outright land-border closure, to direct and prevent the irregular entry of non-nationals (and unregulated goods) into a given country; this means that, the imperatives of and the tension between balancing the entry of legitimate travelers and preventing others from entering for inappropriate reasons or with invalid documentation are at the core of border governance or management. The author wishes to reflect here that, for instance, the 2019 land. border closure in Nigeria was putatively informed by the need to stem the rising inflow of arms smuggling, foreign fighters, drug peddling and others prohibited items into Nigeria's trade environment (The guardian, 2020).

Alumona (2022) reported that beyond the veil of president Muhammadu Buhari's government's justification based on economic and security reasons, the border closure was partly designed to profile the immigrant population and securitise migration in Nigeria. There is no doubt that the Nigeria state has demonstrated its inability to secure the country's territorial integrity and guarantee the safety of its citizen's lives and properties. Instead, so to say, various state actors have found solace in securitizing border management and migration using Nigeria's land border closure as a smokescreen or the state's failure to provide internal security governance. Nwagwu (2022) even president Buhari had disclosed that the enormous security challenges, banditry, kidnapping, peasant farmer-herders conflict, and insurgency the country is experiencing are consequences of the fallout of the Libyan conflict and the influx of foreign mercenaries trained and armed by late Muamman Gadaffi of Libya (Shahara Reporters 2022). On this, was the

allusion to president Buhari's assertion was made by the department of State Services, Nigeria's domestic intelligence when its attributed Nigeria's security challenges to the activities of Islamic state in west African province (ISWAP) fighters who had infiltrated central parts of Nigeria (Wakili 2013). Therefore, to mitigate the influx of foreign mercenaries undermining Nigeria's national security, the Buhari led government directed the then comptroller General of Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS), Muhmman Babande to protect the border against foreign invaders (Agbakwuru, 2021).Concluding this segment, border management or governance is the facilitation of authorized flows of persons, individuals including business people such as tourists, refugees, migrants, travelers, across a country's border with the goal to detect and prevent the admission of irregular entry of non - nationals or citizens into the country. Measures to manage borders include the imposition by states of visa requirements, carrier sanctions, against transportation companies bringing irregular migrants to the territory, interdiction at sea. International standards require a balancing between facilitating the entry of legitimate travelers and preventing that of travelers entering for inappropriate reasons or with invalid documentation.

Armed Banditry Menace in Nigeria.
A conceptual clarification

Armed banditry has been used to describe situations where innocent citizens are attacked, killed, kidnapped, ransomed, raped and their properties destroyed and cattle rustled. It can be considered as a form of criminal activities that is typically motivated by economic opportunity (Okole and Ugwu 2019). It can also be viewed as a form of organized crime perpetrated by syndicate groups that are involved in intimidation, dispossession, and killing of civilians and destruction of properties. Accordingly, armed bandits can be referred to as gangs of criminals who terrorize and take valuable possessions of the local populations and travellers, such as their merchandise, money, livestock, camels and sheep. (Abdulahi 2019). The author in his perception conceived of armed bandits has been characterized by cattle rustling, attack, kidnapping, ransoming, and killings of innocent citizens and rapes as a form of sexual-violence against the victims.

Categories of Armed Banditry

From their activities being carried out one can reason that, they include local-rural-urban frontiers, countryside, mercenary, organized, maritime and petty banditry. By their origin and definition(s) according to Uche (2018) relative deprivation, social inequalities, and grievances often trigger armed banditry. Locational operation defines the rural and urban banditry and the frontier and countryside banditry. Mercenary banditry can be characterized as either an agency or a master-servant relationship, as a master who provides necessary logistics. Organized banditry operates across borders through an efficient network and command structure. Martine banditry on the other hand operates along the coastal belts, whereas petty banditry is a lone criminal act characterized by robbing citizens of their belongings (Ojo and Sunday 2020).

According to Ojo/Sunday (2020), in most cases, armed bandits often live in ungoverned or under-governed spaces, where government presence is mostly limited or absent. These includes remote areas and forest enclaves, which are used as hid places to plan and execute attacks; this is because such an environment provides bandits with the opportunities for operational advantage.

Accordingly, armed bandits often operate in rural settings, such that their attacks, kidnapping, and cattle rustlings, looting among other criminal activities are carried out, in, from and against villages. Their operational control can therefore revolve around rural and border communities, and uninhabited or less populated spots along major roads or water ways: (Uche 2020).

According to Uche (2020) the primary victims of armed banditry in this manner, are innocent citizens residing in or travelling along remote parts of the country. Although, armed bandits generally live and act in anonymity, they commit violent crimes in the open. This reflect a tactic employed by common criminals, who consider theft as a means to an end, which is often defined in private terms.

Considering the nexus between membership and this criminal tactic: Slatter (2020) describes armed banditry as forceful and illegal takeover of property by groups of men. It is appalling that, considering the growing evidence from Nigeria

that both men and women are involved in modern armed banditry. Shows no gender discrimination or sex disparity in armed banditry.

Ojo and Sunday (2020) although the operational tactical strategic roles of individual members of armed groups may be shaped by gender differences, the growing sexual diversity of armed bandits and criminal violence can no longer be ignored. By their nature, women are more suitable employed, counter-intelligence and logistics. Therefore, armed banditry is a synthesis of criminality, and local embedded conflicts, containing inter-ethnic and terrorism. Its dynamic are ever changing depending on the individual actors and dimensions: This then explained that, armed banditry constitutes a form of non-state armed group which often capitalizes on existing societal grievances as among communities and ethnic groups and against state to terrorize civilians. They often demonstrate their capacity to target the vulnerable and pressurize state authorities to conform to their demands. They usually live and operate in ungoverned territories within limited state presence, especially in terms of social infrastructure and security forces. These among others do provide fertile ground for societal governances' which originate from resource competition, social displacement, unfavorable government policies, marginalization and injustices, (Holmes 2014).

Their strong ego according to Auwal (2021) lies on the availability of small and light weapons, and other interrelated factors which often worked to the advantage of armed bandits. Consequently, then, armed banditry could be considered as criminal activities that are often driven by personal interests as triggered by multifaceted challenges in state security relations, including weak state institutions, political alienation, poverty, unemployment, inequality, corruption and other ethno-communal grievances: (Auwal 2021).

Armed banditry therefore, constitute a threat to security of the nation Nigeria.

However, the danger of armed banditry goes beyond national security. It equally has implication for human security, which involves human/people-entericof security. Therefore, both national security and human dimension of security are relevant to this paper. It should be noted that human security revolves around personal, community, food, environmental, health, political and economic dimension of security, and the protection of minority groups. In this manner, the threat of armed banditry has impacted the welfare of general citizenry and the capacity of state to enforce internal security, peace and order in Nigeria.

Terrorists and Terrorism Mitigation in Nigeria

Throughout human history, there have been many threats to the security of the nations. These threats have brought about large-scale losses of lives, the destruction of property, widespread illness and injury, the displacement of large numbers of people and devastating economic loss. (Vanguard 09/2020).

Terrorism

Terrorism continued to pose a major threat to both international, national peace and security and undermines the core values of United Nations. Nigeria on the other hand continues to face multiple challenges posed by various terrorist groups with devasting human coast in terms of lives lost or permanently altered, internally displaced persons and immensely negative consequences for economic and social development.

Terrorism is the use of force or violence against persons or property in violation of criminal laws of the land for the purpose of intimidation, coercion, or ransom. It is an organized violent attack on a target with the aim of undermining a lawfully constituted authority and to cause fear among the populace in furthering of some social-political objectives; (Olademeji 2019). It is an act that had been bedeviling Nigerian state since 2003, and the adverse effect of these act on Nigeria has been a heavy humanitarian crisis on one hand, and challenges of insecurity on the other hand. Despite the enactment of terrorism provision Act 2011, which was enacted to prosecute, punish those citizens that will be engaging in the Act of terrorism in Nigeria, and finally prevent such Act, quite a number of Nigerian citizens still engaged in the Act of terrorism. Terrorists often use threats to create fear among the public.

Several causes have been attributed to the rise in insurgency in Africa and Nigeria, among them are poverty, political failure, illiteracy, unemployment and the influx of uncontrolled arms into the Nigeria and African spaces. vanguard 09/09/2022.

According to Oladimeji (2019) the major threat of terrorists are;

i. Create fear in among the public

ii. Try to convince citizens that the government is powerless to prevent terrorism

iii. Get immediate publicity for their causes.

Acts of terrorism include threats of terrorism, assassinations, kidnappings, bomb scares and bombings, cyber-attacks (computer-based), and the use of chemical, biological, nuclear and radiological weapons; it should be noted that, high-risk target acts of terrorism include military and civilian government, facilities, international airports, large cities and high-profile landmarks, terrorist might also target large public gatherings, water and food supplies, utilities, and corporate centers. Further, terrorists are capable of spreading fear by sending explosives or chemical or biological agents through mail.

How to Mitigate Terrorism in Nigeria

Mitigation is defined as measures aimed at reducing the impact of natural or man-made disasters in a nation or the community It is the reduction of something harmful, or the reduction of its harmful effects (Carler 1991). Mitigation according to Wikipedia is also refers to measures take to reduce the harmful effects of the hazards that remain a potential, or to manage harmful incidents that have already occurred. It is a state or component of emergency management and risk management.

Strategies to Mitigate Armed Banditry and Terrorism In Nigeria

To combat armed banditry and terrorism, government must first ensure effective border control. There should be provision of a reliable and unique identification number of each individual such as National ID card, driver's license, and voter cards for tracking the culprits of armed banditry and terrorists.

According to global centre for responsibility to protect Nigeria, 31st August 2023, the government of Nigeria needs to investigate all attacks against civilians and hold perpetrators of atrocity crimes accountable. The chief prosecutor of legislative coordinating commission(LCC) must immediately request authorization to open investigation into alleged crimes committed by armed banditry extremist groups and government security forces.

In addition towards efforts to mitigate armed banditry and terrorism, homeland security (2016) reported as follows; while the lack of adequate military protection for vulnerable populations needs to be urgently addressed, social initiatives and political reforms remain crucial for confronting the root causes of conflict, armed banditry, terrorism, including poor governance, corruption poverty, youth unemployment and environmental degradation.

Equally local peace commissions be established to mediate inter-communal tensions and build early warning system in the high-risk regions.

Utilizing the economic community of West African States early warning system, the government should increase police and military deployments to vulnerable areas while ensuring strict adherence to International Humanitarian Law (IHL) and International Human Rights Law (IHRL) during operations.

The government also needs to urgently reform the security sector, including by incorporating IHL and IHRL into all the military and police training and ensure human rights violations.

To combat armed banditry by way of mitigations, homeland security on national prevention framework (2016) documented the following strategies to mitigate armed banditry and terrorism in Nigeria.

A well-established capacity to quickly collect, analyze and further disseminate intelligence becomes critical in an imminent threat situation. To accomplish this, law enforcement, intelligence, local security professionals and members of the whole community must form engaged partnerships. The partnerships allow for the seamless acquisition and passage of information. In addition to Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) and Field Intelligence Group (FIG) as well as State and urban area Fusion Centers, a variety of analytical and investigative efforts support the ability to identify and counter terrorists' threats by executing these prevention support activities. These efforts include other local, state, tribal, territorial, and Federal law enforcement

agencies, and various intelligence centers and related efforts such as High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas. Regional information sharing systems centers, criminal intelligence units, real-time analysis centers and others.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Armed banditry and terrorism remain an emerging security threat in Nigeria. Its' dynamic and trends are still evolving and noticeable in all states of Nigeria, in the six geo-political regions, including Niger, Cameroon borders and all other international borders in Nigeria. This paper explains the multiple factors that are fueling the reign of terror by armed bandits and terrorist in Nigeria and its spill over to all regions; it was found out that bad governance, poverty, inequalities, youth unemployment marginalization, and weak institutional capacity of the state in local governance, forest management justice system and security are the root causes of armed banditry and terrorism in Nigeria. The negative consequences of armed banditry and terrorism in Nigeria has been felt on security of lives and properties, human freedom, local and national economy, agriculture, environment, food security, education, gender, political stability, national security and defense, and image in the international community. To address these crises, the study, recommend as follows:

i. There should be effective border control as a measure to mitigate acuities of armed banditry and terrorism

ii. Committed and concerted efforts are required towards improving human welfare, with keen emphasis on poverty alleviation, reducing inequalities as well as access to justice with human development and security.

iii. Youth unemployment needs to be urgently addressed. Such an approval will mitigate the motivations that are driving criminal violence and resistance that characterize of the security landscape of the regions and Nigeria at large.

iv. In addition, the capacity of the security agencies should be improved to neutralize and deter armed banditry and associated crises.

v. Early dissemination of intelligence information on threat situations in villages, sub-urban and urban areas:

vi. All security network and stokeholds to be in the forefront and vanguard of security report to mitigate the menace of armed banditry and terrorism in Nigeria.

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EFFECT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON AGRICULTURAL SECTOR: EVIDENCE FROM NIGERIA

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climate change, agriculture, Cobb-Douglas production function, Nigeria, fully modified ordinary least squares (FMOLS)

ABSTRACT
This study conducts an empirical investigation of the effects of climate change on agriculture production in Nigeria from 2000-2022. The fully modified ordinary least squares (FMOLS) estimator was employed for estimation of the specified model. The result shows that among the climate change variables, temperature (LNTEMP) has a significant positive impact on agriculture sector while rainfall has a negative and significant effect on agricultural sector. More so, methane emissions (LNMETH) exhibited an inverse relationship with agriculture sector. Carbon dioxide emission (LNCO2) shows a positive but insignificant relationship with agriculture sector. In that regard, the Federal government needs to invest in agricultural science research so that scientists can produce crops that are resistant to the harsh climatic conditions. At the same time, climate-smart agricultural innovations to conserve water such as solar-powered drip irrigation and rainwater harvesting should be concentrated on to help farmers cope with droughts. Also, farmers can cut emissions by improving fertilizer use.

Introduction

Nigeria's agriculture contribution to GDP makes it the largest sector in the country. Crop production accounts for a huge chunk of activities in the sector representing 88% of total industry size with livestock, forestry and fishing accounting for the balance of 12%. The sector achieved GDP of US$113.64 billion in 2014, the highest in the last five years (2013 – 2017) (pwc.com, 2022). Agriculture contribution to Nigeria's GDP dropped by 31% from US$113.64 billion in 2013 to US$78.45 billion in 2017(pwc.com, 2022). Since 2014 when agriculture sector achieved GDP ofUS$113.64 billion, the sector's contribution has been declining due to low agriculture yields, conflicts such as terrorism and the herdsmen crisis, as well as the impact of climate change. The focus of this study is on climate change which reflects the variations in the average daily weather conditions such as temperature, humidity, rainfall, and sunshine of a location over an extended period. In recent times, it has been aggravated by human activities above other natural shifts or variations(Firstbanknigeria.com, 2023).

Nigeria's climate has been changing, evident in: increases in temperature; variable rainfall; rise in sea level and flooding; drought and desertification; land degradation; more frequent extreme weather events; affected fresh water resources and loss of biodiversity. The durations and intensities of rainfall have increased, producing large runoffs and flooding in many places in Nigeria (Haider, 2022).

Rainfall variation is projected to continue to increase. Precipitation in southern areas is expected to rise and rising sea levels are expected to exacerbate flooding and submersion of coastal lands. Droughts have also become a constant in Nigeria, and are expected to continue in Northern Nigeria, arising from a decline in precipitation and rise in temperature. Lake Chad and other lakes in the country are drying up and at risk of disappearing. Temperature has risen significantly since the 1980s. Climate projections for the coming decades reveal a significant increase in temperature over all the ecological zones (Haider, 2022). It is on this premise that this study attempts to empirically examine the effect of climate change on agriculture production.

Past studies that have examined the impact of climate change on food production at the country, regional, or global scale (Parry et al. 1999; Lobell and Burke, 2008 and Deressa and Hassan, 2010; McCarthy et al. 2001). However, the literature that provides evidence of climate change impacts on agricultural sector in Nigeria include: Apata (2022); Ani, Anyika and Mutambara (2022); Uwazie (2020); Ayo et al. (2014); Fasona and Omojola (2005); Idumah et al. (2016); Ikem, 2018; Ogbo et al. (2019); Oyinloye et al. (2018); Ayinde et al., 2020). Nevertheless, there is need for more evidence in order to ensure greater implementation of mitigation and adaption measures in Nigeria so that more food can be produced to feed the growing population all year round.

The study is organized as follows: in section 2, **climate and climate change experience in Nigeria** is discussed. Section 3 contains an explanation of the methodology in terms of the specification of model, technique of analysis as well as data source used in the study. Section 4 provides the results and analysis. Finally, section 5 gives the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

Overview of Climate and Climate Change Experience in Nigeria

Nigeria has a tropical climate with 2 distinct seasons: wet and dry seasons. These seasons have varying lengths of rainy and dry seasons depending on the geographical location. For example, the southern part of Nigeria has a longer period of rainy season (March to November) than the Northern part (May to September). Dry season is prevalent in the north coupled with high temperatures that may reach an average monthly value of 38 degrees celsius, while the mean temperature in southern Nigeria hovers around 32-33 degrees Celsius (Future Learn, 2021). In the north, the harmattan wind, which is a dry and hot wind, blows longer than it does in southern Nigeria.

Nigeria like other countries of the world has its own experience of climate change disasters like the one that struck 25 years ago in the north-eastern region presently comprising Borno and Yobe states, the southern part of Lake Chad, the section of it that lies inside Nigerian territory dried up. About four decades ago, the Lake covered an area of over 40,000 square

kilometers, whereas it now encompasses a mere 1,300 square kilometers (Beyioku, 2016). While the negative trend continues unabated and as land is laid to waste by the rising temperature leading to the rapid southward expansion of the Sahara Desert, Farmlands and surrounding villages became barren and were swallowed up by advancing desertification, which led to massive migration of people in search of more fertile terrain from the north east towards the greener plateau and middle belt regions. More so, growing desertification forced thousands of Fulani herdsmen to move to the south and middle belt leading to clashes with crop farmers culminating in death of hundreds according to the reports of residents and activists.

Nigeria's Guinea Savannah region is not spared either. Logging and over dependence on firewood for cooking have stripped a greater part of this area of its vegetation cover. The situation is similarly replicated in the south, where the forest around Oyo has long been reduced to grassland. The south – eastern part of the country has been struck by a different ill. There, gulley-erosion has devastated many settlement areas and farmlands, leading to poverty among local populations.

Just as desertification is devastating vast areas of the north, rising sea levels are threatening Nigeria's coastal regions. Although a source of oil wealth, the Niger Delta's low-lying terrain and criss-cross of waterways make it extremely vulnerable to flooding, apart from being at the risk of rising sea level, it has fallen victim of extreme oil pollution. Moreover, in the southern Nigeria, climate change is also reflected in the massive flood experienced in 2012, houses, farms, farm products, properties and even human beings were swept away. Also the statistics released by the southwest zonal office of the National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) about 2 years ago show that no fewer than 5000 persons were affected and 60 houses destroyed in a windstorm which occurred in four states in the south -west region (Beyioku, 2016).Negligence and a failure to tackle the issue of climate change by successive governments have also contributed to the rise of insurgency groups across the country.

Methodology

3.1 Specification of Model

The framework of this study is hinged on the neo-classical model based on the Cobb-Douglas production function which describes the relationship between the quantity of output and two factors of production, physical capital and labor, as follows:

$$Q = AK^{\alpha} L^{\beta} \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots(1)$$

Where: $\alpha + \beta = 1$. The capital, K, represents the monetary value of physical assets necessary for production, such as buildings, machinery, and equipment. The labor, L, represents the productive effort of the workforce, measured in person-hours. The exponent α is a value between 0 and 1 that measures the responsiveness or elasticity of output with respect to capital. A is a constant known as the total-factor productivity (TFP). The value of A is a ratio of output to total input, and reflects the overall quality or efficiency of the production process. As technology improves, and the skill and education of the workforce increase, enterprises will convert labor and capital to output products more efficiently, meaning the total-factor productivity should rise over time.

The Cobb-Douglas formula can be easily generalized to include more than two factors of production. As such, equation (1) was augmented to capture the effect of climate change variables on agriculture sector in Nigeria as follows:

$$LNAGO_t = Ə_0 + Ə_1 LNGCF_t + Ə_2 LNLAB_t + Ə_3 LNRAIN_t + Ə_4 LNTEMP_t + Ə_5 LNCO2_t + Ə_6 LNMETH_t + Ə_7 LNFDI_t + \tilde{ω}_t \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots(2)$$

Where: AGO is the volume of agricultural output (tones) (proxy for agriculture sector); LAB is labour force (Million); GFC is gross capital formation (₦Billion) used as a proxy for capital; Rainfall (mm per year) (RAIN); Temperature (0 C) (Celsius) (TEMP); Carbon Dioxide Emission (kiloton (kt)) (CO_2). Carbon dioxide emissions are those stemming from the burning of fossil fuels and the manufacture of cement. They include carbon dioxide produced during consumption of solid, liquid, and gas fuels and gas flaring: Methane emissions (kt of CO2 equivalent) (METH). Methane emissions are those stemming from human activities such as agriculture and from industrial methane production. The greenhouse gases, mainly carbon dioxide and methane are mostly generated in Nigeria from oil and gas production,

land-use change, forestry, agriculture and fugitive emissions; foreign direct investment (FDI) (proxy for technology);LN is the natural log, t is time period, ω= error terms or stochastic variables; $\ddot{e}_0$= constant term; and $\ddot{e}_1$ - $\ddot{e}_7$ = parameters estimates.

3.2 Data Source

The data were obtained from World Development Indicators, theglobaleconomy.com, indexmundi.com, Climateknowledgeportal.worldbank.org; tradingeconomics.com, countryeconomy.com, worlddata.info, and Statistical Bulletin and Annual Report and Statement of Accounts published by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). The data span the period 2000 to 2022.The logical basis for choosing these periods is owing to data availability and accessibility.

3.3 Method of Data Analysis

Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) unit root test was deployed to ascertain whether the variables have unit roots. Thereafter, this study used autoregressive distributed lag (ARDL) bounds test to check the long-run relationships among the variables. The ARDL bounds testing method consents to the study of long-run relationships between variables, irrespective of whether they are stationary at levels (I(0)), first difference (I(1)) or fractionally integrated. This helps to circumvent some of the common problems encountered in time series empirical research, such as the absence of unit root tests power and confusion about the stationarity properties of the study variables. Finally, the FMOLS estimator was deployed for estimation of the specified models. It is required that the variables of a model are co-integrated for the FMOLS technique to be applied. This is to say that a long run relationship between the variables of the model must be established to proceed with the model estimation. This method is also applicable in cases of estimation of model involving small dataset, particularly where it is quarterly time series data for robust parameter estimates.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Unit Root Test

Table 1 reports the results of ADF tests. The unit root test reveals that the variables are integrated in a mixed order of I(0) and I(1). This combination of integration gives the foundation for the use of Auto-regressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) bounds test to check for evidence of a long-run relationship among the variable.

Table 1: Augmented Dickey Fuller (ADF) Unit Root Results

Variable	ADF test				Order of Integration
	Levels		1st difference		
	Intercept	Trend & Intercept	Intercept	Trend & Intercept	
LNAGO	-1.533607	-3.831620**	---	---	I(0)
LNLAB	3.457457	-1.247874	-4.457404*	---	I(1)
LNRAIN	-2.101127	-2.042642	-12.99423*	---	I(1)
LNTEMP	-3.886835*	---	---	---	I(0)
LNCO2	-2.089835	-2.637268	-5.099276*	---	I(1)
LNMETH	-2.005797	-1.683836	-2.021038	-3.261452***	I(1)
LNFDI	-3.121809**	---	---	---	I(0)

Note: ADF test was performed using Schwarz information criterion and the automatic lag selection set as 4 lags. Also, *, ** and *** imply statistical significance at 1%, 5% and 10% levels respectively.

***Source**: Author's computation using Eviews 10*

4.2 ARDL Bound Test

The autoregressive distributed lag (ARDL) bounds testing approach to co-integration was applied. The used of this technique has numerous advantages over other techniques of estimation like Engle and Granger (1987) and Johansen (1991). One of the major advantage of this technique is that it can be applied in respective of the order of co-integration of the independent variables (either I(1) or I(0) or both). More so, ARDL model is statistically a significant tool of econometric analysis and has advantageous over other techniques of analysis because it can accommodate small sample size. The rule of ARDL bounds testing is that if the computed F-statistic falls below the lower bound we would conclude that the variables are I(0), so no cointegration is possible, by definition. If the F-statistic exceeds the upper bound, we conclude that we have cointegration. Finally, if the F-statistic falls between the bounds, the test is inconclusive.

ARDL bounds test is estimated and the result is shown in Table 2. The is specified in its original form where LNAGO is the dependent variable and LNGCF, LNLAB, LNRAIN, LNTEMP, LNCO2, LNMETH, and LNFDI are independent variables. Due to the sample size, the study chose a maximum lag length of 1 for the dependent variable and independent variables. In addition, the specification was with Restricted Constant and No Trend, and the model selection criteria wasAkaike information criterion. The result in Table 2 revealed that the null hypothesis of no long run relationship exist is rejected since the F-statistic value 6.646879 is greater than the upper bound I(1) which has a value of 3.9 at 1% level of significance.

Table 2: F-Bounds Test Null Hypothesis: No levels relationship

Test Statistic	Value	Signif.	I(0)	I(1)
F-statistic	6.646879	10%	1.92	2.89
k	7	5%	2.17	3.21
		2.5%	2.43	3.51
		1%	2.73	3.9

Source: Author's computation using Eviews 10

4.3 Long-Run FMOLS Estimates

The long run results are estimated based on fully modified OLS (FMOLS) technique. It is relevant for understanding the perpetual relationships among the variables which could be useful for long term policy evaluations. The result shows that among the climate change variables, temperature (LNTEMP) has a significant positive impact on agriculture sector while rainfall has a negative and significant effect on agricultural sector. Moreso, methane emissions (LNMETH) exhibited an inverse relationship with agriculture sector. Specifically, a percent increase in methane emissions may result into a reduction on agriculture output by 3.206971% in Nigeria. According to Branscombe (2016) models showed that approximately 93% of crop losses over the rest of the century could be caused by non–carbon dioxide emissions, the most damaging of these being methane.

Methane emissions are very harmful to plants because the gas increases surface ozone that causes harmful chlorosis, or a yellowing of the leaves.

The effects of carbon dioxide are more complicated. Carbon dioxide fertilizes plants, which means as the amount of the gas in the atmosphere increases, crop yields initially increase as well. But as carbon emissions continue to contribute to climate warming, the overall impact becomes negative and will outweigh the benefits of fertilization after only 10 years (Branscombe, 2016). Carbon dioxide emission (LNCO2) shows a positive but insignificant relationship with agriculture sector. This shows that carbon dioxide emission effect on agriculture output in Nigeria does not really matter. For instance, In the year 2018, Nigeria's total greenhouse gas emissions was 336 million metric tons of carbon dioxide equivalent (MtCO2e), which is less than 1 percent of global emissions (UNFCCC.int, 2021). This means that emissions per person per year is less than 2 tons, compared to the global average of over 6 tons (Ritchie and Roser, 2020; Ge et al., 2020).

From Table 3, agriculture output decreases by 0.8754485 for every 1% increase in rainfall (LNRAIN). The coefficient of rainfall is statistically significant at 10% significance level. as observed by climatechange.gov.ng (2021), the mean annual variability and trend of rainfall over Nigeria in the last few decades depict the existence of a number of inter-annual fluctuations that have been responsible for dry and wet years or extreme climate events such as droughts and floods in many parts of the country and at different times. Crop production in Nigeria depends on location and climatic conditions. Crops that need rainfall to grow are abundant in the south, while those that do not need rainfall grow more in the north. Excess rain and drought associated with climate change affects this natural distribution of crops in Nigeria and reduces their production in large quantities to meet the population's demand (Future Learn, 2021). The 2022 floods described by experts as the worst Nigeria has experienced since 2012, destroyed crops in over 500,000 hectares of farmlands belonging to thousands of smallholder and commercial farmers across the country (Dailytrust.com, 2022). The total value of destroyed physical and durable assets caused by the 2012 floods, was estimated to be 1.48 trillion (US$9.5 billion), or about 2% of the rebased GDP of US$510 billion (Mbanyeude, 2022).

The result shows that a percent increase in temperature (LNTEMP) will increase agriculture output by 9.742603% which shows a very huge effect. This relationship is statistically significant at 1% significance level. However, according to climatechange.gov.ng (2021), various studies show that annual and seasonal timescales indicate a significant positive increase in temperatures in Nigeria. They show that mean temperatures have been consistently increasing throughout the country in the last five decades and have been rising significantly since the 1980s, with a change of 1.01°C (0.52 to 1.5°C) in the linear warming for the period 1951 - 2005. The linear warming for the same period for 30-year averages on a decadal slice further revealed positive changes in temperature by an average of 0.2°C/decade.

A percent increase in foreign direct investment (LNFDI) (proxy for technology) will, however, increase agriculture out by 0.65%. This shows the relevance of foreign direct investment in Nigeria. This result aligns with Edewor et al (2017) that found a positive significant relationship between FDI and agriculture output in Nigeria.

The regression estimate in Table 3 reveals that agriculture output response to labour force (LNLAB) is positive. The result indicates that the established influence is however not significant at any conventional statistical significance level even though it shows that agriculture output grows by 1.433462% for every 1% increase in labour force. Finally, it can be observed that when capital (LNGCF) increases by 1%, agriculture output decreases by 0.048959%. Nevertheless, this negative effect is insignificant.

Table 3: FMOLS Estimates

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
LNGCF	-0.048959	0.333768	-0.146685	0.8855
LNLAB	1.433462	1.077304	1.330601	0.2046
LNRAIN	-0.875448	0.421688	-2.076058	0.0568**
LNTEMP	9.742603	5.497922	1.772052	0.0981***
LNCO2	0.170407	0.524011	0.325197	0.7498
LNMETH	-3.206971	1.413787	-2.268354	0.0397**
LNFDI	0.217950	0.068671	3.173842	0.0068*
C	-16.60671	16.17147	-1.026914	0.3219

R-squared	0.576166	Mean dependent var	5.126299
Adjusted R-squared	0.364249	S.D. dependent var	0.288638
S.E. of regression	0.230143	Sum squared resid	0.741521
Long-run variance	0.022270		

Note: *, ** and *** imply statistical significance at 1%, 5% and 10% levels respectively.

***Source**: Author's computation using Eviews 10*

4.4 Post-Estimation Tests

The validity and the robustness of the model is revealed by the diagnostic tests applied on the residuals. Specifically, in Table 4, the Correlograms Q-Statistics was deployed to conduct the residual test for serial correlation. The result in Table 4 shows that the Q-statistics are insignificant at all lags as depicted by their probability value, indicating there isno presence of serial correlation. The normality test was equally used to determine if the residuals are normally distributed at 5 percent level. The Jarque-Bera statistic formed the basis for rejecting or accepting the null hypothesis of normal distribution at 5 per cent level. The Jarque-Bera test statistic (0.082470) in Figure 1 indicates that the residual of the model is normally distributed since the p-value of 0.959603is greater than the significance level of 5% i.e., 0.959603>0.05.

Table 4: Correlograms Q-Statistics

Autocorrelation	Partial Correlation		AC	PAC	Q-Stat	Prob*
. *| . |	. *| . |	1	-0.165	-0.165	0.6881	0.407
. | . |	. | . |	2	0.030	0.002	0.7113	0.701
. |* . |	. |* . |	3	0.085	0.093	0.9143	0.822

.**| . |	.**| . |	4	-0.259	-0.239	2.8892	0.577
. | . |	. | . |	5	0.036	-0.049	2.9284	0.711
.**| . |	***| . |	6	-0.338	-0.365	6.6907	0.350
. | . |	. | . |	7	0.029	-0.056	6.7208	0.459
. *| . |	. *| . |	8	-0.088	-0.202	7.0143	0.535
. *| . |	.**| . |	9	-0.183	-0.260	8.3717	0.497
. |**. |	. | . |	10	0.234	-0.065	10.782	0.375
. | . |	. *| . |	11	-0.018	-0.067	10.797	0.460
. | . |	. *| . |	12	0.061	-0.177	10.992	0.530

Source: Author's computation using Eviews 10

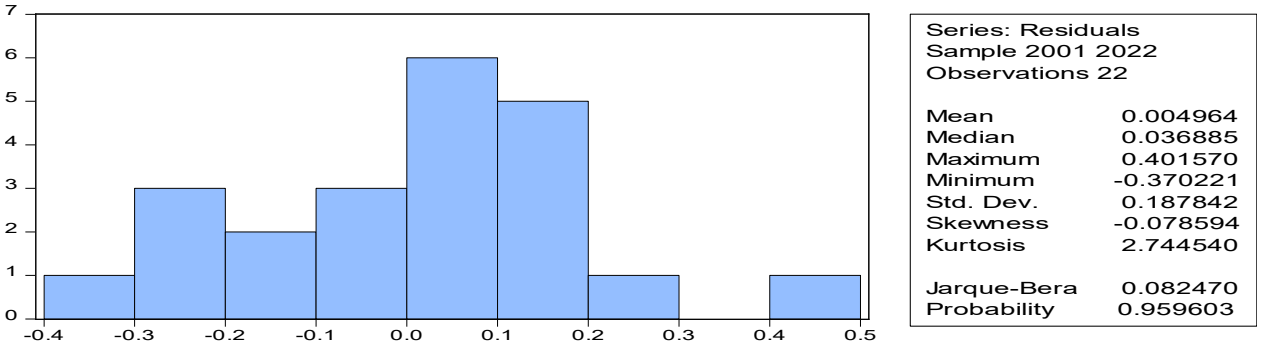


Figure 1: Normality Test

Source: Extracted fromEviews 10

5. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

This study conducts an empirical investigation of the effects of climate change on agriculture production in Nigeria from 2000-2022. This study used secondary data spanning from obtained from World Development Indicators, indexmundi.com, and Climateknowledgeportal.worldbank.org. The fully modified ordinary least squares (FMOLS) estimator was employed for estimation of the specified model. The result shows that among the climate change variables, temperature (LNTEMP) has a significant positive impact on agriculture sector while rainfall has a negative and significant effect on agricultural sector. Moreso, methane emissions (LNMETH) exhibited an inverse relationship with agriculture sector. Specifically, a percent increase in methane emissions may result into a reduction on agriculture output by 3.206971% in Nigeria. Carbon dioxide emission (LNCO2) shows a positive but insignificant relationship with agriculture sector. Agriculture output decreases by 0.8754485 for every 1% increase in rainfall (LNRAIN). The result shows that a percent increase in temperature(LNTEMP) will increase agriculture output by 9.742603% which shows a very huge effect. This relationship is statistically significant at 1% significance level. A percent increase in foreign direct investment (LNFDI) (proxy for technology) will, however, increase agriculture out by 0.65%. The regression estimate reveals that agriculture output response to labour force (LNLAB) is positive but insignificant. Lastly, was observed that when

capital (LNGCF) increases by 1%, agriculture output decreases by 0.048959%. Nevertheless, this negative effect is insignificant.

Conclusively, climate change is one of the most serious environmental threats facing mankind worldwide. It affects agriculture in several ways, including its direct impact on food production in Nigeria has shown in this study. As such, Nigeria has to adapt to the effects of climate change and mitigate the negative impact of climate change on agriculture at the national and individual levels. In that regard, the Federal government needs to invest in agricultural science research so that scientists can produce crops that are resistant to the harsh climatic conditions. At the same time, climate-smart agricultural innovations to conserve water such as solar-powered drip irrigation and rainwater harvesting should be concentrated on to help farmers cope with droughts.

In the effort to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, farmers should increase fertilizer usage since the bulk of greenhouse gas emissions from arable farming systems come from the use of inorganic fertilizers.

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DECOLONIZING ISLAMIC STUDIES: A VIEW FROM THE SALAFIS SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

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ABSTRACT
This essay argues for a critical re-evaluation of Islamic studies, challenging the Eurocentric and Arab-centric biases that have historically shaped the field. We propose a de-colonial approach that dismantles assumptions of Arab supremacy and promotes a more inclusive understanding of Islam. Through the lens of the Salafi school of thought, a historically and geographically diverse movement within Islam, we examine the relationship between Islamic faith and Arab identity. Through the lens of critical thinking, we explore how the Salafi school both reinforces and critiques notions of Arab centrality in Islam. Furthermore, we examine potential tensions between Salafi interpretations and human autonomy and rights. Ultimately, we argue that decolonizing Islamic studies necessitates diverse perspectives, fostering a more humane, creative, and productive understanding of this global religion with over 1.8 billion adherents worldwide.

Introduction:

Islamic studies, a field traditionally dominated by Western and Arab-centric perspectives, often presents a limited and sometimes stereotypical understanding of Islam, which overlooks the diverse experiences of Muslims worldwide. This essay, titled "Decolonizing Islamic Studies: A View from the Salafi School of Thought," aims to challenge these prevailing assumptions and promote a more inclusive understanding of Islam.

A considerable body of literature has examined the historical development of Islamic studies, often highlighting the influence of Western Orientalism and the dominance of Arab perspectives. Edward Said's seminal work, "Orientalism," critically analyses how Western scholarship has historically constructed a distorted image of the Orient, including Islamic societies, for colonial purposes (Said, 1978). Similarly, Talal Asad's "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam" interrogates the implications of viewing Islam through a monolithic lens, suggesting that such perspectives fail to capture the religion's inherent diversity (Asad, 1986).

In addition to these critical works, recent scholarship has begun to address the need for decolonizing Islamic studies by incorporating non-Arab and non-Western perspectives. For instance, Leila Ahmed's "Women and Gender in Islam" challenges both Western feminist and traditional Islamic narratives by highlighting the diverse experiences of Muslim women (Ahmed, 1992). Omid Safi's "The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam" underscores the importance of contextualising Islamic knowledge production within broader socio-political frameworks rather than viewing it through a purely theological lens (Safi, 2006).

Despite these contributions, there remains a significant gap in the literature regarding the role of the Salafi school of thought in either reinforcing or challenging these dominant narratives. Most studies on Salafism focus on its theological doctrines or its association with contemporary political movements, without adequately addressing its potential to offer alternative perspectives within Islamic studies.

This essay seeks to fill this gap by exploring the Salafi school of thought not merely as a theological or political phenomenon but as a critical lens through which to examine broader issues within Islamic studies. It aims to contribute to the decolonization of the field and highlight the diversity within Islamic thought itself.

We begin by defining key terms such as "Islamic studies,""Islam," and "Arab," setting the stage for a nuanced discussion. The essay then delves into the complex relationship between Arab identity and Islam, investigating how historical interpretations have sometimes conflated the two. Through a critical examination of the Salafi school of thought—a revivalist movement within Islam—we analyse how Salafi interpretations may challenge or reinforce notions of Arab supremacy and address potential violations of individual rights within Islamic discourse.

Statement of the Problem

Despite the extensive scholarship on Islamic studies, much of the existing literature remains entrenched in Western and Arab-centric perspectives that perpetuate stereotypes and overlook the diversity within Islam. Critical works by scholars such as Edward Said and Talal Asad have laid the groundwork for understanding the influence of Orientalism and monolithic views of Islam. However, there remains a significant gap in addressing how internal Islamic movements, particularly the Salafi school of thought, contribute to or challenge these dominant narratives. This paper seeks to address this gap by examining the Salafi school not merely as a theological or political entity but as a critical lens to de-construct the conflation of Arab identity with Islam and to explore the implications for individual rights within Islamic discourse.

The problem, therefore, is twofold: first, the need to decolonise Islamic studies by incorporating diverse perspectives that go beyond Western and Arab-centric views; and second, the necessity of critically examining the Salafi movement to understand its potential role in either reinforcing or challenging these prevailing narratives. By addressing these issues, this paper aims to contribute to a more inclusive and nuanced understanding of Islam, highlighting the diversity and complexity within Islamic thought.

Conceptual Clarification

The academic field of Islamic studies investigates Islam's historical, cultural, religious, and intellectual aspects and the societies that follow it. It uses the expository, critical methods of research to study how Islam has been expressed and understood in different times and places. Islamic studies also deal with the current issues and problems Muslims face and their relations with other groups. Islamic studies try to comprehend and appreciate the diversity and richness of Islamic civilization and its role in human history and culture (Hillenbrand, 2020).

Carole Hillenbrand is one of the leading scholars in Islamic studies. She describes it as "a discipline that seeks to explain what the Islamic world has achieved in the past and what the future holds for it." She claims that Islamic studies can provide insights into the historical changes, cultural variety, and intellectual innovation of Islam, as well as its importance for today's world (Hillenbrand, 2015).

Ahmed (2016) states that Islamic studies are fraught with textualism and outright theorization. This is because the field is dominated mainly by philologists and historians, so theories must pay more attention to discussions. According to the above assertion, there are divergent views among scholars regarding Islamic studies, which usually results in never-ending debates between most Islamic scholars who tend to be extremists and those who are non-radical and non-Islamic.

There are two primary schools of thought in Islamic studies, which are as follows:

1.**Orientalist school of thought:** This school of thought places more premium on conservatively interpreting Islamic history without questioning the traditional account of the early time of Islam nor information regarding Muhammad and how the Quran was written or came into existence. This implies that most of these scholars are likely to be Arabic Muslims and practitioners of Islam.

2. **The revolutionist school of thought:** Scholars in this school of thought are geared towards questioning the uncritical adherence to traditional Islamic sources while locating the earliest time of Islamic civilization by adopting historical-critical methods (Stile 2002; Oxford Encyclopaedia of Islamic Studies (n.d.).

Since Islamic studies are centred around Islam as a religion, culture, and civilization, it is pertinent to look at what Islam depicts.

Islam:

Islam is derived from the Arabic word for peace and signifies surrender to Allah (God). Islam teaches that Allah is the only and supreme God who communicates with humanity through various prophets, sacred scriptures, and natural signs, with the Quran being the final and complete revelation and Muhammad being the last of the prophets. Islam is a global religion with over a billion adherents who practice its teachings. This means that one out of every five people on Earth follows Islam (Merriam-Webster, 2023). Muslims believe that Islam is the original and universal faith that was revealed many times through earlier prophets such as Adam (believed to be the first human), Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, among others; these earlier revelations are attributed to Judaism and Christianity, which are considered in Islam as spiritual predecessor of faiths (History Editors, 2019).

The nexus between Islam representation and Arabic identity

Islam has various significant historical, symbolic, and commemorative events and items for its believers. For example, a mosque is a place of worship for Muslims where they conduct prayers and other religious rituals. Likewise, fasting and charity works are spiritual disciplines Muslims practice as part of their faith. Also, Mecca, located in Saudi Arabia, is the most sacred city for Muslims as it is where Muhammad was born and received his first revelation. Every year, millions of Muslims make the pilgrimage (Hajj) to Mecca, one of the pillars of Islam. Furthermore, Islamic history is shaped by the legacy of Islamic missionaries, Jihad (struggle in the way of God), and the rise of the Ottoman Empire through the Caliphs (successors) that lived and followed Muhammad. Likewise, the Quran was written in Arabic, which became the standard and sacred language for most Muslims worldwide (Britannica, 2023).

The above representation of Islam based on history, symbols, and legacies has made many scholars and some schools of thought to identify Arabs as Islam and Islam as Arab. However, both are not the same. Although one did not help the spread of the other solely because it was a collaborative effort.

At this stage, we will look at Arabs concisely to understand if there are any differences or similarities between Islam representation and Arab identity.

Arabs:

These are ethnic groups mainly inhabiting the Arab world in Western Asia, North Africa, and the Horn of Africa, West Indian Ocean islands. Islam started in Arabia, Arabic is the language of Islamic scriptures, and most Arabs are Muslims. However, only 20% of Muslims are Arabs (Bureš, 2008; Mabry, 2015).

The information above shows that the Arabic language is a form of identity for Islam representation. Arabs tend to have diverse religious affiliations among practitioners. During the Pre-Islamic era, some Arabians practisedpolytheistic and pagan religions, which brought about different ethnic groups to identify with Christianity, Judaism, and Hanifis. Thus, Arabia was not a unified political entity at Muhammad's birth but a collection of tribes and city-states with different cultures and religions (Britannica, 2023).

Currently, 93% of Arabs are adherent to Islam which cuts across Suni, Shites, Ibadi, and Alawite dominations. At the same time, the Christians among them are found within the Oriental Orthodox Churches, Eastern Catholics Churches, and Eastern Protestant Christians (Pew Research Centre, 2023).

From the above discussion, it can be observed that Arabs started Islam, and the Arabic language was used in recording the Quran. However, there are other languages that have been used to transmit Islamic knowledge and literature, such as Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Swahili, Malay, and others (Khan Academy, 2023).

Nevertheless, to associate and identify Arabs as Islam and viz a viz is not proper. According to Crone and Cook (1977), a traditional account of Islamic history and civilization is a myth that encourages Arab superiority over other Islamist ethnic groups. This postulation was, however, criticized by the following:

Donner contends that Crone and Cook's analysis of non-Arabic sources is partial and prejudiced and that they overlook or reject the Arabic sources that challenge their argument. He also denounces their re-imagining of early Islamic history as conjectural and unrealistic and their depiction of Islam as a Jewish messianic movement lacking evidence. He concedes that Crone and Cook's work was original and stimulating, but he asserts that it was also erroneous and deceptive (Donner, 2006). In the same vein, Al-Azmeh maintains that Crone and Cook's approach is grounded in a Eurocentric and Orientalist view that negates the agency and authenticity of Muslim historical actors. He also charges them with using outdated and essentialist categories to characterize early Islam, such as "Judaism,""Christianity," and "Hellenism." He alleges that Crone and Cook's work results from their political agenda and ideological bias and weakens the legitimacy and identity of Islam and Muslims (Al-Azmeh, 1987).

Humphrey's argues that Crone and Cook's method is circular and self-referential and depends on dubious assumptions and conjectures to fill the gaps in their evidence. He also doubts their use of non-Arabic sources as reliable witnesses to early Islamic history and their dismissal of Arabic sources as unreliable or fabricated. He proposes that Crone and Cook's work is more of a "what-if" experiment than a serious historical inquiry and fails to account for the complexity and diversity of early Islam (Humphreys, 1991).

Decolonizing Islamic Studies:Moving Beyond Arabian Identification

To effectively decolonize Islamic studies from Arabian identification and perception, we must critically examine several vital assumptions:

Global Diversity of Muslims: Over 1.9 billion Muslims reside worldwide, vastly exceeding the total Arabian population. This disparity emphasizes the need to move beyond Arabian perspectives and acknowledge the rich tapestry of Islamic interpretations and expressions across diverse cultures and ethnicities. (Pew Research Centre, 2023).

Pre-Islamic Arabian Context: The rise of the Arab state did not birth a monolithic "state religion" known as Islam. Prior to Islam's emergence, Arabian society harboured a diverse range of beliefs and practices, including paganism, polytheism, and Judaism. Recognizing this pre-Islamic context helps de-construct the narrative of Islam solely emerging from an Arabian vacuum (Robinson, 2015).

Contextualization of the Quran: While the Quran was initially revealed in Arabic to an Arabic-speaking audience, it is crucial to avoid interpreting this as an inherent Arabization of Islam. The Arabic language served as a tool for communication and transmission, but the message itself transcends specific language or cultural boundaries.

Quranic Message Against Superiority: Emphasizing the Quran's message against self-praise and claims of superiority over others directly counters notions of inherent Arabian supremacy associated with Islam. This reinforces the universal nature of Islam's message, advocating for equality and respect for all people (The Quran, Surah Al-Hujurat, 49:13).

5. **Beyond the Arabian Empire**: During the expansive Arab Empire, the spread of Islam occurred alongside other religious traditions like Christianity. This historical fact challenges the conflation of Arabs and Muslims, highlighting the need to distinguish between religious and ethnic identities (Lapidus2014).

From the observation above, it has been established that not all Muslims are Arab. Besides, Muslims comprise many ethnic groups worldwide, embracing the Islamic religion. While Arabs, Arabic language, and culture have to deal directly with the Arabians who reside within the Arab regions. However, the Arabic language has helped to unify most Muslims since it is a language in which they communicate by reciting the Quran and offering prayers. By extension, this has promoted the Arab culture beyond the shores of the Arabian Peninsula.

Salafist Plane of Thought:

This intellectual tradition emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries as a response to the twin movements that sought to revive Islam in its original homeland. These movements consisted of a violent strand known as jihadism and a peaceful strand known as reformism. A prominent example of the latter is the al-Azhar school in Cairo (Ernst & Martins 2010). Salafism is based on the premise that the purest and most authentic form of Islam is embodied by the Salaf, the early Muslims who were close to the prophet in terms of time and proximity. Salafis around the Arab world today strive to emulate the practices of the first Muslims, such as wearing ankle-length trousers or using miswak to clean their teeth, as the prophet did (Hamid & Dar, 2016; Alsharif, 2021).

Specific Examples of Salafism in Different Contexts:

In Nigeria, Boko Haram, a violent Salafist group, has been active for over a decade, imposing their interpretation of Islamic law and attacking non-Muslims and moderate Muslims. The Salafist school of thought has also manifested in Saudi Arabia through the Wahhabi movement, another strand of Salafism, which is the official state religion in Saudi Arabia, influencing social and legal practices. Indonesia is not left out. Their influence has led to increased conservatism and debates about religious tolerance. In the same vein, Bosnia and North America have experienced a stricter interpretation of Islam among some Muslims, impacting gender roles and social interactions as well as establishing mosques and educational centres in North America, promoting their interpretations of Islamic practice.

It is important to note that Salafism arose in parallel with Arab nationalism and, therefore, tends to privilege Arabs as the original and authentic Muslims while marginalizing non-Arabs. Salafis often elevate Arabs and their role in Islam. This intellectual tradition holds that the first three generations of Muslims, known as the Salaf, were the most exemplary because they had direct or close contact with the prophet Muhammad during his lifetime. Ibn Taymiyyah and Hanbali are regarded as the main authorities and inspirations of this school of thought.

At this point, the study will examine some postulations of Ibn Taymiyyah regarding authentic Islam and look further into how all these have paved the way for categorizing Islam into Islam and Islams before summarizing the presentation.

Ibn Taymiyyah's though in his Iqtidi, Taymiyyah sees non-Arab Muslims as a threat to authentic Islam and inferior to Arab Muslims. He noted further that God sent down his book in Arabic through Prophet Muhammad, who is an Arabian, and also made his early followers speakers of the Arabic language. Thus, there is no way forward there is no way to be correct in Islamic religion and knowledge except by being precise in the Arabic language (Ernst & Martins, 2010). In the same vein, he asserted that as a matter of faith, a Muslim must declare that Arabs surpass non-Arabs, which has always been the case. Consequently, normative Arabic ought to be the language of Muslims even in daily life. As such, Turkish, vernacular Arabic, Syriac, Coptic, and Aramaic are regarded as inferior

religious languages that are treacherous since non-Islamic practices enter into Islam through contact with foreign Muslims.

In terms of dressing, many African American Muslim women wear distinctive styles of hijab that emphasize the head wrap, but they feel that immigrants do not respect their dress. According to Maryam, cited in (Erns & Martins, 2010), their dress is seen as less authentic and less Islamic than the dress of Arab and South Asian Muslim women. She also claimed that their dress was judged as insufficient because it did not cover their ears and necks properly. She maintained that modesty and what constitutes a modest and genuine dress is not fixed, but rather depends on the cultural and geographical context. She further argued that Allah instructed that modesty should be a personal choice based on what is suitable and unsuitable, rather than something imposed by others.

From the above, it is evident that Maryam is opposing the Salafis school of thought, which tries to imitate the dressing method of the prophet while trying to impose some dressing methods for African American Muslim women by stereotyping their hijabs as inferior.

Islam Versus Islams

The term Islam and Islams is used to capture the diversity and complexity of the Islamic tradition and its followers. The Islam approach refers to places where Islam is one religion among others (Reinhart, 2020). In such places, Islam is seen as a singular entity that can be compared and contrasted with other religions, such as Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism. The Islams approach, on the other hand, refers to places where Islam is the dominant or majority religion. In such places, Islam is seen as a plural and diverse phenomenon that encompasses various schools of thought, denominations, sects, movements, and cultures. The Islams approach recognizes that there is no single or uniform way of being Muslim, but rather multiple and varied ways of interpreting and practising Islam.

Ahmed argued that we should overlook the subjectivity of individual believers. God can only speak one tongue for Muslims, scholars, and laypeople. Consequently, only one Islam only one true Islam can exist, and that is usually the believer's own. We perceive diversity as right and wrong to believers (Ahned, 2016). Montgomery Watt (1968), as cited in Ahmed (2016), noted that Islams came into existence due to different religions in each country and region worldwide. The Islam approach began as a reaction to the Orientalist search for a historical Islamic essence (Ahmed, 2016). This is why we have Indonesian Islam, Indian Islam, and Moroccan Islam, among others see (Reinhart, 2020).

Decolonizing Islamic Studies: Countering Salafi Extremism Through Critical Thinking

Human society has come to be faced with untold violence and human rights violations arising from dogmas of various degrees in the social, cultural, religious, and political spheres of life. In the religious circle, the rigid and often exclusionary interpretations of Islam propagated by some Salafi groups exemplify this dogma(s) with its attendant violence that oversteps individuals' autonomy and rights as members of society. To overcome this menace, critical thinking will be relevant.

Critical thinking is the ability to rationally analyse factual evidence in a logical manner and form an unbiased judgement (Monday & Kano, 2023). It has also been defined as the skilled and active interpretation and evaluation of observations, communications, information, and argumentation (Thomson, 1999, cited in Monday & Kano, 2023). Critical thinking in this sense means giving a fair and unbiased opinion of something or a state of affairs that will further engender good neighbourliness and cooperative living among men. Critical thinking can be a powerful tool for challenging entrenched beliefs and ideologies, including those held by religious fanatics.

Encouraging critical thinking can help individuals question dogma, engage in self-reflection, and consider alternative perspectives, which can ultimately lead to greater tolerance and understanding. However, it is important to approach this process with empathy and respect, recognising that deeply held beliefs are often tied to identity and personal experiences. Dialogue, education, and exposure to diverse ideas are key components in fostering critical thinking and promoting a more open-minded approach to religion and belief systems. Critical thinking is necessary for every rational society that aims to promote the well-being of men in

society, socially, culturally, religiously, politically, and otherwise. Human society, by its very nature, is social, preventing individuals from living in isolation. However, the autonomy of the human person and respect for human rights are critical to achieving a well-ordered society characterized by freedom of speech, emphasizing themes of peace, coexistence, and respect for human dignity.

The salafi violent Islamic movement can be considered to be continually violating the autonomy and rights of individuals as members of the Islamic religion and adherents of other faiths living among the Islamic faithful.

Salafi Islamic Movement and Respect for Human Autonomy:

Respect for human autonomy is essential in addressing religious violence. It involves recognising individuals' rights to choose their beliefs and live according to their own conscience, free from coercion or imposition. Violations of these rights, such as forced conversions, discrimination, or persecution of religious minorities, often lead to religious violence. By fostering environments where individuals feel empowered to express their beliefs without fear of reprisal and where dialogue and understanding flourish, we can promote respect for human autonomy and reduce the likelihood of conflict stemming from religious differences. This approach necessitates a commitment to upholding human rights principles, such as freedom of religion and belief, as well as addressing underlying socio-economic and political factors that contribute to religious tensions.

Salafi Islamic Movement and Respect for Human Rights

The Salafi violent ideology has been associated with numerous human rights violations, as it often promotes a strict interpretation of Islamic law that can conflict with internationally recognized human rights standards. Some Salafi groups have been implicated in practices such as discrimination against women and religious minorities, restrictions on freedom of expression and belief, and support for violent extremism. From a human rights perspective, it's important to address Salafi violent ideology in ways that uphold fundamental rights and freedoms, including:

Freedom of Religion and Belief: Ensuring that individuals have the right to practice their religion freely and without coercion, including the right to convert to or leave a religion of their choice.

Gender Equality: Promoting gender equality and women's rights, including access to education, employment, and participation in public life, which may be restricted under certain interpretations of Salafi ideology.

Freedom of Expression: Safeguarding freedom of expression and the right to peaceful assembly, even when expressing views that may be considered controversial or challenging to prevailing religious norms.

Protection of Minorities: Protecting the rights of religious, ethnic, and other minority groups from discrimination, persecution, and violence perpetrated by Salafi extremists.

Counter-terrorism Measures: Implementing counter-terrorism measures that respect human rights, including due process, fair trial guarantees, and protection against arbitrary detention or torture, while effectively addressing the threat of violent extremism. Addressing Salafi violent ideology from a human rights perspective requires a comprehensive approach that promotes tolerance, pluralism, and respect for diversity, while also addressing underlying socio-economic and political grievances that may fuel radicalization and extremism. It's essential to engage with Salafi communities in ways that uphold human rights principles and promote dialogue, education, and empowerment as alternatives to violence and extremism.

In summary, the fact that Islam started in Arab cannot be disputed. However, in the same way, Islam started with Arabs, Christianity, Judaism, and paganism also existed and spread worldwide. All Arabians are not Muslims, the same way all Christians and pagans worldwide are not Arabians. Authentic Islam should never have existed in the first place because the spread of Islam worldwide was not done solely by Arabians. Besides, non-Arabians have contributed significantly to the growth and development of Islam. Worthy of note is the largest Arabic dictionary, Taj al-Arus, produced in the 18th century by an Indian from Bilgram, Murtada al-Zabido (Hodgson 1974; Donner 2006; Ahmed, 2016).

Again, Allah is the creator of all humans and the prophet Muhammad never proclaimed non-Arabian Muslims inauthentic Islam. The Quran prohibits such self-exaltation over others. It should be noted that most scholars and the various schools of thoughts they subscribe to are based on their denominational and ideological inclinations. They hardly have the time to balance their narrative to take into cognizance of Muslim minority perspectives. Islam is all about peace and love, and violence to secure superiority over other Muslim ethnicities is wrong, just as the Jihadist Salafis movement perpetuates. Instead, they should emulate the reformist Salafis school of thought that believes more in lobbying to project policies and programs that conform to their beliefs instead of resorting to violence or attempting to usurp a Government in Power to that effect.

Conclusion

The study underscores the urgent need for a more diverse and inclusive approach to Islamic studies, one that fully recognises the autonomy and rights of individuals, the significant contributions of non-Arab Muslims, and the wide array of Islamic thought and practice. By employing historical-critical analysis methods, the study challenges traditional accounts of Islam that predominantly rely on Arab sources and perspectives, exposing their limitations and biases.

Our findings reveal a rich and diverse history of Islam that includes substantial contributions from non-Arab Muslims to Islamic scholarship, theology, and culture. This broader perspective counters the narrow, Arab-centric view that has long dominated the field and advocates for a more comprehensive and equitable representation of Islam.Moreover, the study critically examines the Salafi school of thought, highlighting its problematic aspects, such as its emphasis on Arab superiority and the primacy of the Arabic language as essential to authentic Islam. These views not only distort the historical reality of Islam's global spread but also marginalise and silence the voices of non-Arab Muslims.

The study contributes to existing scholarship by demonstrating that while Salafism often reinforces traditional Arab-centric narratives, it also has the potential to challenge these narratives by advocating for a return to early Islamic principles that transcend ethnic and cultural boundaries. This duality within Salafism offers a unique lens through which to decolonise Islamic studies.In conclusion, Islamic studies must confront and challenge these exclusionary beliefs and practices. By promoting an inclusive understanding of Islam that embraces its diverse expressions and practices worldwide, the field can advance towards a more accurate and representative scholarship. This approach not only enriches our understanding of Islam but also fosters a more just and inclusive academic discipline.

Recommendations

Scholars of Islamic studies should take into account the following suggestions, which are directly in line with the research findings, to foster a more inclusive and diverse understanding of Islam:

Incorporate non-Arab perspectives into the curriculum:

Develop courses and teaching materials that highlight the significant contributions of non-Arab Muslims to Islamic history, theology, and culture. This initiative will help to broaden the scope of Islamic studies and ensure that the curriculum reflects the diverse realities of the Muslim world.

Encourage research on non-Arab contributions to Islamic history.

Provide funding for research projects that focus on non-Arab Islamic thought and practice. Create opportunities for scholars to explore and publish work on the diverse contributions of non-Arab Muslims. This effort will fill existing gaps in the literature and enhance the field's comprehensiveness.

Promote Dialogue and Understanding Between Different Schools of Thought and Denominations Within Islam:

Organise conferences, workshops, and other events that bring together scholars from various Islamic backgrounds. These platforms should facilitate discussions that bridge gaps between different schools of thought and denominations, fostering mutual respect and understanding.

Challenge Problematic Beliefs and Practices Within Salafism:

Conduct and disseminate critical analyses of Salafist ideology, particularly those aspects that emphasise Arab superiority and marginalise non-Arab Muslims. Engage in dialogue with Salafist communities to promote tolerance and inclusivity within Islam. Support initiatives that aim to reform Salafist practices in a way that aligns with the diverse and inclusive principles of Islam.

Engage with the public to promote a more inclusive understanding of Islam:

Write op-eds, give public lectures, develop educational resources, and participate in media interviews to disseminate findings and promote a more inclusive understanding of Islam to a broader audience. Public engagement is crucial to challenging stereotypes and misconceptions about Islam and highlighting its diversity.

These recommendations, rooted in the study's findings, aim to transform the field of Islamic studies by embracing and promoting the rich diversity of the Muslim world. The design of these recommendations is to ensure that the discipline not only acknowledges but also celebrates the contributions of all Muslims, irrespective of their ethnic or cultural backgrounds.

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CITIZENSHIP AND INDIGENOUS CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA: DRAWING INSIGHTS FROM BEST PRACTICES IN THE UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT
This paper delves into the intricacies of Nigerian citizenship, particularly the indigene-settler dilemma, by drawing parallels with the U.S. citizenship model. The study utilizes secondary data and content analysis to explore the complex interplay of belonging, rights, and identity in American citizenship, highlighting the role of birthright citizenship as stipulated by the 14th Amendment. This U.S. principle, prioritizing birthplace over lineage, contrasts with the descent-based approaches prevalent in Nigeria and some other countries. The analysis reveals that the U.S. model, by automatically conferring citizenship to those born on its soil regardless of parental heritage, fosters inclusivity and national integration. This paper suggests that Nigeria could benefit from a more inclusive citizenship model that combines elements of birthplace and lineage. By adopting lessons from the U.S., including the emphasis on inclusivity and rights-based citizenship, Nigeria could address its indigene-settler conflicts more effectively. This study makes a significant contribution to the literature by providing a comparative analysis of citizenship models, highlighting the potential benefits of the U.S. approach for Nigeria. Unlike previous studies that may focus solely on Nigerian citizenship issues or U.S. citizenship in isolation, this research uniquely bridges the two contexts to offer a fresh perspective on how Nigeria might reform its citizenship policies. The recommendations propose a nuanced approach to citizenship in Nigeria, aiming for policies that support national unity and integration, drawing on the U.S. experience as a potential guide for reform. By examining the successful elements of the U.S. model, this paper provides a roadmap for Nigeria to enhance its citizenship framework, promoting greater inclusivity and social cohesion.

Introduction

Nigeria grapples with intricate challenges regarding citizenship, the indigene-settler dichotomy, and the quest for national integration, a discourse enriched by insights from American citizenship practices. Citizenship, as a fundamental aspect of belonging, grants both rights and responsibilities within a nation (Marshall, 1950). While the United States adopts a birthright approach to citizenship, wherein anyone born within its borders is deemed a citizen (Bosniak, 2000a), Nigeria's citizenship framework intertwines birthright with indigenous lineage, influencing the status of individuals born to Nigerian parents or grandparents abroad. The dichotomy between indigenes and settlers within Nigeria amplifies the issue of discrimination against non-indigenous individuals (Bello, 2019). This discrimination persists despite their substantial contributions to Nigeria's progress, posing a stark contrast to the inclusive ethos inherent in citizenship principles. Such disparities call for a critical reassessment of Nigeria's citizenship framework to ensure equity and inclusivity.

National integration, akin to America's ethos of unity amid diversity, remains a formidable challenge in Nigeria (Musa, 2023). Although Nigeria has instituted integration initiatives resembling American practices—such as Unity Schools and the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)—ethnic diversity, religious extremism, and leadership shortcomings impede effective integration (Asaju&Egberi, 2015a, Musa, 2023). While Nigeria's constitutional provisions mirror established democracies like the United States in ensuring fundamental rights, the practical application often falls short, perpetuating divisions instead of fostering unity (Weissbrodt& Danielson, 2004 a,b).

This paper delves into the nuances of citizenship, the indigene-settler dynamic, and national integration in Nigeria, leveraging insights from American practices to illuminate potential avenues for enhancing inclusivity, unity, and equity within the Nigerian socio-political landscape. While existing literature has extensively explored the dichotomy between indigenes and settlers (Bello, 2019) and the challenges of national integration (Musa, 2023), there remains a gap in comparative analysis that draws lessons from the U.S. citizenship model. This study addresses this gap by examining the principles of birthright citizenship and inclusivity in the U.S., proposing that Nigeria could benefit from adopting similar elements to resolve its indigene-settler conflicts.

This paper contributes to the existing body of knowledge by offering a novel comparative perspective, highlighting the potential benefits of integrating U.S. citizenship principles into Nigerian policy. Unlike previous studies that focus on either Nigerian citizenship issues or U.S. practices in isolation, this paper uniquely bridges the two contexts. It provides a fresh viewpoint on how Nigeria might reform its citizenship policies to foster greater inclusivity and national unity. By critically analyzing the U.S. model, this study creates a new scholarship that suggests practical policy recommendations for Nigeria, advocating for a citizenship framework that combines birthplace and lineage elements to enhance social cohesion and integration.

Conceptualising Citizenship Question, Indigene-Settler, National Integration and Best Practices

The concept of citizenship, a subject of extensive discourse among scholars, holds multifaceted interpretations within the social sciences. IGI Global (2023) defines citizenship as membership in a political community, signifying equal status among citizens regarding associated rights and duties. The Center for the Study of Citizenship (2023) perceives citizenship as a legal status delineating an individual's relations with a state, encompassing legal, economic, and cultural practices that establish competence within society (Bosniak, 2000). This relationship signifies reciprocal rights and obligations between the individual and the state (Lister, 2012; Heywood, 1994). Marshall (1950) elucidates citizenship's constitution by three dimensions: civil, political, and social rights, encompassing liberties, political participation, and economic welfare, respectively. Neglecting these rights may evoke the citizenship question, signifying a challenge to fundamental rights, often resulting in agitation from affected individuals or groups. Weissbrodt and Danielson (2004) emphasize citizenship's implication of permanent allegiance, and Lija (2011) underscores citizenship's embodiment of legal status, political recognition, and associated rights and obligations within a community.

The indigene-settler concept is equally multifaceted and subject to diverse interpretations. Its lack of a universally accepted definition mirrors the array of viewpoints among scholars who have extensively researched this

complex notion. Okonjo (2016) dissects the socio-political implications of the indigene-settler dichotomy, meticulously examining its historical underpinnings and contemporary relevance. Adesina's (2018) comparative study explores the nexus between indigeneity and citizenship in Nigeria within a global context, illuminating both commonalities and disparities. Igwe (2020) delves into how ethnicity perpetuates the indigene-settler divide and its reverberations on citizenship rights and societal unity. Uche's (2019) historical scrutiny traces the evolutionary path of indigene-settler relations in Nigeria, offering valuable insights into its historical trajectory. Meanwhile, Okafor (2017) scrutinizes the dynamic interplay between citizenship, indigenous rights, and the indigene-settler paradigm, analyzing its profound impact on societal structures. Collectively, these scholarly perspectives navigate the historical, social, and political dimensions of the indigene-settler dichotomy, providing nuanced insights into its origins, development, and intricate implications for citizenship and societal cohesion in Nigeria.

National integration, synonymous with national cohesion or unity, signifies the harmonization of diverse societal elements within a territorial boundary (Musa, 2023). Duverger(1976) defines national integration as the unifying process aimed at establishing harmonious relationships based on an equitable social order. It seeks to foster unity amidst societal diversity, ensuring equitable lifestyles without sacrificing established principles (Musa, 2023). Ogunjenite (cited in Ojo, 2009) perceives national integration as nation-building amid incongruent socio-economic, religious, ethnic, and geographical elements. Asaju and Egberi (2015) see it as the cultivation of a shared identity among citizens, while Bello-Imam (1987) views it as the harmonious coexistence of diverse social groups. In Nigeria, government initiatives like Unity Schools, the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), and policies promoting unity aim to foster national integration (Musa, 2023). Despite these efforts, challenges such as ethnic diversity, religious extremism, and leadership failure persistently hinder integration.

The concept of "best practices" in citizenship often refers to policies, initiatives, or strategies that effectively foster inclusivity, address social divisions, and promote equal rights and opportunities for all citizens within a country. Best practices, formulated through trial and error, offer effective approaches for seamless operations (Wright, 2022). These references cover various aspects of citizenship, indigene-settler issues, and strategies for fostering national integration, providing comprehensive insights into this multifaceted subject.

Despite extensive literature on citizenship, indigene-settler dynamics, and national integration, there remains a gap in comparative analyses that draw lessons from different global contexts to address local challenges. This paper aims to fill this gap by examining the U.S. birthright citizenship model's inclusivity and its potential application to the Nigerian context. The study contributes to existing scholarship by proposing a novel perspective that combines elements of both birthplace and lineage-based citizenship. By leveraging insights from American practices, the paper suggests innovative policy recommendations for Nigeria, advocating for a more inclusive citizenship framework that can mitigate the indigene-settler dichotomy and foster national integration.

Theoretical Framework

Postcolonial Theory, pioneered by scholars such as Edward Said, Frantz Fanon, and HomiBhabha, provides a critical lens for examining the enduring impacts of colonialism on societies and cultures, including Nigeria (Said, 1978; Fanon, 1963). This theoretical framework emphasizes the complex dynamics of power, identity, and representation in postcolonial contexts (Bhabha, 1994). Central to Postcolonial Theory is the recognition of the lasting legacies of colonialism, which continue to shape social, political, and cultural landscapes long after formal independence (Said, 1978). In the Nigerian context, the legacy of British colonial rule has had profound effects on indigenous communities (Achebe, 1958). The imposition of colonial borders, land dispossession, cultural assimilation, and marginalization have left lasting scars on indigenous populations (Musa, 2023; Achebe, 1958). As Chinua Achebe depicted in his novel "Things Fall Apart," the arrival of colonial powers disrupted traditional ways of life and undermined indigenous governance structures (Achebe, 1958). This disruption continues to reverberate in contemporary struggles for citizenship and indigenous rights in Nigeria.

Postcolonial Theory also foregrounds the dynamics of power and resistance, highlighting how colonial encounters generate processes of

both domination and resistance (Fanon, 1963). Frantz Fanon, in his seminal work "The Wretched of the Earth," analyzed the psychological and existential effects of colonialism on colonized peoples, emphasizing the transformative potential of anti-colonial resistance (Fanon, 1963). Indigenous communities in Nigeria have historically resisted colonial oppression through various forms of cultural preservation, political mobilization, and legal advocacy. The ongoing struggles of indigenous groups such as the Ogoni and the Igbo attest to the enduring legacy of resistance in postcolonial Nigeria. However, Postcolonial Theory has faced criticisms for its potential to perpetuate Eurocentric perspectives and neglect the agency and diversity of non-Western societies, as noted by scholars like Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988). This critique underscores the importance of adopting a nuanced and inclusive approach to understanding indigenous experiences within the framework of Postcolonial Theory. Additionally, Postcolonial Theory has been faulted for overlooking gender and intersectionality, particularly concerning the experiences of indigenous women, further highlighting the need for a more comprehensive analysis (Spivak, 1988).

In the context of citizenship and indigenous challenges in Nigeria, Postcolonial Theory offers valuable insights into the historical roots of marginalization and discrimination faced by indigenous communities. By examining how colonial legacies divided rather than united the people they colonized (Musa, 2023), and how these legacies continue to shape contemporary struggles for citizenship and indigenous rights, researchers can highlight the structural inequalities persisting within Nigerian society. Colonialism in Nigeria differed significantly from that in the United States. While both countries experienced colonization, the processes and outcomes were markedly different, shaped by the specific goals, methods, and impacts of the colonial powers involved. A significant disparity between Nigeria and the United States lies in the legal and political frameworks governing indigenous rights and citizenship. In Nigeria, indigenous communities often lack adequate legal recognition and protection, leading to marginalization and discrimination in accessing resources and political representation.Conversely, the United States has a multifaceted legal system acknowledging the sovereignty and rights of Native American tribes, although challenges persist in their implementation and enforcement, particularly concerning land disputes and jurisdictional conflicts (Spivak, 1988). Moreover, differences in socio-economic contexts contribute to distinct experiences of citizenship and indigenous challenges in Nigeria and the United States. In Nigeria, factors such as rapid urbanization, environmental degradation, and socio-political instability exacerbate existing inequalities and tensions between indigenous communities and the state. Conversely, the United States contends with issues such as economic disparities, healthcare access, and educational attainment among indigenous populations, reflecting broader systemic injustices rooted in colonialism and structural racism (Spivak, 1988).

This paper adopts Postcolonial Theory to offer a critical comparative analysis of citizenship frameworks in Nigeria and the United States. By drawing on the theory's emphasis on historical context, power dynamics, and resistance, this study aims to illuminate the ways colonial legacies continue to influence contemporary citizenship practices and indigenous rights. This approach extends existing scholarship by not only applying Postcolonial Theory to the Nigerian context but also by drawing meaningful parallels with the U.S. model to suggest potential pathways for reform.

By examining the U.S. birthright citizenship model's inclusivity and its potential application to Nigeria, this paper contributes to theory development by proposing a nuanced adaptation of Postcolonial Theory that considers the specific socio-political contexts of different countries. This study underscores the importance of centering indigenous perspectives and voices in policy discussions and decision-making processes. Collaborative approaches that prioritize indigenous self-determination, cultural revitalization, and land rights are indispensable for addressing citizenship and indigenous challenges in Nigeria in ways that are attuned to the needs and aspirations of indigenous communities.

This paper however critiques and extends Postcolonial Theory by integrating best practices from the U.S. model of citizenship. It proposes innovative policy recommendations for Nigeria, advocating for a more inclusive citizenship framework that can mitigate the indigene-settler dichotomy and foster national integration. This approach not only enriches the theoretical discourse but also offers practical solutions for contemporary issues in Nigerian society.

Dynamics of Citizenship and the Problem of National Integration in Nigeria: An Analytical Review

The concept of citizenship within Nigeria's sociopolitical context remains a topic of fervent scholarly discussion, lending itself to various interpretations. As posited by IGI Global (2023a), citizenship is defined as membership within a political community, bestowing individuals with rights and obligations. This status endows citizens with legal, social, and economic entitlements, fostering an egalitarian society (Center for the Study of Citizenship, 2023; Bosniak, 2000a). Noteworthy scholars like Lister (2012a) and Heywood (1994b) underscore the reciprocity inherent in citizenship, emphasizing the reciprocal obligations between the individual and the state. Marshall's influential work (1950) delineates citizenship along three crucial dimensions: civil, political, and social rights. The denial of these rights often sparks the citizenship question, challenging fundamental individual or group rights and potentially leading to social unrest (Weissbrodt& Danielson, 2004a,b; Lija, 2011).

National integration, synonymous with societal cohesion, involves the intricate process of harmonizing diverse societal elements within Nigeria's territorial boundaries. Musa (2023) equates national integration with a unifying process aimed at establishing equitable societal harmony. Duverger (1976b) emphasizes the objective of national integration as fostering harmonious relations based on an established social order, ensuring unity amid societal diversity.

Scholars such as Asaju&Egberi (2015) and Bello-Imam (1987b) highlight the significance of national integration in cultivating a shared identity among citizens and fostering harmonious coexistence among diverse social groups. Nigerian government initiatives, exemplified by Unity Schools and the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC), strive to bolster national integration (Musa, 2023). However, persistent challenges such as ethnic diversity, religious extremism, and leadership failures hamper effective integration efforts (Ojo, 2009; Asaju&Egberi, 2015b).

Concerning Nigerian citizenship rights, the constitutional framework mirrors established democracies like the United States, ensuring the enjoyment of civic and fundamental human rights across the nation. These rights encompass voting, employment, education, property ownership, religious freedom, and freedom of speech. Despite these provisions, numerous Nigerians find themselves detached from their presumed regions of origin, striving for recognition as legitimate citizens in their perceived home regions. Adding complexity to this issue are groups within Nigeria facing discrimination as "settlers," despite their enduring familial connections to the land, spanning generations without clear knowledge of their ancestors' migration origins.

A pivotal identifier in Nigeria is proving indigenous status via an "official document of indigeneity." Individuals unable to establish such ties face discrimination across the federation, being denied rights and opportunities at various administrative levels. This scenario, despite their significant contributions to the state's development, especially post-1999 democracy (Pongri, 2003), necessitates a critical review of the definition and characteristics of Nigerian citizenship.

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria delineates distinct citizenship categories—by birth, registration, and naturalization (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999: 15). Citizenship by birth encompasses individuals born in Nigeria before or after independence to Nigerian citizen parents or grandparents belonging to indigenous communities. Citizenship by registration entails acquiring citizenship by adhering to the country's laws, often necessitating movement to one's supposed "state of origin." Conversely, citizenship by naturalization applies to individuals recognized as Nigerian citizens despite lacking indigenous ties.

However, the practical application of citizenship rights confronts challenges. The emphasis on indigeneity for various aspects like admission, employment, and political appointments affects even those seeking naturalization. Curiously, becoming a naturalized citizen requires acceptance by the local community and assimilation into their specific way of life, paradoxically integrating them into a Nigerian community rather than recognizing them as Nigerian citizens at large (FRN, section 27(2d)). This implementation discrepancy undermines inclusivity, reinforcing divisions among citizens. Bello (2019) critically assesses the constitution's stress on community

indigeneity, highlighting its impact on admission and opportunities, thereby questioning the essence of Nigerian citizenship. This intricate citizenship framework, categorized by birth, registration, and naturalization, establishes a hierarchical citizenry structure, where residents with indigenous ties are first-class citizens, those with ties to other states are second-class, and individuals lacking indigenous proof but recognized as full-fledged citizens constitute the third class. However, the practicality of enjoying rights as stipulated by the constitution does not align with this categorization, necessitating a critical reevaluation of the citizenship framework to ensure equal rights and opportunities for all Nigerians.

Interrogating Citizenship in Nigeria: A Complex Intertwining of Birthright and Dual Allegiances

The concept of citizenship in Nigeria presents unique challenges compared to countries like the United States. This paper interrogates and dissects relevant literature to understand the multifaceted nature of Nigerian citizenship, particularly focusing on issues of indigeneity, legal frameworks, and the sociopolitical implications of dual citizenship.

i. **Citizenship by Birth and Dual Citizenship:** Bello (2019) points out that Nigerian citizenship by birth is predominantly determined by the birthplace of one's father or grandfather, rather than the individual's actual birthplace. This raises critical questions about the legitimacy and loyalty of those with dual citizenship, particularly during times of national turmoil. This framework contrasts sharply with the automatic conferral of citizenship by birth in the US and UK, which does not consider the origin of the parents or grandparents. Bello's analysis prompts an examination of the possible divided loyalties among dual citizens, which warrants further exploration to understand its impact on national security and societal cohesion.

ii. **Constitutional Parameters and Historical Ambiguities:** The 1999 Constitution of Nigeria, particularly in Chapter III, Section 25, outlines citizenship by birth, emphasizing lineage from indigenous Nigerian communities. However, ambiguities arise concerning the citizenship status of communities integrated into Nigeria post-independence, such as those from the German Territories (British Northern Cameroons) in 1961. This lack of clarity necessitates a review of historical incorporations and their legal implications on contemporary citizenship rights. The constitution's silence on these post-independence communities highlights the need for updated legal interpretations to address modern citizenship challenges.

iii. **Cultural and Linguistic Interdependencies:** Nigerian citizenship is further complicated by cultural, linguistic, and traditional interdependencies among tribes and ethnic groups, both within and beyond Nigeria's borders. For instance, the Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri, and Yoruba tribes share deep cultural ties with communities in neighboring countries like Cameroon, Niger, Chad, and Benin. This interconnectedness blurs the lines of citizenship and indigeneity, challenging constitutional definitions and creating scenarios where cross-border individuals may be more readily accepted as indigenes compared to other Nigerian ethnic groups.

iv. **Case Studies: Yoruba and Hausa Communities:** The acceptance of Yoruba individuals from Benin or Togo as indigenes in Yoruba States, and similarly, the recognition of Hausa individuals from Niger Republic or Chad, contrasts sharply with the treatment of other Nigerian ethnic groups. This selective acceptance underscores the complexities in defining citizenship based on indigenous status, revealing a nuanced hierarchy that favors cultural and ethnic ties over legal definitions. The implications of this hierarchy on national integration and social equity are profound, calling for a reassessment of citizenship policies to foster inclusivity.

v. **Post-Independence Integration and Citizenship:** Regions integrated into Nigeria post-independence, such as Dikwa North and the Bakassi Peninsula, present unique challenges in defining citizenship. The inhabitants of these areas, connected by ethnic languages and cultures, often find themselves in a legal limbo, where their citizenship status is not clearly defined. The case of the Bakassi Peninsula, ceded to Cameroon, further complicates this issue, as individuals with cultural ties to Nigeria may be seen as indigenes, while others are

labeled settlers. This ambiguity in citizenship status not only affects individual rights but also poses challenges to national unity and identity.

In summary, the interrogation of literature on Nigerian citizenship reveals a complex interplay of legal definitions, cultural ties, and historical legacies. The framework of citizenship in Nigeria, particularly the emphasis on indigeneity and the challenges of dual citizenship, necessitates a critical reevaluation. Addressing these issues requires an inclusive approach that recognizes the diverse cultural and historical contexts of Nigerian communities, both within and across its borders. By adopting such an approach, Nigeria can work towards a more equitable and cohesive society, where citizenship rights are clearly defined and uniformly applied.

Navigating the Citizenship and Indigene-Settler Conundrum in Nigeria: Interrogating the Landscape of Citizenship in the United States

The landscape of citizenship in the United States is a complex interplay of belonging, rights, and identity within its political community. This section critically examines the dynamics of American citizenship, contrasting it with the Nigerian context, and explores the theoretical and conceptual implications of these differences.

i. ***Birthright Citizenship in the United States:***Bellamy (2008) highlights the foundational principle of birthright citizenship in the United States, enshrined in the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. This principle confers citizenship on individuals born within the country's territorial boundaries, irrespective of their parents' citizenship status. This approach, known as jus soli, contrasts sharply with the *jus sanguinis* principle prevalent in countries like Britain, which bases citizenship on descent (Shachar et al., 2017).The American model therefore, promotes inclusivity by emphasizing birthplace over lineage, which differs fundamentally from Nigeria's descent-based approach. This model reduces ambiguity and potential discrimination by ensuring that anyone born in the U.S. has an unequivocal right to citizenship. This inclusivity contrasts with the Nigerian system, where citizenship is heavily influenced by the birthplace of one's father or grandfather, often leading to complexities and exclusions for those without clear ancestral ties to specific regions.

ii. ***Dual Citizenship and Political Implications:*** Bosniak (2006) discusses how the U.S. approach to birthright citizenship can lead to dual citizenship scenarios, where individuals hold citizenship in the U.S. and their parents' country of origin. This contrasts with Britain's descent-based model, which can complicate the status of individuals born in the country to non-citizen parents. Ibrahim (2004) points out that in Nigeria, citizenship can be manipulated for political purposes, with influential families distributing citizenship to maximize political impact.The flexibility of the U.S. model accommodates diverse demographics and migration complexities, promoting a sense of belonging regardless of lineage. This contrasts with Nigeria's politically influenced citizenship distribution, which can undermine the principle of equality and inclusivity. The U.S. model's clarity in citizenship rights highlights the potential for reducing ethnic and political divisions through a more inclusive framework.

iii. **Inclusivity and the Indigene-Settler Question:** Comaroff & Comaroff (2009) argue that the U.S. citizenship framework's flexibility supports diverse demographic integration. The principle of birthright citizenship fosters inclusivity by recognizing individuals born within the country regardless of their parents' origins. Modood (2019) suggests that an inclusive approach amalgamating elements from the American model could be beneficial for contemporary societies. The inclusive nature of U.S. citizenship policy offers a valuable perspective for addressing the indigene-settler dichotomy in Nigeria. By adopting a model that considers both birthplace and lineage, Nigeria could mitigate the exclusionary practices currently affecting non-indigenous citizens. This approach could enhance national cohesion by fostering a shared sense of belonging among all citizens, regardless of their ancestral origins.

iv. **Practical Benefits of U.S. Citizenship:** Albanna (2014) highlights the practical advantages of U.S. citizenship, such as protection from deportation and the

security of residency. McNamara (2018) adds that citizenship ensures equal rights to live and work in the U.S. and provides protection against deportation following criminal accusations. Barnes (2019) notes the significant benefit of holding a U.S. passport, which allows visa-free travel to many countries and access to embassy assistance.These practical benefits underscore the multifaceted nature of U.S. citizenship, which extends beyond legal status to include tangible improvements in security, mobility, and opportunities. This comprehensive approach to citizenship highlights the potential for a more holistic framework in Nigeria, where citizenship could be linked with broader social and economic rights, enhancing the quality of life for all citizens.

v. **The Role of Citizenship in Family Reunification and Civic Participation:** Bloemraad (2017) discusses how U.S. citizenship facilitates family reunification by allowing citizens to sponsor family members for green cards. Malkki (2015) notes that children born to U.S. citizens abroad automatically gain citizenship. Calavita (2014) emphasizes the right to vote and eligibility for elected offices as fundamental aspects of citizenship, enabling active participation in shaping the nation's leadership. These aspects of U.S. citizenship demonstrate the profound impact of inclusive policies on individual and family stability, as well as civic engagement. By facilitating family reunification and civic participation, the U.S. model strengthens community ties and democratic participation. Implementing similar policies in Nigeria could address the social and political exclusion of non-indigenous citizens, fostering a more inclusive and participatory democracy.

In summary, the interrogation of U.S. citizenship practices reveals a model that balances inclusivity, legal clarity, and practical benefits, contrasting with the more restrictive and lineage-based approach in Nigeria. By drawing lessons from the American model, Nigeria can re-evaluate its citizenship policies to promote inclusivity, reduce ethnic and political divisions, and enhance the rights and opportunities of all its citizens. This critical analysis highlights the potential for adopting a more inclusive and equitable citizenship framework, fostering national cohesion and stability.

Conclusion

The exploration of citizenship dynamics and the indigene-settler question in Nigeria, contrasted with the American model, reveals significant insights into fostering national integration. This study underscores the interplay between indigeneity, settler identities, and citizenship, emphasizing the core aspects of belonging, rights, and inclusivity within a political community.

The American model of birthright citizenship, which grants citizenship based on birthplace rather than lineage, promotes inclusivity by acknowledging individuals regardless of their parents' origins. This model contrasts with the descent-based citizenship prevalent in Nigeria, which can complicate the status of individuals born to non-citizen parents. In Nigeria, citizenship practices influenced by political considerations and lineage can undermine equality and inclusivity. The study suggests that adopting a more inclusive approach, similar to the U.S. model, could enhance national integration by fostering a sense of belonging among diverse communities.The flexibility and clarity of American citizenship rights provide a benchmark for Nigeria, advocating for comprehensive and inclusive policies. This flexibility helps manage migration complexities and encourages a sense of belonging irrespective of birthplace or lineage. In Nigeria, the manipulation of citizenship for political gain by influential families can exacerbate ethnic and political divisions. A more inclusive citizenship framework could reduce these tensions and promote a more unified national identity.

The American model's emphasis on birthright citizenship supports inclusivity and mitigates exclusionary tendencies. This approach helps cultivate a sense of belonging and unity among diverse populations, providing valuable lessons for Nigeria. Nigeria's descent-based citizenship approach sometimes complicates the status of individuals, particularly those born to non-citizen parents. Adopting elements from the American model could address these challenges, fostering a more cohesive society.

Lessons from the U.S. citizenship model highlight the importance of embracing diversity and implementing inclusive policies that respect various identities. This theoretical

understanding can inform Nigerian strategies for national integration, promoting social cohesion and unity. Addressing Nigeria's unique challenges requires a nuanced approach that considers both birthplace and lineage in citizenship attribution. Efforts to de-emphasize tribal, ethnic, and religious differences are crucial for fostering a unified national identity.Nigeria should consider prioritizing birthright citizenship to reduce exclusionary tendencies and enhance national integration. Flexible citizenship policies, akin to those in the U.S., can alleviate tensions from migration complexities and promote inclusivity. Emphasizing national symbols and mandatory teaching of Nigerian history can instill appreciation for national unity. Programs like the National Youth Service Corps should be revamped to treat all graduates as locals, fostering integration. Implementing true federalism and equitable resource control can ensure fair distribution and governance, boosting confidence and unity among diverse regions.

This study differs from previous research by providing a comparative analysis between the American and Nigerian citizenship models, highlighting practical and theoretical implications for national integration in Nigeria. Unlike earlier studies that primarily focused on the challenges within Nigeria, this research offers a broader perspective by incorporating lessons from the U.S. model, suggesting a path towards a more inclusive and cohesive Nigerian society.

In summary, adopting inclusive citizenship practices and promoting a sense of belonging among diverse communities will enable Nigeria to navigate the complexities of the indigene-settler question. By leveraging lessons from the American citizenship model, Nigeria can progress towards a more cohesive nation that celebrates diversity while fostering a unified national identity. De-emphasizing tribal, ethnic, and religious differences, alongside implementing educational, social, and political reforms, will be crucial in achieving this goal.

Recommendations

To address citizenship and indigenous challenges in Nigeria while drawing insights from the United States, the following recommendations are proposed:

i. *In-depth Comparative Analysis:* Conduct a comprehensive study of the historical backgrounds, legal frameworks, socio-political dynamics, and cultural nuances shaping indigenous experiences and citizenship rights in Nigeria and the U.S. This will highlight similarities and differences, enabling mutual learning.

ii. *Utilize Case Studies and Empirical Evidence:* Use case studies and empirical evidence to illustrate effective strategies and policies. Focus on initiatives that have positively impacted indigenous communities, such as community-driven development projects, legal advancements in land rights, and culturally sensitive programs. Include testimonies from indigenous individuals and community leaders to enrich the analysis.

iii. *Examine Legal and Policy Frameworks:* Thoroughly review the legal and policy frameworks governing citizenship and indigenous rights in Nigeria and the U.S. Assess constitutional provisions, legislative acts, international conventions, and judicial decisions. This evaluation will help identify areas for improvement and inform legal and policy reform recommendations.

iv. *Engage Stakeholders:* Involve stakeholders through a participatory approach. Engage indigenous communities, government agencies, NGOs, academia, and international bodies to ensure diverse perspectives are considered. Create platforms for dialogue, knowledge exchange, and collaboration to foster mutual learning and empower indigenous voices in policy formulation and implementation.

v. *Identify Best Practices:* Identify best practices and lessons from the U.S. to inform policy recommendations for Nigeria. This includes innovative tribal governance structures, culturally responsive education initiatives, and inclusive policy frameworks. Tailor these insights to address specific challenges while respecting cultural diversity in Nigeria.

vi. *Translate Insights into Actionable Strategies:* Develop actionable strategies focusing on policy reform, institutional

strengthening, and community empowerment. Advocate for intersectional approaches that address citizenship, indigenous rights, gender equality, environmental justice, and socio-economic development. Prioritize inclusivity, social justice, and respect for all Nigerians, particularly marginalized indigenous communities.

vii. *Facilitate Capacity-Building and Collaboration:* Organize workshops, training sessions, and academic exchanges to enhance expertise in indigenous studies, human rights law, and community development. Build partnerships between Nigerian and U.S. stakeholders to foster knowledge-sharing, resource mobilization, and collective advocacy for indigenous rights.

viii. Implementing these recommendations can help Nigeria gain valuable insights from U.S. practices, advancing social justice, cultural diversity, and inclusive citizenship, especially for marginalized indigenous communities.

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THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT: INTERROGATING THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN SYRIA

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ABSTRACT
The Syrian crisis which began in 2011 has left in its trail series of humanitarian catastrophe that has begged for solution. The crisis has decimated the country's population since it started in 2011, provoking serious humanitarian crisis. The United Nations Charter gives responsibility to international community to use appropriate diplomatic and other peaceful measure in accordance with Chapter VI and VIII of the Charter to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crime against humanity. In the same vein, the responsibility to protect populations from genocide and other gross forms of human rights abuse emerged in 2005 as an important global principle during the UN World Summit Outcome Document. This article examines the UN Charter and the responsibility to protect principle and x-rayed how it has impacted the Syrian crisis vis-à-vis humanitarian crisis. The paper questioned why the case of Syria is different despite having been implemented in Libya before. The paper concludes that the case of Syria is different because she is backed by a superpower, Russia and the fact that politics thrive on interest, the other superpower stand to gain nothing from Syria.

Introduction

Violent conflict in the Middle East have taken a massive humanitarian toll on countries like Iraq, Kuwait, Syria, Palestine and Yemen in the past and in recent times and have disrupted the political, economic and social order of this already tumultuous region. The Arab Spring of 2010 and what followed in terms of bloody clashes, directly or indirectly in most Arab states and state weakening (as in the case of Syria), demonstrate fragility of many of the individual regime in the Arab world as well as the importance of the collective orders of the region.

The endemic conflicting situation in the Middle East and other Arab nations is taking its toll on Syria. The fact that this was once a very peaceful nation, at least after the last Arab-Israel war in 1973, calls for serious concern. Despite the fact that the Arab Spring which began in Tunisia in 2010, swept through countries like Libya, Egypt, Algeria, Syria and Yemen; and in all these countries except the last two, the tempo has died down, it calls to question the multifarious causes to the crisis. Not only has the conflict refused to subside, it has also defied diplomatic initiatives and overtures to end it(Haynes,2013:170-188).

At its formation in 1945, the United Nations made humanitarianism one of its core purposes, and this was codified with the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved by the UN General Assembly. This declaration made states the primary guarantors of individual rights, protection and safety from harm. Article 51 of the United Charter mandated the UN Security Council to meet and take necessary measures to safeguard the lives of citizens of members' countries. The organization channeled the responsibility for humanitarian assistance to its agencies such as – International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nation Development Programme (UNDP) etc. (Basu,2004:26-28,191-200).

In the same vein, humanitarian intervention has been given due recognition by the international law. The law specifically mandated nations to treat its citizens with outmost decency within its domestic jurisdiction. According to Umozurike, (2005:198), failure to protect its subjects by domestic government can lead to external intervention. Thus, the right for humanitarian intervention has been recognized and acknowledged by international law. Since its recognition, there have been attempted cases of interventions. Therefore, the responsibility to protect was aimed at reinvigorating this and applied to the latter.

The Cause(s) of the Syrian Crisis

While the Arab spring was seen as the immediate cause of the crisis, other factors listed below can be factored as the remote causes of the Syrian crisis.

Discredited Ideology

Syria's Baath party is regarded as the founder of "Arab socialism", an ideological current that merged state-led economy with Pan Arab capitalism. However, by 2000, the party ideology was reduced to an empty shell, discredited by lost wars with Israel and a crippled economy. Upon taking over, he tried to modernize the regime, invoking the Chinese model of economic reform, but times and other factors were running against him. He lacked the vision to understand that certain aspects of the Chinese reforms could not be applied in Syria because of regional and cultural context (Manfreda, 2020).

Drought

Drought was one of the major reasons behind the crippled economy. Persistent drought had devastated farm lands in the north eastern Syria, affecting more than a million people in 2008. According to the United Nations, about 75% of the Syria's farms failed, and 86% of the livestock died between 2006-2011. These impoverished farmers flocked into the rapidly expanding urban slums. The anger at the lack of government help, coupled with the new pretentious wealth of the rich increased the feeling of marginalization and powerlessness.

Population Growth

Syria's rapidly growing young population was always going to be a demographic time bomb waiting to explode. The country had one of the highest growing populations in the world, and was ranked ninth by the UN as one of the fastest-growing counties in the world between 2005 and 2010. Rapid growing population meant that there were fewer jobs, less food and more were left unemployed thereby leading to resentment amongst the people (Manfreda, 2020).

Corruption

The phrase that Syria is "seething with corruption" is an understatement of sorts. Whether it was a license to open small shop or a car registration, well placed payment was the

way to go in Syria. For those without the money and good contacts, it was grievances against the state. Ironically, the system was so corrupt to the extent that even anti-Assad rebels bought weapons from government forces, and families bribed the authorities to release relatives that were detained during the uprising. Those close to the regime took advantage of the widespread corruption to further their businesses. Illegal businesses such as drug cartel and smuggling rings became the norm and the regime kept quiet (Manfreda, 2020).

Increase in State Repression

Syria's vast intelligence services, the famous Mukhabarat, penetrated all spheres of society. The fear of the state was one of the reasons why many Syrians simply took the regime as a fact of life. But the outrage over the brutal response of the security forces to the outbreak of peaceful protest in the spring of 2011, documented and spread all across, through social media, helped generate ill feeling against the government.

Minority Rule

Syria is a majority Sunni Muslim country but the top positions in the security apparatus and government were in the hands of the Alawite, a Shite Muslim minority which Asaad family belong. A significant part of the Sunni still resent the fact that so much power is monopolized by a handful of Alawite families. While these sectarian differences may not directly be the driving force behind the uprising, the combination of a majority Sunni protest movement and an Alawite dominated military added to the tension in religiously mixed areas such as the city of Homs. (Manfreda, 2020).

Tunisia Effect

Maybe the wall of fear in Syria would not have been broken had it not been Mohammed Bouazzi, a Tunisian street vendor whose self-immolation in December; 2010 triggered a wave of anti-government uprising across the Arab world. Watching the fall of Tunisian and Egyptian regimes in early 2011, made millions in Syria aware that change was possible for the first time in decades (Ghanem, 2016: 39-64).

Actors and Players in the Syrian Crisis

Internally, the crisis proved a magnate for militant Islamists, including Al-Queda and this made the opposition to remain fractured both militarily and politically. This affected or hindered foreign support and efforts to end the crisis. Among the rebel groups in the Syrian crisis were – Syria Revolutionary and opposition force formed in 2012, Jabhat al-Nusra, Ahrar al-Shem, Supreme Military Council, Free Syrian Army and Islamic State etc. The polarization of the opposition hampered quick resolution of the crisis (Laub, 2014).

At the regional level, Assad was supported by Iran and Hezbollah in Lebanon – politically, logistically and militarily. At the regional level, the rebels were getting support from Turkey, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia because these countries supported the removal of Assad. They supplied arms and ammunitions and military training to the rebels. (Phillips, 2016: 80-82).

Internationally, Syrian government was majorly backed by Russia and China. Before the conflict, Russia was Syria's primary sponsor for decades and even during his father, Hafez reign as Syrian leader. Together, Russia and China provided aid and ammunitions to Syria, and also train its personnel. On the other hand, Syrian opposition receives support from the United States and European Union. The United States interest in the crisis was tied to the post-Cold War still evolving mission of "maintaining peace and freedom around the world as well as its role as the world superpower" (Phillips, 2016: 82-84).

Conceptual Clarification

Responsibility to Protect

This can be defined as the responsibility of states as well as international community to protect civilians from human right violations. It emerged from the human security framework which places the protection of human right at the centre of international peace and security norms and practice and was meant as a preventive tool. The onus was placed on the international community to assist states in fulfilling their responsibility to protect their citizens. If a state fails, or is failing, then the responsibility falls on international community. Since R2P was agreed to by the international community at the 2005 World Summit, the UN and its member states have sought to identify the precipitating factors that leads to violence, conflict and atrocities, and develop tools to address them before the situation reaches crisis point (Annan,2005).

The R2P developed out of the needs for a clear and coherent framework to respond to intrastate mass atrocity crimes. The inconsistent

and uncoordinated manner in which the UN and international community have exercised the contestable right of humanitarian intervention led to failed, apathetic, or incompetent responses to humanitarian catastrophes in many countries of the world. The inability of the world to reach a consensus on the appropriate response to humanitarian crisis before the loss of enormous amount of life has highlighted the need for a well-defined internationally acceptable and coherent set of parameters to guide the effective international responses to imminent or occurring mass atrocity (Ban Ki-Moon,2012).

R2P sets out the broader responsibility that states have toward their own citizens and the responsibilities states have as members of the international community and the responsibilities that institutions such as the UN Security Council have in preventing, responding to, and rebuilding after mass atrocity crimes(Evans,2012). Even though the prevention of mass atrocity crimes is the most important aspect of R2P, it does not reconcile the tensions that exist among parties in dispute. The case of Libya which is still enmeshed in violence conflict after the application R2P readily to comes to mind. R2P seeks to track the international responses to humanitarian and developing crisis within countries. The preventative tool delves into the action of key regional actors/organizations, the UN and the International Criminal Court (ICC). The R2P tool has three active pillars-

Pillar 1: Every state has the responsibility to protect its populations from the four mass atrocity crimes

Pillar 2: The wider international community has the responsibility to encourage and assist individual states in meeting that responsibility

Pillar 3: If a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take appropriate collective action in the timely and decisive manner and in accordance with the UN Charter (Welsh, 2019: 53-72)

United Nation Charter

The UN Charter is the basic norm governing international relations and also the cornerstone for maintaining international order in the world. Chapter 1 of the Charter lay out the principles of the United Nations. The essence of the principles is to bring about settlement of dispute by peaceful means, to take collective measures for the suppression of acts of aggression, and to remove threats to peace. Article 4 in Chapter 11 warn against member states using force or interfering in the internal matter of sister nation. Article 7 of Chapter 11warn the UN of interfering in a member state's matter, but should rather bring the state and the matter to the UN for settlement. But chapter VII states that States cannot intervene in a member state matter except the UN determine the existence of threat to peace, breach of peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security(Xingo,2012).

Following from the above, the UN Charter does not give the Security Council power to push for regime change as it was done in Libya, where Resolution 1973, which authorized a no-fly-zone in order to protect civilian was abused by US and NATO to effect regime change in Libya. That was a gross abuse of the doctrine of the R2P.

UN Legal Status of Responsibility to Protect

R2P is often perceived from the angle of humanitarian intervention through the use of the military. In doing this, they overlook the broader goals of the doctrine-first state responsibility and second the responsibility of the international community to assist states to fulfill this responsibility. While some activists may be attracted to R2P as a legal tool, the consequence of doing so involve redefining sovereignty and expanding the scope of potential intervention and these options are not tenable in most of the states. More than a legal framework, R2P is conceived as a framework for the prevention and containment of massive human right violations(Halt,2012). The architects of the 2001 commission document which established the R2P incorporated legal, political and moral language in order to define a vast and persuasive set of responsibilities to appeal to all levels of the international community.

This far-reaching framework cannot be said to accurately constitute a norm of international law, not only because it developed outside the normative vacuum but also within an existing and comprehensive legal framework. It comprised of UN Charter and customary legal documents such as the Genocide Convention and the statute of the International Criminal Court of Justice. Even though R2P cannot be said to lack legal character having conform to the

document of international law as contend in the Article 38 of the International Court of Justice, it is a political commitment towards existing, but contested legal responsibilities best articulated in its current (Bellamy and Raikes,2010).

Humanitarian Crisis

This can be defined as a singular event or series of events that threatened the health, safety or wellbeing of a community or large group of people. It may be an internal or external conflict and usually occurs throughout a large area. In the above situation, local, national and international responses are necessary to tackle it. Each humanitarian crisis is caused by different factors and as such humanitarian crisis requires a unique response targeted towards the specific sector affected. Humanitarian crisis can either be natural disaster, man-made disasters or complex emergencies. In such cases, complex emergences occur as a result of several factors or events that prevents a large group of people from accessing their fundamental needs, such as food, clean water or safe shelter (www.globalhealthciences.ucf.edu).

Examples of humanitarian crisis include armed conflicts, epidemics, famine, natural disasters and other major emergencies. There is no simple categorization of humanitarian crisis, rather different people or communities and even agencies tend to define it depending on the situation that confronts them.(www.ifre.org).

Refugee Crisis

This can be referred to as difficulties and dangerous situations in the reception of large groups of forcibly displaced people. This can happen as a result of incidents in their country of origin, or other displacement or problems while on the move. It can also result from the problems in the host country after arrival due to large groups of displaced persons, asylum seekers in that country. Among the common causes of refugee crisis are civil war, human rights abuses, environmental disaster and climatic changes. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee, as of January, 2020, 79. 5 million (41.3 million internally, 25.9 million registered; 20.4 million of these under UNHCR, 5.5 million under United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), 3.5 million asylum seekers had been displaced worldwide (www.unher.org).

Syrian Peace Process

This is the initiatives and plans that has been put in place to resolve the Syrian civil war. These peace processes have been moderated by Arab league, the United Nations special envoys on Syria, Russia, Friends of Syria and Western powers. The parties in the conflict negotiations are the government of Syria and the opposition groups in the war.

Arab League and Russian Initiatives

The first attempt to find a lasting solution to the impasse and bring stability to the Middle East nation began in 2011, when the Arab League launched two initiatives in 2011 and 2012, without much success. Russia also in 2012 and 2013 held talks in Moscow, which the opposition refuse to attend, vowing never to discuss with Assad government.

Geneva 1 Conference

The Geneva 1 conference on Syria or the "Action Group Conference" was held in June, 2012 in Geneva. It was initiated by the former UN Secretary General, Koffi Annan. Kofi Annan later withdrew from the negotiation, sighting insubordination from the parties in the conflict. (Orazgaliveva,2015).

The Geneva 11 Convention

The Geneva 11 Convention was a UN backed initiative in 2014, aimed at bringing peace to Syria. Lakhdar Brahimi, the UN peace envoy to Syria after the resignation of Koffi Annan tried to incorporate powerful nations like United States, Russia, Britain and France into the peace process, but at the end no agreement was reached.

Astana Opposition Conference1

There was also the Astana opposition conference of 2015 in which the opposition agreed for an election in 2016 but Assad led government rejected it. The conference was mediated by Kazakhstan, Deputy Foreign Minister, Askar Mussinov and the Director of the French Centre for Political and Foreign Affairs, Fabien without success Baussart (Cengiz, 2020).

Vienna Peace Initiatives 1 and 11

In 2015, there was the Vienna Initiative put forward by the Foreign Ministers of US, Russia, Turkey and Saudi Arabia to find a lasting peace in Syria. The first round of the talk in October, 2015, comprised all the big five in the UN Security Council and other 15 countries. The second round of the Vienna talk held in

November, 2015, harped on the need for Syrian government and opposition to meet for formal ceasefire and resolution of the conflict.A day after, Syrian government released a statement that she can't negotiate with foreign terrorists.

Geneva 111 and 1V Syrian Peace Conventions

After the failure of the Vienna peace talk, the UN peace conference started again in Geneva, in what can be said to be Geneva III,in January, 2016. At this conference, the government and opposition refused to sit on the same table for discussion and again in 2017, the Geneva IV, February-March, 2017, was convened for talks between Syrian opposition and government under the auspices of the United Nations but ended in dead-lock (Ziadeh, 2017).

The Astana 11 Peace Talk

Meanwhile, by January, 2017, the Astana peace talk was organized and it ran through to September, 2018, as Russia, Iran and Turkey tried hard to broker peace deal between the government and the oppositions in Syria to no avail. The Sochi National Dialogue on Syria convened by the Russia government which had over 1,500 delegates from both sides failed to unlock the deadlock. The ninth round of the Astana Peace process took place in March, 2018. As at December 2019, attempts to reconcile Syrians was on going. (Cengiz, 2020).

Methodology

Before the outbreak of the violence in 2011, there was tension everywhere in Syria because of Bashar Assad repressive policies The study adopts the narrative and descriptive method of data analysis in the unfolding events in Syria. Using content analysis, humanitarian efforts, conflict resolution conventions, reports was complimented, using relevant books and journals articles. The articles utilized and analyzed the failure of R2P experiment in Libya and how it has frustrated its implementation in Syria.

Theoretical Framework

The paper adopts liberalism theory to explain humanitarian intervention in Syria. The theory emphasized the need for the well-being citizens and their rights, protections of civilians from human right violation such as genocide and crime against humanity. However, it emphasized that such intervention should not be undertaken unilaterally, but rather multilaterally with the authorization of the UN Security Council. This is because liberal internationalists believed that multilaterism prevents great powers from pursuing 'national interest' rather than humanitarian objectives in intervention, which is the hallmark of liberalism (Charvet and Kaczynska,2008:3).

Politics and Interest in the Application of Responsibility to Protect

As pointed out by Paris (2014), R2P intervention is mostly motivated by self-interest. The political commitment to accomplish the objectives is fueled by interest and politics among the powerful nations in the UN Security Council. Also, Nurazzaman (2014), points to the flaws in the concept and application of the doctrine of the R2P.According to him, it has undemocratic and unsustainable premises since it discriminates between the powerful and weak nations in its application, e.g., Russia in Crimea, China in Taiwan, US and allies in Libya. This shows that the R2P can only be exercised by powerful nations against the weak states.

In furtherance of its politics, the pro R2P western countries have insisted that the UN Charter was formulated more than 60 years ago, but the international situation has undergone tremendous changes since then. With globalization, military conflicts happening in one country imposes threats on regional and even international peace and security. The argument by these western powers has made them to ignore the stated norms as enshrined in ICISS 2001 document, UN Secretary General Endorsement report of 2005, UN General Assembly Report in 2005 and Ban Ki-Mon Report in 2009, which abhor regime change in its implementation. (Nurazzaman, 2014).

Looking at the reports and the R2P modus operandi so far, the controversy has been very obvious since its formulation. Many countries fear that the doctrine may become a tool in the hand of the powerful nations to interfere in the affairs of the weak nations, or that it may be applied selectively. Alluding to this fact, Weiss (2013), explained that the legal prospect of humanitarian intervention has been completely eroded by the US and NATO mission in Iraq, and that taking actions irrespective of principles has led to irresponsible and selective use of interventions, thereby weakening the legitimacy of the practice. The 2001 report states clearly that armed intervention can only come as a last resort after every non-military channel such as

mediation, arbitration and sanctions has failed. Considering the huge humanitarian disaster in Syria, why has R2P not been implemented in Syria? Why has it not been implemented in Bahrain and Yemen?

The Syrian Situation

After the R2P experiment in Libya, pundits had thought that Syria would be next, considering the fact that over 593,000 people have been killed, and over 12.2 million are in dire needs of humanitarian assistance since the beginning of the conflict in 2011. With over 7.6 million internally displaced persons (IDP's), the worst and largest number in any conflict in the world ever, nothing has been done and even when nuclear weapon was used in 2013 in what President Obama said was crossing the 'red line' yet nothing was done. A lot of factors may have hampered the implementation of the R2P in Syria despite these grave crimes against humanity

Among the factors that has prevented the implementation of the R2P are politics and interest in the UN Security Council, regional politics, situation in Syria and the location or logistic in its implementation etc. Proponent of the R2P pointed to unethical postures and actions by Russia and China, the two non-Western powers that used their veto power to torpedo UN Security Council resolutions on Syria. Critics, on the contrary opined that R2P heavily hinges on moral advocacy, but is susceptible to the unfolding nature of politics of the five permanent members of the UNSecurity Council which has its acute reflection on Syria. It is of note that NATO operation in Libya did not promote the R2P norms and Britain, France and the US would not intervene in Syria; where the costs of intervention outweigh its strategic benefits (Halliyade, 2016: 215-247).

Logistically, Libya stands within the easy military reach of European powers and US military bases located all around. The absence of these strategic advantages has made intervention in Syria a really difficult job. There is a high risk that intervention in Syria would draw in Russia and Iran with the potential to ignite a wider regional and possible global war. The regional powers and organizations in the region have been divided in the case of Syria because of R2P misuse and abuse in Libya. In Syria the cost of implementing R2P would outweigh the interest due to its location (Carment and Landry,2014).

Activities of group like ISIS, al-Nusra (an affiliate of al-Qaeda) and other militant groups in Syria has made the western countries to worry that a post intervention Syria might fall into the hands of Islamic extremists, thereby making Syria the hub of terrorism and militancy like Libya, Iraq and Afghanistan.

Lastly, as strategic partners, Russia and China have made sure that R2P intervention is not implemented in Syria. This shows clearly how divergent the US and Russia interests in Syria are and why intervention was not an option for the US. And it's very unlikely that international consensus on future R2P action can be recreated when great powers interests are directly at stake.

Humanitarian Assistance and Response to Syria Crisis

The US is leading other countries in providing humanitarian assistance and aid to Syrians. The US has provided nearly $108 million in additional life-saving assistance for those affected by the war in Syria in March,2020. This new funding brings the total U.S. humanitarian assistance in response to this conflict to over $10.6 billion since the start of the crisis. The funding supports the operations of the United Nations, including the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and other international and non-governmental organizations. It will provide shelter, water, medical care, food, protection, and other necessities to millions of people suffering inside Syria and nearly four million refugees from Syria in the region. It also helps mitigate the impact of the crisis on governments and communities throughout the region that are straining to cope with the mass influx of refugees from Syria(Otagus,2020).

Despite these efforts, the UN appeals for humanitarian aid to address the crisis in Syria are only 38% funded, resulting in cutbacks to food and other essential services. The United States has been committed to assisting those affected by this terrible war and strongly urges all governments, organizations, and individuals concerned about the situation to support life-saving aid efforts of UN and other partners. In the same vein, other countries who have complimented US effort concerning Syrian situation are Britain, France, Canada, Germany, European Union, Australia, China etc.

The Challenges in R2P Implementation in Syria

Firstly, the UN Security Council is divided along the West and the Eastern bloc (the United States and its allies and Russia and China on the other side). This division in the UN Security Council has made Russia and China to veto all the resolutions that could have led to the implementation of R2P in Syria. Syria is an ally to Russia, with a lot of Russia's investments in Syria, and also China where she has made Syria its ready market for arms and infrastructural development in return for raw materials. This has made the two countries to always rely on the UN Charter of non-interference in other countries sovereignty in blocking all attempts of intervention in Syria. Even when chemical weapon was used in the war, Russia sponsored Resolution 2118 on the destruction of the chemical weapon with strict adherence to UN Charter standard. The Human Rights Council adopted a resolution 22/24, calling for quick intervention in Syria in the face of deteriorating human rights and humanitarian situation in Syria – with forty in favour and six against. Yet the then U.S. Secretary of State, John Kerry and Russia Foreign Minister opted for a peaceful destruction of the chemical weapon. (www.securitycouncilreport.org).

Another notable challenge in humanitarian intervention in Syria is the politics of interest. According to Wendt (1996:334), interdependence among nations contributes to shaping the collective identity of states, asserting that nations define their national interest according to their own conditions and norms, including systemic and internal factors. The US and NATO was quick to intervene in Libya so as to protect its multinational oil companies in Libya and also gain access to the Petro-dollar in that country. From the beginning of the Syrian crisis, the United States had said that she has no direct interest in Syria, except to protect and enhance democracy globally. Because of the politics of interest in the UN Security Council, in all diplomatic attempts or initiatives since the beginning of the Syrian war they never mentioned the use of force to save the dying population. All the resolutions never mentioned R2P intervention which should include force on the home government.

The strategic logic of this type of mission leaves much to be desired and how the use of force can prevent mass atrocities and to uphold the principle of R2P (Doyle,2011:72). This quagmire has not been answered in depth. The Libya operation, therefore represents an experiment, it posed a lot of challenges. As it turned out, the result wasn't encouraging for the future R2P. It can be argued that the Libya operation and its aftermath exposed deep tension and resentment in the strategic logic of preventive humanitarian intervention in the heart of R2P (Welsh,2011:261).

The lack of a 'Libya-like' international military response to the Syrian emergency also reflected the Western allied reservations about the feasibility and possible repercussions of intervening in Syria. In the early 2012, US military reportedly warned the White House that intervening in Syria would be a daunting and protracted operation, with the potential of killing a vast number of civilians and plunging the country into civil war.Senior British military officials also conveyed the same message to their government later that year and also some independent analysts also reached the same conclusions(Bemuiller,2012; Lynch, 2013). In the light of the above, there appeared to be prudential reasons not to intervene in Syria, including the danger of causing even more harm.

Conclusion

There is no denying the fact that R2P has and will continue to raise argument among members of the international community about its implementations. The R2P framework has not helped forged consensus in the uses of full range of diplomatic, political, humanitarian, and as a last resort military measures, in conformity with the UN Charter and other established principles of international law for citizens' protection. Therefore, international community should be rigorous in its efforts of exhausting all peaceful means available in protecting civilian population under the threat of violence and should conduct a comprehensive and judicious analysis of the possible consequences of military action using the R2P principle, as in the case of Syria. The use of force should be limited in its legal, operational and temporal elements and the scope of military action must abide by the letter and spirit of the mandate conferred by the UN Security Council or General Assembly. The UN Security Council should monitor and assess the manner in which resolutions are interpreted and implemented to ensure responsibility while protecting. The level of humanitarian crisis in Syria is such that has never been experienced since the forced migration during the Second World War. Therefore, there are needs on the part of the United Nations, Arab League, International Community, Friends of Syria and Syrian

International Support Group, to help displaced people and refugees return to their homes and countries, especially in Syria.

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ABUJA RESIDENTS' PERCEPTION OF MASS MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE 2023 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT
This study assessed Abuja residents' perception of mass media coverage of the 2023 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria. Previous studies have either looked at print media, broadcast media or social media coverage of elections in Nigeria. This study examined mass media coverage of Nigeria's 2023 presidential election campaign. Elections in Nigeria, especially presidential usually polarize Nigerians along the ethnic background. This contributes to existing literature by examining the issue. The objectives of the study were to: Determine the extent to which Abuja residents were exposed to mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria, find out the mass media channels through which Abuja residents were exposed to the 2023 presidential election campaign, and find out Abuja residents' perception of mass media coverage of 2023 Presidential election campaign. The researcher used a survey research method. The researcher found that the majority of Abuja residents were highly exposed to mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria. Further findings revealed that Abuja residents were exposed to the mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign through the radio medium. Also, 38% of the respondents perceived mass media as less effective in the coverage of the 2023 presidential election. The study concludes that most Abuja residents were highly exposed to mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in

Nigeria and they accessed the coverage through radio medium. The researchers recommended that subsequently, political parties in Nigeria should use the radio medium to pass their campaign messages than other forms of media since most respondents accessed the 2023 presidential election campaign through the medium.

Introduction

Societies all over the world recognised that the media – print, broadcast, and now new/social media are an indispensable link between leaders and governance on the one hand, and between government and the governed on the other. In Nigeria, the media, in general, has long been a vital national organization involved in mobilization and nation-building as well as a repository of knowledge on a wide range of political, social, and economic topics. It is impossible to overstate the importance of the media to democracy. Some academics even contend that the media is essential to democracy.

This position is rooted in the recognition and understanding that the media undergirds, monitors, and strengthens the entire electoral process from the registration of voters, through the actual voting process and the announcement of electoral outcomes or results, as well as the management of public opinion and perception in post-election period (Yakubu, 2018). Mass media is very essential to democracy in all societies because access to information is essential to the health of democracy for at least two reasons; firstly, it ensures that citizens make responsible, informed choices rather than acting out of ignorance or misinformation, and Second, information has a "checking function" that makes sure elected officials follow the wishes of the people and their oaths of office. elected them (Centre for Democratic Governance 2009). Since the fourth republic's founding in Nigeria in 1999, there have been seven general elections in the country namely 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015, 2019, and 2023 general elections.

An election can be described as a procedure that allows members of an organisation or community to choose representatives who will hold positions of authority within it. Araba and Braimah (2015) opine that election is an integral part of a democratic process that empowers the citizenry to determine fairly and freely who should lead them at every level of government periodically and take decisions that shape their socio-economic and political destiny. Elections are the public's source of power, but to use its muscle effectively, it has to know where candidates and parties stand on public policy issues. The candidates' positions must be fully and truthfully covered by the media. (Asemah, Nwammuou, &Edegoh, 2012).

Periodic elections constitute one of the cornerstones of a democracy. In Nigeria, just like in other climes, elections are part of the democratisation process. As a periodic endeavour, elections constitute a critical segment of the institutional framework for actualising the essence of democracy (Klaus, 2020 as cited in Ogbodo, Ugbo, Duru, & Jibrin, 2021).

The use of strategic tactics is crucial in winning the hearts and minds of the electorate, who are the determinants and kingmakers in any democratic, free, fair, and transparently credible election. Kediehor, 2019, p. 211). The electorate generally relies on the mass media during electioneering campaigns to provide the needed information for them to make well-versed decisions. The mass media through their fundamental functions educate the electorate (Asemah, 2011, cited in Ezegwu, Enem, and Ndife, 2016). They serve as a vital link between political candidates and the electorate. The media serves as a platform for political parties and their candidates to campaign for votes. Through their coverage of political activities, the public can make wise choices for the political candidates and parties to vote for.

Elections take place all over the world in contemporary, modern civilisation and as a result, they are the focus of a great amount of interest and coverage from the media. People from all over the world pay attention to the elections in Nigeria since it is the black nation with the most people and is seen to be the giant of Africa. As a consequence of this, greater dependency on the media for obtaining information on the electoral process, the parties

and campaigns in the media are closely followed by citizens to decide on theirvoting behaviour (Arijeniwa & Nwaoboli, 2023).

However, some of the presidential candidates strongly campaigned during the election, especially APC, PDP & LP. They traverse across Nigeria to woo the electorate to vote for them. Except NNDP which campaigned mainly in Kano. All of them used the mass media to execute their political campaigns. It is against this backdrop that this study examined Abuja residents' perception of mass media coverage of the 2023 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria.

Statement of the Problem

The mass media are charged with the responsibility of helping people monitor the events going on in society, thereby giving them ideas about the threats and opportunities in society. However, the mass media do not only provide people with information with which they make rational decisions about their lives, but they also perform the functions of interpreting the daily events that are reported as a way of analysing the events in terms of the context in which they occur During elections and other activities that mark the political system, the mass media are relied upon by the people for important information, education, education and direction for the right voting choices (Obot, 2009 as cited in Santas, 2020).

Although media coverage of Nigerian election campaigns has been studied by various scholars, the existing studies include Voter turnouts in elections (Adigun, 2020, cited in Ogbodo, Ugbo, Duru, & Jibrin, 2021), Looking from the outside in: A study on the international media coverage and framing of Nigeria's 2019 general election (Elega, Oloyede, &Ozad, 2021), voters' perception of government-owned broadcast media coverage of political candidates' campaigns in the 2019 gubernatorial elections in Lafia, Nasarawa State, Nigeria (Santas, 2020) and newspaper framing of the 2019 Nigerian presidential election (Ogbodo, Ugbo, Duru, &Jibrin, 2021) and A content-analytical study of the *Vanguard* newspaper online coverage of the 2023 NigerianPresidential election (Nwaoboli, &Ajibulu, 2023).

However, there have not been any studies that examined Abuja residents' assessment of mass media coverage of the 2023 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria. Therefore, this particular study becomes significant in filling the existing gaps in the approach to studying the assessment of mass media coverage of the 2023 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria, especially among Abuja residents.

Research Questions

1. To what extent are Abuja residents exposed to mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria?
2. Through which of the mass media channels were Abuja residents exposed to the 2023 Presidential election campaign?
3. What is the Abuja resident's level of satisfaction with the mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria?
4. What is the Abuja resident's perception of the mass media during the 2023 Presidential election campaign?

An Overview of the 2023 Presidential Election

The Nigeria Presidential election was held on February 25, 2023. Eighteen (18) candidates and political parties contested for the election. The election was held in 774 Local Government Areas in Nigeria. There were 176,606 Poling Units and 93, 522,272 million registered voters. During the gubernatorial election, INEC deployed more than 1.3 million ad-hoc staff, police deployed 310,973 personnel and 1, 240 patrol vans for the election (Angbulu, 2023). Why the Nigeria Civil Defense Corps deployed 102, 000 for the election (Olugbode, 2023).

The 2023 Presidential election witnessed the lowest turnout of voters which INEC put at 29 percent. The 2019 election saw a 35 percent turnout (alijazeera.com 2023). In 2023 INEC used the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System device better known as BVAS in the 2023 presidential election. Bola Tinubu, the former Governor of Lagos State and nominee of the All-Progressives Congress won the disputed election with 36.6% of the vote, 8,794, 726 total votes. His main rival Atiku Abubakar polled 29% or 6, 984, 520 and Labour's Peter Obi polled 25% or 6,101,533 while Raibu Kwankwaso of NNPP scored 1,496,671. According to official results, voter turnout was 27%, one of the lowest since the end of military rule in 1999 (Orjinmo, 2023).

Presidential Candidates and Party Campaign Strategies in 2023 Election

Ordinarily, election manifestos should represent values and opportunities for progress and change in society. Manifestos 'are ideally a product of a negotiated process by different actors and groups within each political party and offer an official statement of a party's policy proposals' (Mubanga 2016). Manifestos should also outline the problems and issues that a political party presents to the public during the elections. But on close examination, the manifestos of political parties in Nigeria are not distinctive from each other in their approach to the core issues, policies, and programmes.

Nigerians were blitzed with pledges, slogans, and social media messages months before the 2023 general elections. Candidates attempted to present their different programmes through rallies, statements to the media, and televised media programmes. After the party primary conventions in June 2022, millions of party members and supporters embarked on a massive social media campaign that galvanised support in a country where social media usage and activity have become a household obsession.

Nigeria's 2023 presidential election was described as the nation's most fiercely contested since the end of military rule in 1999 (Bwala, Ogao& Winsor, 2023). During the campaign, various groups organised debates for key political contestants in the country. Adibe (2023) notes that Tinubu, touted as a master tactician by his supporters managed to evade debates after a speech to an audience in the UK in December 2022, he left it to his aides to respond to most of the questions he was asked. The PDP candidate, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar attended a few town hall meetings, especially the one organised by Channels Television, and also engaged Nigerians through other media Channels. The Labour Party candidate, Mr. Peter Obi was visible in most of the town hall meetings and media interviews. He also engaged Nigerians on his verified social media handles such as; Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. The three main candidates (APC, Bola Tinubu, PDP; Alhaji Atiku Abubakar & LP, Mr. Peter Obi) dominated the political space and campaigns in the 2023 presidential election campaign. Not much was heard of other candidates, apart from Raibu Kwankwaso of the New Nigerian Peoples Party (NNPP) who campaigned only in Kano State.

Senator. Bola Tinubu

Tinubu, 70, represented the All Progressive Congress (APC). The political veteran previously served as governor of southwestern Nigeria's affluent Lagos state, where he was born. Better called "Jagaban" by his supporters, Tinubu promised to enhance security, tackle mounting debt, and improve state infrastructure during his campaign and his three-point agenda was; economy, security & anti-corruption. President Tinubu, during the campaign, refused to participate in the town hall meetings. His team and social media followers repeatedly attacked and accused ARISE News of bias in coverage of the election campaigns.

Alhaji Atiku Abubakar

Abubakar, 76, represented the main opposition Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). Hailing from Adamawa State in northeastern Nigeria, the veteran politician and business tycoon served as the country's vice president from 1999 to 2007. He has run for the presidency six times all of which he has lost. With a presidential campaign theme called "My Covenant with Nigeria", during the 2023 presidential campaign, Abubakar vowed to make unity, and peace and improve the nation's economic prospects if he wins.

Mr. Peter Obi

Obi, 61, ran on the ticket for the Labour Party. The businessman-turned-politician previously served as governor of Anambra State in southeastern Nigeria, where he was born. As a relative political newcomer, Obi amassed immense support among Nigerian youth with his campaign promises to unite and rebuild the country by tackling issues such as insecurity and unemployment. His backers, known as the "obedient" say he is the only candidate with integrity.

Obi's emergence would be remembered for giving the establishment parties a run for their money and extreme influence. Until his emergence, a third force unsettling the status quo was a mere wish. Nigeria's electoral history post-1999 shows that presidential elections used to be a two-horse race between an incumbent party and an often weak main opposition party.

For Obi, it was for his sterling record that PDP picked him for a joint ticket with Atiku in 2019. The same public record made him a popular choice by Nigerians on social media when

various parties were shopping for candidates in the first quarter of 2022. Obi's popularity thus, singled him out as a sought-after iconic face to lead a third-force movement. Another thing that made Obi a selling candidate for the third-force movement in the 2023 presidential election was his ability to court the establishment and existing power brokers even while maintaining a counter-cultural posture. Diplomacy is one of Obi's strongest power: everyone, including those who are on the opposing aisles, is an 'elder brother/sister' (Okokiko, 2023).

Empirical Review

Ogunleye & Adeleke (2023) examined the impact of Obidients use of social media on political participation in the 2023 presidential election. The study's objective was to evaluate the impact of Obidients use of social media on political participation in the 2023 presidential election. The researchers used a quantitative approach in collecting survey data from Obidients' social media followers and analysing the data using statistical methods. The social identity theory was used in the study and the findings of the study suggested that Obidients' use of social media had a positive impact on political participation, particularly among young people and first-time voters. The researchers recommended that political candidates and parties should prioritise social media in their political campaigns and use it as a tool to engage with citizens and encourage political participation.

The research work is similar to this one in terms of methodology but differs in subject matter as Ogunleye & Adeleke (2023) looked at the impact of Obidients use of social media on political participation in the 2023 presidential election. Whereas the current study assessed mass media coverage of the 2023 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria, especially among Abuja residents.

Nwaoboli, & Ajibulu (2023) carried out a content-analytical study of the *Vanguard* newspaper's online coverage of the 2023 Nigerian Presidential election in Nigeria. The objectives of the study were to examine the tones and frames used by the *Vanguard* newspaper (online) in the coverage of the 2023 Nigerian presidential election. The researchers adopted a content analysis research design and the researchers analysed136 news reports and found out that The *Vanguard* newspaper (online) majorly used the attack tone and strategy frame to report the campaign issues to the public. The researchers recommended that the *Vanguard* newspaper and other Nigerian media outlets should make more use of the policy issue frame because it would help Nigerians make informed decisions on whom to vote for during the election. The researchers also discouraged the dominant use of attack tone as it can trigger rift amongst supporters of the electoral candidates. Nwaoboli, & Ajibulu's (2023) study is different from the current study, particularly in the method and theoretical framework. The researchers used content analysis research design and framing theory. While the current study used the survey research method and perception theory.

Santas, Asemah & Jumbo (2020) evaluated the role of the mass media in the mobilization of women for political participation in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Nigeria. The authors adopted a survey research method. The authors found that 40.3% of the women were well exposed to media messages geared towards moblising them to participate in the election and 37.7% of them affirmed that they received political messages via radio. The authors recommended that women should be encouraged by stakeholders in society to venture into politics. The similarity between the research work and this one is that both used survey research design, this research however took a step further by focusing on the assessment of mass media coverage of the 2023 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria, especially among Abuja residents. while the previous work by Santas, Asemah & Jumbo (2020) focused on mass media in mobilizing women for political participation in the 2019 gubernatorial election in Nigeria. The previous work was conducted in 2020 while the current work was conducted in 2024.

Oriola (2021) examined the direction of selected newspapers' framing of the 2019 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria. The researchers adopted a content analysis method. The study content analysed straight news stories of the campaign published in 480 editions of the selected newspapers - *The Guardian*, *Daily Sun*, *The Punch, Vanguard,* and *Nigerian Tribune* - between November 18, 2018, and February 21, 2019. Findings revealed that the patterns of framing of Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in the selected newspapers were high frequency, low prominence, the ruling and opposition parties-dominated, largely issue-specific framed, mostly framed around horse

race, balanced between pro and anti-major contender – the APC and PDP - and mostly framed as castigation. The researcher recommended that journalists should be guided in their use of framing devices, to ensure balanced and objective coverage of election campaigns.

The similarity between Oriola (2021) and the current study is that both of them studied election issues. In terms of the difference, the previous work adopted a content analysis research design, five newspapers were studied and the study was carried out in 2021. Whereas the current work used the survey research method and was carried out in 2024.

Theoretical Framework

Perception Theory

The researchers utilised perception theory to explain thestudy. Perception theory is applied when people interpret media messages to agree with their already-held beliefs and judgments. The perception theory was propounded in 1960 by Klapper (Asemah, Nwammuo & Nkwam-Uwaoma, 2017). It is absolutely one of the limited effects theories that show how individuals perceive things differently as a result of their different cognitive structures of needs, perceptions, beliefs values, attitudes, skills, etc. According to the theory, perception is the process by which individuals select, organize, and interpret inputs to create a meaningful picture of the world. The basic argument of perception theory is that member' attitudes, beliefs, culture, values, needs, and motivation have a way of affecting their perception and response to media messages that will be helpful to them, they selectively expose, attend and retain themselves to only information that will be useful to them. In other words, perception requires exposure to stimuli, as well as a specific level of attention paid to the stimuli, before the stimuli are understood by the audience Ezinwa (2014 as cited in Ezegwu, Obilichi, Agbasimelo, &Omokhapue, 2021).

The theory explains why one audience's perception of a message may differ from another audience's interpretation of the same message. The theory is relevant to this study because of the differences in the way Abuja residents perceived or viewed how mass media covered the 2023 presidential election campaign. Each audience comes up with his or her interpretation of the media coverage of the election. Some may view the coverage as good; some may view it as bad depending on their level of exposure and knowledge about the 2023 presidential election coverage.

Methodology

The researchers adopted the survey research method for the study. This method is considered appropriate because the study is restricted to the Abuja residents' assessment of mass media coverage of the 2023 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria. The population of this study refers to the number of individuals living in FCT, Abuja, Nigeria during the period the research is been conducted. The population of the study comprises all residents of Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Abuja. The projected population of FCT in 2023 according to the National Population Census (NPC, 2022) of Nigeria is 3, 464, 600.The researchers used Wimmer Dominick'snick online calculator with an error margin of 5% at a confidence level of 95% to determine the sample size of the study.The sample size for the study was 384.

Sampling Technique

Purposive and convenience sampling techniques were used to arrive at the selection of 384 respondents. A purposive sampling technique was used to select four major areas: Gwarinpa, Gwagwalada, Garki, and Kubwa. The selection was based on the fact that they are areas considered to have people who could provide reliable information on the subject matter and there are a lot of literate residents here, who are assumed to have followed the 2023 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria. The convenience sampling technique however was used because people from these select places were easily accessible. The convenience or available sampling technique was used to select Ninety-six (96) respondents from each of the areas. This amounted to a total of 384 respondents.

Data Presentation and Analysis

This chapter is concerned with data presentation, analysis, and results. The researcher made use of a questionnaire as the instrument of data collection for this study. Three hundred and eighty-four (384) copies of the questionnaire were distributed to the respondents in Abuja. Out of the 384 copies distributed, only 364 copies were retrieved and

they were all found useful. Thus, the presentation and analysis were based on the 364 copies. This was considered adequate because it represents 95% of the return rate of the questionnaire. The demographic data of the respondents indicate that 192 (53%)are females, while 172 (48%) are males. The age brackets of the respondents indicated that 18 and27 (36%) accounted for most, while the age bracket of 48 and above (15%) was the smallest number of the respondents sampled. Further analysis revealed that unemployed respondents were 109 (31%). The analysis showed that 246(68%) respondents were married while 118(32%) were single.

Table 1: Extent of Exposure to Mass Media Coverage of the 2023 Presidential Election Campaign

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Very High	104	29
High	190	52
Can't Tell	13	4
Low	23	7
Very Low	34	9
Total	**364**	**100**

The data in table one was designed to ascertain the extent of exposure to the 2023 Presidential election campaign among Abuja residents. This table revealed that most respondents were highly exposed to mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria.

Table 2: Mass Media Channels Through Which Respondents Were Exposed to the 2023 Presidential Election Campaign

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Television	105	29
Radio	127	35
Social Media/Internet	72	20
Print media	45	12
None of the Above	15	4
Total	**364**	**100**

Table2 above revealed that 35% of the respondents were exposed to the 2023 presidential election campaign through radio medium.

Table 3: Level of satisfaction with the mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign among the respondents

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Very satisfied	30	8
Satisfied	22	6
Can't tell	75	21
Less Satisfied	112	31
Not Satisfied	125	34
Total	**364**	**100**

The data in table 3 above indicated that 34% of the respondents were not satisfied with the mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria.

Table 4: Respondents' perception ofthe mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Very Effective	26	7
Effective	16	4
Can't tell	62	17
Less Effective	139	38
Not Effective	121	33
Total	**364**	**100**

The data in table 4 above indicated that 38% of the respondents said that the mass media were less effective in the coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria.

Discussion of Findings

This question sought to determine how much Abuja residents were exposed to mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria. Quantitative data generated from table1showed that 104 or 29% of the respondents said they were exposed to mass media coverage of the 2023 Presidential election campaign very high, 190, or 52% of respondents said they were highly exposed to the issue, 13, or 4% could nottell whether they were exposed to the issue or not, 23 or 7 % respondents said they were exposed to the issue low, while 34 or 9% respondents said very low. This implies that most Abuja residents were highly exposed to mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria. This showed that mass media kept the Abuja residents abreast of Nigeria's 2023 presidential election campaign issues. Asemah (2021) observes that the mass media are known always to set an agenda for the public to follow, this they do by raising salient issues, occurrences, and events, as they happen in society and bringing them to public glare.

The essence of research question two was to identify the mass media channels through which Abuja residents were exposed to the 2023 Presidential election campaign. The findings showed that Abuja residents were highly exposed to the 2023 presidential election campaign through radio medium. The data in table2 revealed that 105 (29%) respondents said they were exposed to the 2023 presidential election campaign through television, 127 (35%) respondents said through radio, 72 (20%) respondents said it was through social media/internet, 45 (12%) respondents said through print media while 15 (4%) respondents said none of the above. Radio is very effective in information dissemination. Asemah (2020) observes that in Africa, radio is one of the most widespread and popular tools of communication. Radio is a vital communication tool for many developing countries. Similarly, Ezegwu & Madaki (2023) add that other advantages of radio over other media channels are; that radio has a wider population reach, radio messages are immediate and easily catch the listeners' attention, and radio message is often delivered to people's dialect.

The aim of research question three is to find out the Abuja residents' level of satisfaction with the mass media coverage of Nigeria's 2023 presidential election campaign. Findings showed that the majority (34%) of respondents were not satisfied with mass media coverage of the 2023 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria. Also, research question four objective was to ascertain the Abuja residents' perception of the mass media during the 2023 Presidential election campaign.

Findings also showed that respondents perceived the mass media as less effective in coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria. The data in table 4 indicated that 139 (38%) respondents said the mass media were less effective in the coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria. This finding is in agreement with the perception theory used in the study. This is because of the differences in the way the audience perceived or viewed the manner mass media covered the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria. Each audience comes up with his or her interpretation of the mass media coverage of the election. Some residents felt that the mass media have not done well in the manner of the coverage, especially given more attention to the ruling party/candidate, others felt the mass media have done well. All these views expressed by the residents were depended on their level of exposure and knowledge about the election coverage.

According to Ezegwu, Obilichi, Agbasimelo, & Omokhapue, (2021), perception theory helps to explain the process by which an individual select, organises, and evaluates stimuli from the environment to provide meaningful experiences for him or her. This means that people focus on certain features of their environment to the exclusion of others. The audience automatically chooses which information to notice. This selection depends on different perceptual filters based on the consumer's earlier experiences (Smith, 2011, cited in Agbo, 2016). The theory explains why audience members react to particular messages differently.

Conclusion

The study establish that most Abuja residents were highly exposed to mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria. Abuja residents were exposed to the mass media coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign through the radio medium. Also, most of the respondents perceived mass media as less effective in coverage of the 2023 presidential election campaign in Nigeria.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings, the researchers, therefore, recommend:

1. The mass media should continue to educate, enlighten, and moblise Nigerians on election issues during electioneering campaigns.

2. In subsequent elections in Nigeria, political parties should use the radio medium more to pass their campaign messages than other forms of media since most respondents accessed the 2023 presidential election campaign through the medium.

3. The mass media should avoid any conduct in their relationship with political aspirants or political parties that would jeopardise their integrity and professional ethics. They should carry out their jobs effectively and efficiently.

4. The mass media should strive to give level playing field to political parties and candidates that aspire for any given election equal chance in terms of coverage. No candidate or political party should receive more coverage than the others.

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THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE AND RELIGION ON GENDER INEQUALITY AND IT IMPLICATIONS ON WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

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KEYWORDS
Culture, Religion, Gender Inequality, women empowerment, Africa

ABSTRACT
Gender is intrinsically linked to culture that is why culture has continued to be one of the major determinants of gender Inequality. Gender defines the norms and values regarding masculine and feminine roles and behaviour, which is a major threshold of gender inequality. Gender is not dependent on biological sex and sexual orientation, although it only has an unstable relationship with biological sex because it can influence how individual view and participate in gender roles. Culture has always been the main determinant in both domestic and communal activities. Religion focuses on patriarchy and androcentrism. Religion acts as an oppressive deceptive mechanism used by the patriarchal society to exploit women based on defined gender roles and not by biological differences. This paper sets out to differentiate gender and sex as two different entities, focusing on how gender is heavily influenced by cultural and religious expectations and not by biological differences, which in turn creates gender roles and these gender roles further energizes gender inequality. In the light of the above assertions, possible recommendations to eliminate or drastically reduce gender inequality were suggested.

Introduction

Gender Inequality is an extremely old phenomenon deeply rooted in many cultures across the world. It can be traced to a period in history when humans began to settle. The first inkling of gender Inequality started emerging when human societies decided to abandon their wanderlust in favor of agricultural settlements. In 1990s, historian Gerda Lerner discovered that gender inequalities were already rooted in middle eastern societies by the second century BCE. Gerda found out that the idea of valuing men over women was a cultural practice arising in pre-history before written records emerged. In order to justify her claims, Archaeologists Marta Cintas-Pena and Leonardo Garcia Sanjuan, from the University of Seville in Spain decided to dive into archaeological records to find out if she was sight. Their study was published by the European Journal of Archaeology. The result from their analysis of 500 graves on the Iberian Peninsula, estimated to be between 5000 to 8000 years old, showed that, although majority of the bodies exhumed were undetermined sex, many of which were children. However, of the 198 bodies whose sex were known, men were overrepresented.

It was observed that the number of male graves were far higher than the number of female graves. This could indicate that in the

Neolithic society, men were more likely to afford proper burials in comparison to women. Men were also more represented in cave art from the time. Items discovered in some graves showcased clear differences. In the male graves, weapons and other items of value were discovered whereas graves for females were more likely to have ceramics and pottery.

Nevertheless, some graves revealed some similarities in that the 'best' graves did not always belong to men. This shows that men did not always exhibit fundamental superiority over women, which further indicates that gender differences may have risen as a result of cultural development and practices rather than biological factors or differences as we have been led to believe.

These findings could help to answer certain questions and debates about whether gender inequalities are determined by biological differences or by human culture. According to Cintas-Pena;

If we say that gender inequality began in the Neolithic, or in the Copper Age or in any period, it means that it's something cultural and not something biologically determined. The emergence of gender differences was likely just one of many profound changes that took place in Neolithic society along with social inequalities that arose as people started to accumulate private property.

This means that gender has nothing to do with biology, rather, it is an indoctrination of humans into accepting a gender role formulated by society. This is done to best fit individuals into social structure. In other words, gender is a social structure and like a soul, it is fictional. Inasmuch as different cultures have different expectations of gender roles which are more closely tied to biological sex, it does not mean that gender is biologically determined. To say this in a different way, gender inequality originates from historical traditions and not from biological differences.

How Culture set the pace for Gender Inequality

Culture is a set of behavioral expectation society assigns to a sex. It acts as a mechanism in which gender roles, identity and stereotypes are built on as well as the parameters regarding sexual behavior. Variations in gender-related behaviors between individuals are affected by culture. The emphasis on culture is the reason there are many gender stereotypes in the world (Bigler & Liben, 2007). This emphasis is so strong that by age two or three, children are already aware of gender roles and can label others' gender. Most children are firmly entrenched in culturally appropriate gender roles at age four or five (Kane 1996). Gender Inequality is a social phenomenon where people are given prejudical treatment on the basis of their gender and it can be influenced by different cultural and religious beliefs. Gender inequality can take different forms like job segregation, lack of bodily autonomy, lack of political representation, lack of legal protection and religious freedom, etc. and these have a direct link to culture and religion. Culturally, it is believed that women are subordinate to their male counterparts and this can be seen in different sectors of the economy, politics, education, etc.

Gender is intrinsically linked to culture that is why culture has continued to be one of the major determinants of gender Inequality. Gender defines the norms and values regarding masculine and feminine roles and behaviour, which is a major threshold of gender inequality. The more culture changes, the more gender norms change. For instance, in the olden days, men used to be the ones wearing high heels and grooming their Afro hair but that shifted to women in recent times. Pink used to be associated with boys but now it is a girl's colour. Super tight and thin tights like yoga pants used to be considered extremely masculine when it was a staple of men's wear, often paired with a codpiece but are now feminine garment. Today, we regard men who tilt towards this behavior as eccentric. This shows that gender performances and norms are cultural concepts. This norms and values contribute to the establishment of stereotypes that dictates the way women and men should act within their cultural context and how they should be treated. If gender is biologically determined them how does one determine his or her gender without being informed about it? Evidently, a human who grew up alone on an island would not have a clue about his or her gender. If such human does not have anyone to learn from about his or her colour, which clothes and behaviour are masculine and feminine, such human would be unaware of any boundaries or any gender norms. If the same human meets other humans with similar experiences, they will align as far as interests and behaviour is concerned. Whether a person's characteristics aligns more closely with other men or other women is innate and should not be linked to culture.

Technically, our bodies do not decide what dress are associated with girls, the society does. Gender expression is influenced by culture and society dictates culture. The idea that a girl should play with dolls and boys play sport are completely put in place by the society and not by our biological differences. This silent and subtle training into patriarchal and matriarchal conformity imprinted into African institution (Ozumba 2005) is a direct effect of culture. This training makes boys feel stronger, important and indispensable while girls on the other hand are groomed to see and accept themselves as weaker sex or even as accessory to the men (Ojukwu,2015). This idealogy makes the birth of a male child in an African family more celebrated than the female. Bello in Lewu (2015) describes this discriminatory action thus: "people come to facilitate and greet the birth of a girl child with less glee than that of a boy. Some people even respond to questions on the set of a new baby girl by saying it is another "asawo" that is "prostitute", especially if the mother had given birth to many female children in the past"(564). This often results in family crisis when a woman fails to give birth to a male child in spite of having several female children because culture has indoctrinated its participants to believe that only a male child can guarantee the continuation of the family lineage. This cultural brainwashing makes a male child gets more educational attention than the female, since girls do not need book knowledge to perform their traditional roles which include raising children, giving birth, cooking, cleaning, etc.

Gender is only an artifact of a socially accepted form of indoctrination. For example, in some culture, men are not expected to breastfeed infants because most men are incapable of doing so. But in rare medical cases, this can happen. Similarly, some cultures do not expect women to go to war, not because women are incapable of going to war, after all, we had seen many women fighters in war, such as Queen Moremi, etc. But traditionally, women have been expected to do the baby thing by default and not expected to war. Another example is in the area of cooking, which is a task culturally gendered and determined by default to be a woman's thing but have no biological reason. Before the production of modern food appliances and packaged food, cooking for a family was, most of the time an all-day task, coupled with the archaic system of preserving leftover with nothing. What this means is that, one needed to not work outside the home in order to cook. In culture where men worked outside the home in mines, manufacturing trades and field, women were at home doing both the baby and cooking thing. But in culture where women farm and men craft from home, men cook. Cooking is just one of the numerous cultural expectations, humans do not have real compelling reasons to follow them, but they do anyways. The heavy expectation that women should perform all or most reproductive labour, such as childbirth, cleaning, cooking and several other tasks necessary to support human life is the primary factor limiting them from participating in economic activity outside the home. This is not linked to biological differences or limitations.

It is important to emphatically state that gender has no link with gender roles. Gender roles are cultural expectations whereas gender is a consequence of perinatal neurodevelopment. It is an inner sense of maleness or femaleness that may or may not correspond to biological sex. It does not in any way show supremacy of men over women. Stereotype, discrimination, inequalities were put in place by culture either as a control mechanism or social orderliness. What this means is that gender and sexual orientation are unrelated because a man may be female-bodied and attracted to men. They are some exceptional men who are capable of breastfeeding. Some people can have the innate sense of being both male and female or neither because neurodevelopment is not binary or fixed.

Therefore, gender is not dependent on biological sex and sexual orientation. Gender only has an unstable relationship with biological sex because it can influence how individual view and participate in gender roles. Culture has always been the main determinant in both domestic and communal activities. The society uses several methods to enforce gender roles. The use of proverbs in daily conversation to portray and emphasize stereotype among male and female in order to ensure that both gender acknowledge and revere their gender stance in the society (Adomako-Ampofo,2001; Boateng et al,2006). Girls are taught to look up to boys while boys are taught to lead and control women. These assigned roles exist in community norms to maintain social influence and authority over women (Nukunya 1992; Abu, 1991). This shows that culture is a tool used by society to maintain social hierarchy leading to gender inequality. Therefore, gender inequality is fueled by the patriarchal societal construction of gender assigned roles and supported by religion. Culture

and religion have always been the major determinants of gender inequality and these are man-made factors. In an African society, patriarchal concept and gender individualities remain the cause of misery to women across all works of life. The total dependency on men has further exposed women to offensive and odious practices in the name of culture, such as Female Genital Mutilation rites in Yourba and Efik land, the 'Kule' or 'Bashiga' system in Hausa, Widowhood rites in Igbo. In Hausa land for instance, there is the 'Purdah' system or Bashiga which stops Hausa women and girls between the age of puberty from leaving the house unaccompanied and socializing. The widowhood rites exposed widows to dehumanizing treatments of unprintable things (Ebo,2015).

According to (Reeves & Baden,2000), defending certain culture and tradition is often a ploy used by the patriarchal society to justify practices that restricts women's life chances and outcomes. Any effort to dispute with power imbalance or to change gender roles are often defended and denounced as westernization. These traditions and custom that encourage division of gender roles and these practices are passed from one generation to another (Boateng et al.2006) making it almost impossible to alter and women are often expected to strictly comply to cultural customs and traditions than men(Women Manifesto for Ghana,2004). The supremacy men have over women exposes women to sudden fear and intimidation. Sometimes when they decide to resist these cultural norms and values, they usually face harsh consequences.

With the increasing global debates and conferences targeted at enforcing and protecting women's right, diverse studies have disclosed that women are still confronted with severe restrictions (Adekile,2010; Folarin&Udoh,2014; Aluka,2015; Chaves,2018). It is in light of the above that the International Treaties under the protection of the United Nations were provided. Examples of such treaties is 1979 Convention for the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW). Regardless of all the efforts at exterminating gender inequality, women are still marginalized (Stitches&Parpart,2019) because we are yet to come to terms with the fact that gender and gender roles are two separate entities. The denial and restriction of this knowledge will continue to fuel gender inequality in our society and in turn increased the level of poverty among women. As long as women are left with fewer opportunities to enhance their economic conditions(Zuckeman,2002) gender inequality will continue to thrive and the agenda for sustain Development in 2030 would become impossible (United Nations 2018).

The Link between Religion and Gender dominance

In a situation where gender hierarchy and fixed roles control the social landscape, we cannot deny the role of religion in creating and maintaining social, economic and gender inequality in the society. Religion dictates the status of women and has continually been a foundation upon which gender inequality rests on. It is assumed that gender roles are constructed through culture, religion and upbringing (King 1995). Modern data provided evidence that religion affect gender roles in the home (Ellison and Bartkowski, 2002; Read 2004). Women in religion have been conditioned to see themselves as subordinates to men because it is the divine will of the All-knowing God. This conditioning of the mind puts women at a disadvantaged both domestically, economically and professionally.

According to Woodhead, 2004, religion is a systematic distribution of power engaging directly with the power source (God/sacred power). This is why most religious followers, especially women, are more inclined to believing or obeying their religious leaders more than any other because they are supposedly the representative of the sacred power(God). So whatever instruction passed out by these leaders are being followed to the latter by their followers. The iconography and language of most religion portrayed God as male and by extension, men are viewed as masters by divine right and this further promotes sex segregation because hypothetically, since God who controls the whole universe Is a "Man", then it is only natural for men to control women. The fear of God will therefore not allow women to revolt against this injustice.

Some emerging patriarchal dispositions of religion, have stifled some of the changes in the status of women which means that the status of women in religion is the same with the status of women in the society. Most religion focuses on patriarchy and androcentrism. Patriarchy means an all-male power structure that favours men over women. Traditional religious texts are exclusively the creation and experience of men, taken as normative while experiences of women

are relegated to subordinate roles and excluded from significant religious rites. Androcentrism, on the other hand, is the privilege of the male, both in language and thought. It also means that male experience is one-sidedly equated with all human experience. This experience has been taken to be a universal norm by men and women alike, without equal recognition to women's experience. This is seen in the use of "man" as a universal generically "human", which makes it exclusionary because it erases women as subjects (Juschka 2001, pp.2-3).

Religion enforces and normalises patriarchal Institutions presenting men's superior status in society as 'God's will', thereby making women to accept their inferior status as good Christian behaviour, not because women are biologically weaker than men. This has a direct influence on a country's economic development (Dollar and Gatti,1990) because in reality, when you empower women, you empower a nation.

From the mid-20th century, there has been a lot of criticism of the conventional gender roles that religions like Christianity and Islam have imposed. Many radical feminists argued that Christianity, Islam, Judaism, etc promote patriarchal societies by using religious texts and dogmas to justify their superior status over women in the society. Other feminists opined that some religions were originally women-focused but men found a way to twist the doctrines and used it for their own advantage throughout history. According to (Sait&Lim, 2006) religion preaches equality of all human whether male or female, interms of sex, race or nationality. El Saadawi (1980) supported this claim that religion may not be inherently patriarchal, it just happened to be in a world where social structures are extremely patriarchal and men shaped its doctrines over history to make it justify their superior status in the society. Religion has nothing to do with biological differences but societal status.

Simone de Beauvoir (1949), a French feminist, identified religion as a tool of deception and direct control in society. She used the working class in Marxist theory to compare the religious deception of women. This deception can be understood by (Holm1994) as normative conditionality and practical conditionality. Holm defined normative conditionality as equality of men and women before God and practical conditionality describes and allocates roles to women in religious community. Most religion emphasizes equality of men and women before God but in practicality, this is not so. There are multiple deceptions to show how the male perspective had dominated the meaning of religious myths which have had adverse effects on gender roles. We can see from the unequal laws and imbalanced enforcement in religious texts only used to regulate women;

- The Quran instructs both men and women to be stoned to death but in several cases men escape this punishment as we saw in the Biblical case of the adulterous woman whereas her partner in crime, the man, was exonerated.

- Most religion allowed men to have more than one wife but women are not allowed to have more than one husband. Many prominent religious patriarchs had more than one wives, examples, Abraham, Jacob, Esau, King David, King Solomon, Mohammed, etc. Even the story of Adam and Eve have been told from a patriarchal perspective throughout history.

- In Islam, the religion forbides women during their periods of mensuration and pregnancy from touching the Quran or entering the mosque (Holm 1994) because they are considered unclean.

- Christianity, Islamic and even Judaism instruct women to desist from mounting the pulpit to preach nor lead in prayers in the gathering of men (1Corinthians14:34-35, Al-Muhalla2/167).

All these are oppressive deceptive mechanism used by the patriarchal society to exploit women based on defined gender roles and not by biological differences.

Religion is used as a compensation for women for occupying a second-class status in society. Traditional religions indoctrinate women to view their motherhood position as a divine status, thereby making them think that staying home and out of public life is the best choice for them. Inarguably, the role of mothers and housewives is considered the most oppressive because it comes with total financial dependency on men. This can lead to exploitation through unpaid domestic labour. The only way to break patriarchal control is to reject the false compensation of religion which makes women live in a 'planetary sexual caste system built on exploitation (Mary Daly, 1968). Daly criticized Christianity for removing historical religions with

powerful female gods thereby creating a set of myths based on male superiority. She further argued that Christianity downplayed the role of important female figures, citing the example of Mary Magdalene, who played a significant role in spreading Christianity.

Another feminist theologian, Carol Christ (1994) tried to move away from the patriarchal perspective of religion by introducing female spirituality. Christ called it embodied spirituality. Embodied spirituality is an idealogy that there is a Goddesss who is omnipresent and connects the universe. The representation of this Goddess has been in existence for centuries. Examples are the Venus of Willendorf, the Macha Earth Goddess from ancient Ireland, the Goddess Anansa from the Efik kingdom of Calabar people in Cross River State, Nigeria, etc. These Goddesses were both worshipped for their fertility and nourishment and they have been present in folklore and other mythological stories of almost all cultures and nations. But the patriarchal doctrines of traditional religions coupled with the patriarchal society play a part in diminishing the popularity of these powerful female Gods.

Recommendations

Access and participation in culture should be seen as a fundamental right, knowing that this right is applicable to everyone without distinction of any kind, including gender. In agreement to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights(UDHR) approved by United Nations General Assembly in 1948 made it known that "everyone has the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and it benefits"(Article 27, paragraph 7). The Declaration further pointed out in Article 2 that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedom set forth in this Declaration". Everyone referred to include all individuals, all humans regardless of race, sex, colour, language, political, religion, property, birth or status. By judiciously abiding to this principle, cultural or human rights for everyone, whether women or men will be safeguard.

Evidently, culture is dynamic and it is constantly evolving. Many cultural activities evolved continuously and a lot of these activities have also been discarded as knowledge increases, alternatives are pursued. It is crucial to adopt a reflective analytical view in order to comprehend and expound on the power links that corrobate discriminatory activities embedded in many societies and institutions beginning with the family, since that is the first agent of change. Also, since there is no way to undeniably show that only one or more groups should exercise authority over the other, or that one or more groups should have no or little right to communicate, then it is better to give everyone a chance to assist in defining their community's collective structure, which should not in any way be harmful to one group, in particular women in the community. In UNESCO Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural right, Farida Shaheed reiterates that when taking a human right stance, it is not in our place to ascertain "if culture and tradition dominate over women's human rights and to what degree but focus should be on ensuring that women are allowed to posses their culture, inclusive of religion and tradition as well as their human rights(UNESCO report, p.5). This is not about imposing a new culture of a new hierarchy, nor is it about putting women's right above tradition but instead, it is to ensure that women have as much say as the men in the definition of what makes tradition. This means that in the making of tradition and culture, women should be part of the discussion leading to the validation of the practice, agree to it, subscribe to it and listen to, as seriously as their male counterpart.

In addition, women should be given the right to ascertain and decipher cultural heritage, choose which cultural practices are to be retained without modification and which to be modified as well as the ones to be eliminated. In cases where women themselves agree and encourage discriminatory practices that is apparently harming them,(UNESCO report, p.53) states that "while it is vital to tackle social norms and taboos that result in discrimination and recognize that victims may often conspire in their victimization for many reasons, communities also need to be aware of what these are in order to address them appropriately and in terms acceptable to the people involved".

To change or mimimise patriarchal system of religion, women should adopt a religious language that is different from the male-centered standard used by all traditional reigions. Women need to start looking for spirituality from within themselves rather than looking for religious guidance above. Carol Christ (1997) called it embodied spirituality because there cannot be one interpretation of spirituality. Sexism and Patriarchy must not be used as yardstick for evaluating creativity and

leadership because sexismisrootedintheideathatcertainbehaviorora bilitiesareinherenttowomenormenand this forms thebasics for discriminationagainstwomen.

Female religion scholars should develop a practical "participatory hermeneutics" which involves advocacy and personal engagement and also a theoretical "hermeneutics of suspicion" which examines all traditional practices of religion. June O'Connor (1989) had simplify this task as "rereading, reconceiving and reconstructing religious traditions. By 'rereading', it means religious phenomenon must be critically studied with consideration to women's presence and absence, words and silences. "Reconceiving" needs the collection and recovery of lost sources and suppressed visions while "reconstructing" focuses on linking the past happenings to new paradigms for thinking, understanding and evaluation. This will enable a dynamic transformation, showing that a profound change is social structures and thought patterns is deliberately sought and worked for.

Finally, at this stage of humanity's global presence, it is no more possible to work with exclusively hegemonic models of thought drawn from only one gender. It is imperative to consider all genders and their differences in any historical analysis and theories.

Conclusion

Gender has no relation with biological difference. Gender is a product of culture while sex is a product of nature. Since gender is a social construct, it depends on how a culture or society configures it. The fact that gender roles vary in time and place illustrates their true nature as constructs. Something that gradually evolved, reinvented and upgraded cannot be a product of an important human characteristics. Gender roles are a social technology (customs, traditions, etc) that help societies function smoothly and efficiently. As societies perfect themselves, they can afford to permit more social latitude, as they declined, personal freedom also decline. Culture is reflected in every aspect of who we are as human being. It creates gender expression to conform to gender identity. Culture dictates the norm, not biological differences because there is no biological criteria for women to have long hair and men to have short, nor men to wear pants and women to wear dresses and skirts.

Culture and religion continue to be the dominant determinants of gender inequality. Dorminant religious teachings have heavily influenced gender, as many religious teachings, scriptural statements, religious rites and beliefs are patterned by gender differences, even when gender remains unacknowledged. Religion and gender do not function independently of each other but they are embedded within each other in all religious worlds and experiences. This deep embeddedness of gender in religion makes it difficult to separate the two from each other. Until culture and religion are completely alienated from gender, gender inequality will continue to take root in our society. In order to mimimise patriarchal system of religion, women should adopt a religious language that is different from the male-centered standard used by all traditional reigions. Also, in the making of tradition and culture, women should be part of the discussion leading to the validation of the practice, agree to it, subscribe to it and listen to, as seriously as their male counterpart.

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AN EXAMINATION OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH DELAYED MARRIAGE AMONG YOUTH IN TARAUNI L.G.A., KANO STATE

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Delayed marriage, youth, Tarauni L.G.A., qualitative research, education, stigma

ABSTRACT
In the wake of globalization, technological advancements, and large-scale social change worldwide, youth attitudes and opinions on marriage have undergone transformations due to the multidimensional development of human society, including educational and economic changes. The phenomenon of delayed marriage has become increasingly prevalent among youth in contemporary Nigeria, posing substantial social, cultural, and economic implications. This pressing issue of social concern affects thousands, if not millions, of individuals. In Nigeria, individuals who experience delayed marriage often face ridicule, mockery and individual stigma from relatives and peers. This study investigated the factors contributing to delayed marriage among youth in Tarauni L.G.A., Kano, Nigeria. It explored socio-economic factors, consequences, perceptions surrounding delayed marriage, and potential strategies to reduce its occurrence in the area. The researcher adopted a qualitative research design and employed purposive sampling, selecting eight respondents for in-depth interviews. Thematic summary was used to analyze the data, describing, summarizing, and interpreting it based on the research objectives. The results revealed that various factors contribute to delayed marriage among youth in Tarauni L.G.A., including joblessness, educational pursuits, personal preference and choosiness, particularly among women. This research provides valuable insights into the phenomenon of delayed marriage among youth in Tarauni L.G.A., Kano State. The study confirms the prevalence of delayed marriage, high awareness among the population, and offers a comprehensive understanding of its contributing factors, effects, and potential mitigation strategies.

Introduction

Marriage is as old as human society. The evolution of human society is characterized by the development and diffusion of institutions that facilitate societal survival. Marriage, a paramount institution, regulates conjugal and filial ties, thereby contributing to the preservation and continuation of societal structures (Wimalasena, 2016; Okunlola et al., 2023). Marriage is a socially and legally sanctioned institution, defined by the voluntary union of two individuals of opposite sexes, with the intention of forming a lifelong partnership, building a family, and maintaining exclusivity(Asien et at, 2020). For the purposes of this research, delayed marriage refers to individuals who have not entered into a legally recognized marital union by a certain age or stage of life that is considered typical or expected within the cultural and social context of Tarauni L.G.A. In traditional Nigerian society, adult males are socialized to prioritize marriage as a demonstration of masculine identity and responsibility, which is actualized through the roles of husband, father, and household head (Smith, 2020; Adebowale, 2018). Similarly, young individuals in Tarauni Local Government Area are also expected to adhere to these cultural norms and expectations.

Moreover, in the wake of globalization, technological advancement and large-scale social change across the world, attitudes and opinions of youth regarding marriage have tremendously changed due to multidimensional development of human society including educational and economic changes. Delayed marriage becomes a serious issue because those who delay marriage while their peers have already settled down and started families are often ridiculed, bullied, and labeled as subjects of social shame. In extreme cases, individuals especially in Africa and Asia are even forced into marriage against their will, leading to unfortunate events. This issue concerns not only the individuals involved but also the society as a whole. It is against this backdrop that this study seeks to investigate the factors associated with Delayed marriage among youth and also the negative effects it has on their well-being. The family institution is critical in human society, and any dysfunction within it translates to a serious problem that affects all other institutions. In recent years, the average age at which people get married has been steadily rising across the globe. Carroll (2017) notes that this trend is observed for both men and women in every region of the world. He further added that in many developed countries, more than 50% of marriages now take place after the age of 30.

Globally, individuals who experience delayed marriage are frequently subjected to ridicule and stigma from their social cycle which lead to social ostracism and labeling as objects of shame. This phenomenon especially affects women, who face intensified societal pressure and scrutiny. As noted by Chen and Tong (2021), these social consequences can have profound psychological effects, including diminished self-esteem, life dissatisfaction, reduced fulfillment, and depression among unmarried adult men. Furthermore, parental distress and depression may also arise among parents who eagerly anticipate their children's marriage. These findings show the pervasive and deleterious impacts of societal expectations surrounding marriage with regard to delayed marriage. Nevertheless, according to the results of a study conducted by Brian et al. (2015), despite all the transformations that marriage may go through and in spite of all changing of attitudes towards marriage, marriage remains an important role for many young adults.

Problem Statement

The phenomenon of delayed marriage has become increasingly prevalent among youth in contemporary Nigeria, posing significant social, cultural, and economic implications. This significant issue of social concern affects thousands if not millions of individuals. Unmarried individuals in northern Nigeria, for instance, are often subjected to direct and indirect emotional and psychological abuse via societal pressure. Unfortunately, such insensitive and outrightly cruel behavior are more likely to push them into developing emotional problems such as depression and anxiety. Thus, they suffer a lot of misery and endure feelings of inadequacy, low self-esteem and hostility – for situations that are more often than not, completely outside their control (Abdulmalik, 2023).Thus, delaying marriage sparks a lot of situations where individuals may experience unequal treatment. For example, in religion affairs, political affairs, or community leadership, an unmarried person is rarely seen as a leader. The assumption is that when a person is married, they have assumed certain responsibilities and are more psychologically and mentally stable. In line with this, Akpan (2022) observes that increasing belief that unmarried individuals are less deserving of being

considered responsible just because of their marital status is both concerning and gaining credibility. This is in addition to the mockery and ridicule that single adult experience, either playfully with their peers or other community members.

Significance of the Study

The study will contribute to the existing body of knowledge on the factors influencing delayed marriage, providing a deeper understanding and shedding more light on unique factors that may be at play. The findings of the study will also inform policymakers and local authorities in Tarauni Local Government about the factors contributing to delayed marriage. This can help in the development of targeted interventions and policies to address these factors. The findings of this study will serve as a foundation for future research on related topics, such as the consequences of delayed marriage, the impact of delayed marriage on gender dynamics and equality, and interventions to support individuals in making informed decisions about marriage timing.

Research Aim and Objectives

This study is part of a larger research project that investigated the factors contributing to delayed marriage among youth in Tarauni L.G.A., Kano, Nigeria. It explored the socio-economic factors, consequences, perceptions surrounding delayed marriage, and how delayed marriage could be reduced in the area. This article is an extract from that research, examining how delayed marriage affects individuals and society in this part of the metropolitan Kano. This part of the research aims to find out the factors contributing to delayed marriage among youth, and how it impacts their lives, relationships, and societal roles. It explains what those who are experiencing delayed marriage are going through in the society. The study aims to examine the effects of delayed marriage on various aspects, including family relationships, social status, economic stability and mental health. On the whole, this article aims to contribute to the discussion on the social and economic implications of delayed marriage in Nigeria's urban centers.

Methodology

This study adopted qualitative research design. Qualitative research method was initially used in psychological studies when researchers found it tedious to evaluate human behavior in numbers. The population of this study typically included youth in Tarauni Local Government Area (L.G.A.) in Kano State, who are eligible for marriage or within the age range that is commonly associated with marriage but were not married, community leaders and religious leaders. Moreover, this study used purposive sampling which, according to Creswell & Creswell (2017) is vital in social research due to its focus on selecting specific participants who possess unique insights or experiences relevant to the study's objectives. Using this sampling technique, 8 respondents were selected for interview from whom the qualitative data was collected. The primary data for this study was collected using In-depth interview. The data was analyzed using thematic summary by describing, summarizing and interpreting the data based on the research objectives.

Literature Review

Although delayed marriage is a phenomenon that has received relatively little attention from researchers, there is a body of existing literature on the topic. Despite the presence of these literatures, significant knowledge gaps persist. Most of the studies conducted in this area primarily used quantitative approaches. These include Akhter & Bhat (2018), who studied " Late Marriage Consequences and Concerns among women of Kashmir Valley" and Karamat (2016) who studied "Perceptions on Implications of Delayed Marriage: A Case Study of Married Adults in Kuala Lumpur." They all employed quantitative methods for their studies. Nevertheless, this study was conducted specifically to explore the negative implications of delayed marriage. It was also conducted in northern Nigeria, unlike others that were either conducted in the south or foreign countries. In addition to its unique objectives, this study will adopt a qualitative approach, which sets it apart from previous research. Rehim et al. (2023) argue that the increasing trend of delayed marriage is an important and noteworthy phenomenon for it has significant implications and consequences on individuals, families, and society as a whole. In addition, he believes that this shift in marriage is influenced by various factors, including social, economic, cultural, and psychological causes, and these causes contribute to the transformation of personal and societal values.

Factors Associated with Delayed Marriage Among Youth

Delayed marriage can be attributed to a myriad of societal and personal factors some of these factors include:

Economic Conditions: Difficult economic circumstances may discourage men from getting married or cause them to postpone marriage due to financial constraints that make it hard for them to meet their financial obligations and responsibilities as husbands (Wrenn, Yi, & Zhang, 2019; Kim, 2017; Krafft&Assaad, 2020).

Parental Influence: Adebowale (2018) believes that parental pressure influences marriage timing, and this influence of parents on marriage timing shows the relationship between family dynamics and individual choices in the decision to marry.

Educational Pursuits: Higher levels of education often lead to delayed marriage as individuals focus on their careers and personal development. This delay allows them to establish a strong educational foundation and secure better job prospects, enhancing their future financial stability (George, 2019).

Female Education: Maharaj and Shangase (2020) note that the majority of women wanted to delay marriage to a later stage. When asked about their goals for the next ten years, most readily gave details of their career plans. They aspired to further their education and were quite keen to obtain a postgraduate qualification. The majority did not perceive education as an impediment to marriage but rather viewed it as an asset.

Attitudes Towards Marriage: Today, many individuals view marriage as a deeply personal and transformative commitment that should only be entered into when they feel ready for the emotional and psychological demands it entails. Consequently, some may choose to delay marriage until they believe they have achieved a level of personal fulfillment, self-awareness, and emotional readiness that aligns with their expectations for marriage. According to Gündoğdu and Bulut (2022) due to shifting attitudes towards marriage, many individuals now prioritize economic stability and personal growth, leading to a preference for delayed marriage. Pursuing higher education, particularly postgraduate degrees, contributes to this trend, as does the focus on achieving career goals. Even those in relationships may postpone marriage to fulfill their professional aspirations.

Studies have shown that delayed marriage is a prevalent phenomenon globally attributed to various societal and personal factors. Economic constraints, parental influence, educational pursuits, and shifting attitudes towards marriage contribute to this trend. Youths in Tarauni L.G.A prioritize tertiary education for better career prospects, leading to delayed marriage, while others lack economic capabilities. Similarly, women in the area aspire to further their education and establish careers before considering marriage. The results of the above-reviewed literatures are also observable in Tarauni L.G.A.

Implications of Delayed Marriage

Studies have been conducted on the effects of delayed marriage on youth and society in general. Those studies proved that delayed marriage has a number of detrimental effects which include:

Intergenerational Gaps: Delayed marriage can create intergenerational gaps between parents and children affecting the quality of parent-child relationships.It could lead to disparities in values and perspectives between generations. This is because parents would grow older while their children would become younger. This is due to the fact that, at the time when the parents were supposed to take care of their children, they were single. (Akhter & Bhat, 2018).

Inferiority complex: persistent sense of inferiority can detrimentally affect self-esteem and interpersonal relationships of those experiencing delayed marriage.Those who experience delayed marriage in societies that highly emphasize marriage as an important institution, often face negative perception and stigma, making them feel inferior (Chen & Tong, 2021; Mohd Isa et al., 2022).

Premarital Sex: It is often likely that people who postpone marriage may become engaged in pre-marital sexual behaviour. As marriage gets delayed to later ages, unmarried people who are involved in pre-marital sexual behaviour also carry the risk of unintended pregnancies. It is associated with infidelity, promiscuity and spread of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Asien et at, 2020; Nduonofit&Nwala-Cadger, 2015).

Interpersonal Relationship Challenges: individuals who marry later may face challenges in forming and maintaining intimate relationships due to prolonged singlehood. Additionally, this may impact their ability to handle the complexities of emotional connections (Akhter & Bhat, 2018).

Reduced Fertility: Delayed marriage, especially among women as noted by Mathews& Hamilton (2016) has been associated with reduced fertility. As adults delay marriage, they are also navigating their reproductive lifespan, particularly for women, who have a limited window of fertility within which to conceive.

Risk of Remaining Childless: Delayed marriage increases the risk of remaining childless, which can be emotionally distressing for couples desiring children. The longer couples wait to start a family, the greater the potential impact on their ability to conceive and raise children (Mcllhaney & Sprigg, 2021).

In Tarauni L.G.A., delayed marriage has far-reaching consequences for youth and society. Studies have shown that delayed marriage can lead to intergenerational gaps, inferiority complex, premarital sex, interpersonal relationship challenges, reduced fertility, and the risk of remaining childless. These effects can have lasting impacts on individuals, families, and communities. In Tarauni L.G.A., where marriage is highly valued, delayed marriage can lead to negative perceptions, stigma, and emotional distress. Therefore, it is essential to address the root causes of delayed marriage and provide support for young people in Tarauni L.G.A. to navigate the challenges of marriage and family formation.

Data and Findings

Interview data were collected in Hausa language which is the native language of the interviewed respondents. It was audio recorded and transcribed verbatim to English language. As earlier mentioned, the respondents comprised eight community members and leaders in Tarauni L.G.A., Kano state.

Table1 Background Characteristics of the Respondents

S/N	Age	Sex	Marital status	Level of education	Occupation
1	48	Male	Married	NCE	Religious Leader
2	55	Male	Married	Degree	Community Leader
3	32	Female	Single	ND	Baker
4	29	Female	Single	SSCE	Entrepreneur
5	34	Female	Single	Degree	Class teacher
6	36	Male	Single	SSCE	Plumber
7	30	Male	Single	NCE	Civil Servant
8	35	Male	Single	Degree	Shop owner

Source: Madachi, I. K. (2024)

Out of the 8 respondents interviewed, as shown in Table 1, the majority 5, (62.5%) are males, while females account for 3 (37.5%) of the respondents. This is because Tarauni L.G.A is largely a patriarchal society, but where women are respected and given due consideration. Therefore, the data are gender-

sensitive, as they include the voices of women, which is essential since the topic deals with youth, comprising both males and females.

The age range of 29-38 years constitutes the largest proportion (75%) of the respondents, followed by the 39-48 years' age range (12.5%), and then the 49-58 age range (12.5%). This reveals a significant aspect of our respondents' profile, who are considered mature enough to provide valuable insights into the phenomenon being studied. All respondents were mature adults above 25 years old.

In terms of marital status, a larger proportion, 6 (75%) of the respondents are single, while only 2 (25%) are married. This is because the study's target population consists of single adults who have reached the customary ages for marriage but remain unmarried, making them ideal participants for providing firsthand information crucial to the research's success. The few married individuals among the respondents are community and religious leaders, as it is rare to find individuals of their stature in Tarauni L.G.A who are not married.

Regarding education, the majority, 3 (37.5%) of the respondents hold a degree, followed by NCE and SSCE, which account for 2 (25%) each. The remaining 1 (12.5%) holds a National Diploma. Their educational background indicates a high level of academic achievement, with the majority having completed their degree and the rest holding other higher institution certificates. Only two respondents have an SSCE certificates, which is a basic qualification, but at least they have some formal education.

The respondents' occupations are diverse, with no single occupation predominating. Notwithstanding, various professions are represented equally, each accounting for 1 (12.5%) of the respondents, including Religious Leaders, Community Leaders, Bakers, Entrepreneurs, Class Teachers, Plumbers, Civil Servants, and Shop Owners. This indicates that all respondents have a source of income, ranging from those who are well-off to those who struggle to make ends meet. As a result, the perspectives of both the affluent and the struggling individuals are equally represented.

The findings of this study revealed that multiple factors contribute to delayed marriage among youth in Tarauni L.G.A. The primary factors include joblessness, educational pursuit, personal preference, and choosiness, predominantly among women. Additionally, the research identified various detrimental effects of delayed marriage on the society of Tarauni and on individuals experiencing it. At the societal level, these effects include abandoned babies, abortions, infidelity, mental health pressure on parents, moral decadence, and substance abuse. At the individual level, the effects include emotional and psychological distress, health concerns, stigma, difficulties in partner selection, and constant pressure and interrogation. Furthermore, the study explored the youth's perceptions on reducing delayed marriage in Tarauni L.G.A., which include promoting early vocational training and employment, reforming traditional marriage practices, changing attitudes and expectations regarding partner selection, encouraging honest communication in relationships, government intervention in job creation, and addressing cultural spending expectations associated with marriage ceremonies.

All interviewed respondents demonstrated awareness of delayed marriage as a burgeoning phenomenon. Some respondents expressed the belief that this issue extends beyond Kano state or Hausaland, with a global proliferation of the problem. For example, an Imam, a religious leader, noted the prevalence of delayed marriage in Tarauni and highlighted the universality of the issue. He said:

> *Of course, there is a prevalence of this problem in this area, and I think it's everywhere today. Not only in Hausa land, but I hear people talking about this issue on the radio, television, etc. (IDI with religious leader from Tarauni L.G.A., 2024).*

Corroborating the above, another male respondent, who is also experiencing delayed marriage, added that:

> *Well, there is a presence of this issue in this area, and I believe it is now frequent almost everywhere. There are people that I know who have reached the ages of marriage but are still yet to get married. I'm even younger compared to some people that I know, both the men and women (IDI with an unmarried male from Tarauni L.G.A., 2024).*

The initial respondent, a religious leader, exhibited awareness of the delayed marriage phenomenon. The subsequent respondent, who is personally experiencing delayed marriage, also acknowledged its prevalence in Tarauni L.G.A. nevertheless, he noted that despite having attained the customary marriageable age in Tarauni, he is still relatively younger compared to some unmarried individuals within his social circle.

Moreover, although several factors were identified by the respondents, joblessness emerged as the most prominent contributing factor. All of the interviewed individuals, including both males and females, community leaders, and religious leaders, cited joblessness as a key economic factor contributing to the proliferation of this problem. There was a unanimous consensus among the respondents that joblessness is the primary contributing factor. A community leader mentioned:

> *Even if there are other factors that contribute to this problem, those two things that is, joblessness and laziness from the part of guys and choosy behavior by the girls, are what stand out and contribute the most. The males don't have a stream of income while the females prefer those who are ready-made (Interview with a community leader, 2024).*

Agreeing with the community leader's testimony, one of the female respondents also opined that:

> *The number one factor for men is about joblessness. Second, their preferences also play a role in delaying them from getting married. Some would say they will only marry daughters from well-to-do families, or else they keep waiting (An unmarried female respondent, 2024).*

Both the community leader and the second speaker recognize unemployment and selectiveness as obstacles to timely marriage. Moreover, the second speaker's perspective differs in attributing selectiveness to men as well, whereas the community leader primarily associates it with women. This suggests a more clear understanding of the issue, acknowledging that selectiveness is not exclusively attributed to one gender.

The phenomenon of delayed marriage has been found to have numerous effects on the society of Tarauni L.G.A., as well as on the individuals concerned. According to the respondents, some of the effects include illegal abortions, infidelity in the form of illicit sexual behavior, and the production of children out of wedlock, which contravenes the societal standards of Tarauni L.G.A., Kano. A religious leader further emphasized this point, saying:

> *Whoever is acquainted with media or would hardly pass a week without hearing news of people picking up a baby thrown away by his parents. Such babies are thrown away because they were born out of the wedlock. After that, there is a frequency of abortion among the youth. These are some of the serious effects of this issue in this area (IDI with a religious leader, 2024).*

Agreeing with the above, an unmarried female respondent buttressed that:

> *This problem leads to a high level of infidelity in society, where both men and women engage in various forms of illegal sexual activities. I believe this also leads to the production of children out of wedlock, which inflicts pain and shame on the family of the girl and especially on the children themselves. There is also a frequency of abortion, which affects women's health (An unmarried female respondent, 2024).*

The first speaker and the second speaker both acknowledged the new phenomenon of giving birth to children outside of wedlock, which contravenes the norms and standards of Tarauni L.G.A. They also decried the prevalence of infidelity and illegal sexual activities among youth, noting that illegal abortion is another issue exacerbated by these activities, which in turn affects women's health.

The research respondents identified a multitude of specific challenges faced by individuals experiencing delayed marriage. Notably, the researcher observed that these challenges disproportionately affect women. Furthermore, stigma and mental health instability emerged as the most

prominent challenges, surpassing others in significance. As one unmarried female respondent poignantly remarked:

> *There is an issue of stigma for the women, especially from their sisters. When you don't get married earlier, all eyes will be on you. I am talking from experience. In fact, it leads to frustration and even depression. It also leads to drug abuse for both males and females. Most importantly is the issue of stigma from the people because not even long ago someone made a comment on me that landed both of us in trouble (IDI with an unmarried female respondent, 2024).*

Another female respondent, who shared a personal example, emphasized the challenges faced by mature adults in Tarauni L.G.A. She explained that all her peers were married with children, causing her significant anxiety about her future prospects. Furthermore, she noted that she was subjected to ridicule and nicknames due to her marital status, as she was frequently called different names simply because she was single. She recounted:

> *To give an example with myself, most, if not all, of my age mates have already got married. This makes me worried about the future. There is also a challenge of stigma, sincerely from both my family and the society. Their concern is just I should get married. Sometimes people call me with many unprintable names just because I'm single (An unmarried female respondent from Tarauni L.G.A., 2024).*

In line with the above, the religious leader interviewed also said:

> *Males are affected emotionally and psychologically because as a man, you can't have absolute peace of mind when you reach the ideal age to get married without getting married. For women, they can experience problems like stigma, health challenges, and bullying even from their family members (IDI with a community leader, 2024).*

Regarding the challenges faced by individuals experiencing delayed marriage, as mentioned above by the respondents, it is clear that they all emphasized the issue of stigma. Individuals who delay marriage in Tarauni L.G.A are vulnerable to individual stigma. The first speaker even shared that a neighbor made a comment about her marital status, which led to a dispute between them. The second and third speakers expressed their concerns about the health challenges affecting both men and women.

In order to fulfill the research objectives, the respondents' perspectives were also sought on potential solutions to alleviate the issue of delayed marriage among youth in Tarauni L.G.A. A wide range of solutions were suggested, but the most notable ones that stood out were: promoting early vocational training and employment, reexamining attitudes and expectations regarding partner selection, government intervention in job creation, and addressing cultural spending expectations associated with marriage ceremonies. The religious leader interviewed offered the following insight:

> *In my opinion, to address this issue, we have to go back to the drawing board. It's a systemic problem. It is something that has to do with the family institution in general. Parents should make sure they find something for their children to do even before they become fully adults. Moreover, modern marriage has to be on the low key. Everyone should go for a partner that belongs to his or her economic class. Moreover, from the government's side, it should prioritize reviving technical and vocational schools where young people could learn different occupations, so that by the time they finish, they have something to do, making marriage easier for them (A religious leader from Tarauni L.G.A.).*

The community leader interviewed also has an opinion that aligns with the above. He said:

> *In order to address this issue, Kano state government has started a very good work in curbing bride price, but I don't know why it has not been implemented. I don't hear anything about it anymore. Secondly, parents should also change their attitude of saying that their children must marry rich men. I think one should give his daughter's hand to a man once he is satisfied with his adherence to religion, respect for elders, and has something to do. We should stop so many*

unnecessary rituals that are attached to marriage in Hausa land. The bride price, for example, is the most significant (IDI with a community leader, 2024).

An unmarried male respondent also buttressed that:

In a straightforward language, the government should provide jobs for the youth first. Second, too much expectations and spending attached to the culture of Hausa people in marriage should be addressed. I think that's all (IDI with another unmarried male respondent, 2024).

Finally, according to the respondents' opinions on how to address the issue of delayed marriage in Tarauni L.G.A, they unanimously agreed that the best solution is to provide job opportunities and sources of income for the youth. Additionally, they pointed out the need to reduce the bride price associated with marriage in Tarauni L.G.A and address the high expectations surrounding marriage arrangements.

Discussions of the Major Findings

Based on the findings presented, the research has successfully addressed its objectives pertaining to the factors associated with delayed marriage, its effects, and perceptions on how to reduce it in Tarauni L.G.A. A substantial awareness of the issue of delayed marriage among youth in Tarauni L.G.A, Kano state, has been observed. However, this problem has not received the attention it warrants. Several factors have been identified as contributing to delayed marriage in this area, but joblessness, educational pursuit, and preference and choosiness have been proven to be the most important. Furthermore, delayed marriage among youth has several detrimental effects on the society of Tarauni L.G.A., including the prevalence of infidelity, illegal abortion, and the production of children outside of wedlock, all of which are contrary to the norms of the area. The affected youth also experience various challenges, including stigma, mental health instability, and health challenges. To address the issue of delayed marriage, several solutions have been identified, but the most important ones are: promoting early vocational training and employment, changing attitudes and expectations regarding partner selection, government intervention in job creation, and addressing cultural spending expectations associated with marriage ceremonies.

Summary and Conclusions

This research on the factors associated with delayed marriage among youth was conducted in Tarauni Local Government Area, Kano State. The main aim of the study was to explore the major factors associated with delayed marriage among youth in Tarauni L.G.A. To address the objectives of the research, the researcher adopted qualitative method, precisely in depth interview (IDIs) and conducted interviews with religious leader, community leader, and some selected unmarried males and females within the various parts of the study area. The sample of the population was drawn using purposive sampling technique due to the nature of the research.

In conclusion, this research has provided valuable insights into the phenomenon of delayed marriage among youth in Tarauni L.G.A., Kano state. The study reveals that there is prevalence of this phenomenon, and people are highly aware of it. Through an exploration of factors contributing to delayed marriage, effects thereof, and perceptions on potential mitigation strategies, a clear understanding of this issue has been achieved. Economic challenges, societal expectations, parental influence, new attitude towards marriage, and individual preferences emerged as significant determinants influencing marital decisions within the Tarauni L.G.A. One important thing that also stands out is the issue of bride wealth. Moreover, there are far-reaching consequences of delayed marriage on both the society of Tarauni L.G.A., and the affected individuals, including social, emotional, and psychological impacts on individuals, and the broader societal fabric of Tarauni L.G.A.

Policy Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research, the following recommendations are made in order to address the issue of delayed marriage among youth in Tarauni L.G.A.:

1. Promotion of Economic Opportunities: Efforts should be made to enhance economic opportunities for youth in Tarauni L.G.A., through initiatives such as vocational training programs and job creation schemes. Providing viable employment opportunities can empower individuals to overcome financial barriers and facilitate timely marriage.

2. Reform of Traditional Marriage Practices: There is a need to reform traditional marriage customs and practices in Tarauni L.G.A. to reduce the financial burden associated with marital ceremonies. Simplifying ceremonial rituals and adjusting cultural expectations, particularly regarding bride price and extravagant spending, can alleviate financial strain and facilitate more accessible marriage arrangements.

3. Collaborative Intervention: stakeholder collaboration involving policymakers, community leaders, religious institutions, and civil society organizations is essential to develop and implement targeted interventions addressing the causes of delayed marriage in Tarauni L.G.A.

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THE ROLE OF THE MULTINATIONAL JOINT TASK FORCE IN COUNTER INSURGENCY IN NORTH EASTERN NIGERIA: THE BOKO- HARAMINSURGENCY

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KEYWORDS
Multinational Joint Task Force, (MNJTF), Insurgency, Boko Haram, North Eastern Nigeria.

ABSTRACT
This study examines the role of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) in counter insurgency in northern eastern Nigeria. The research uses both primary and secondary sources of data from various experts and stakeholders in Borno, Yobe, Bauchi, Adamawa, Taraba, Gombe in the North Eastern Nigeria and Nigeria Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies Kuru near Jos Data was generated through questionnaires, interviews and Focus Group Discussions which were later analysed using descriptive method and thematic and content analysis of the secondary data. System theory was adopted and the genesis of insurgency in North Western Nigeria was traced. The study revealed that the counter insurgency against Boko Haram to some extent is succeeding as many of the insurgents have been killed, some repented while others fled and some surrenders their arms and themselves to the Multinational Joint Task Force. Although issues of mutual antagonistic distrust, corruption, inadequate modern equipment, lack of cooperation, poor commitments, weak coordination and poor funding among Multinational Joint Task Force member states undermined inability of Multinational Joint Task Force to end the counter insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria. The study recommends that good moral, values, religious education will serve as panaceas in controlling and bringing to an end religious insurgencies in the north eastern Nigeria and its environs.

Introduction

Boko Haram is a co-product of *salati/wahabison Shu'aibu Saleh*. Abdullahi (2018) opined that *Jamailatu AL-Ahul AL-Sunnah Lil-Alda…. AL-Juhad* known as Boko-Haram in Hausa which means Western Education is forbidden emerged around 2002, even though according to Aisha Wakili as far back as 1989 they existed (Global Terrorist Index, 2022) as a peaceful *Weal Salafist* Islamic movement whose aim was preaching and assisting.

Boko Haram is a home grown insurgence that rose from among the sect of *Izalatul bidi'a wa'ikamatul Sunna* founded in 1992 when Mohammad Yusuf the founding leader of Boko Haram came up with a synthesized and different interpretation entangled with Islam as social fact of deception to stage Jihad which was vehemently rejected by the Izala movement.

Yusufiyya was considered as a throw back and rejection of majority of Muslim in Northern Nigeria".

According to another narration as was upheld by Shu'aibu, Salleh & Shehu (2015) Boko Haram emerged around 2002 as a peaceful *Salafi* movement "Boko Haram was created in 2002 by Muhammad Yusuf (1970- 2009), a radical Islamist cleric, in Maiduguri, Borno State, in North Eastern Nigeria. He set up a religious complex, called *"Markaz"*, an Islamic teaching and learning center that had ulterior political goals to create an Islamic state and impose sharia laws, and it soon became a recruiting ground for the future Jihadist to fight the state (Malam, 2014).

The present day Boko Haram crisis started in 2009, at that time there was a new government legislation of wearing helmet for motorcycles riders. The government of Borno State gave the police order to enforce the use ofhelmet as part of the "Operation Flush", the members of the sect went out on motorcycles for funerals without helmets and the police stopped them. This resulted in a clash between the police and the sect members, which led to the death of four members of the sect and about (18) eighteen members of the sect injured.

The extrajudicial killings of the sects members by the trigger happy elements of the Nigeria police force, angered the sect leader Muhammad Yusuf and led him to wrote a threatening letter to the State Government and the Federal Government too, and urged them to respond within forty days (40) with a view to resolution between the government and the group, and if not then "Jihad" operation will begin in the country of which only Allah can stop it (Onapajo, 2013).

However, after forty days (40), the ultimatum elapsed and the government did not respond to the situation which according to some analysts, the group members started preparing strategies and plans for war. After this incident, the leaders of the sect continued preaching for Jihad and armed confrontation (Onapajo, 2013).

There was a clash and skirmishes between the Boko Haram sects' members and security forces in Borno and Bauchi states on July 27 of 2009. The situation calmed down. However, the Nigerian army on 28 July 2009 reportedly launched an offensive attack on the sect leader, Muhammad Yusuf's compound and a nearby mosque used by the members in Borno State capital of Maiduguri. This violence between the Boko Haram and Nigerian security forces claimed the lives of more than 1000 people in Maiduguri. However, according to sources as contained in Global Terrorist Index (2022) over 100 bodies were reported to be found beside police headquarters in Maiduguri. Many civilians were forced to flee from their homes. This violence led to the killing of the sect leader Muhammad Yusuf in police custody, which brought the end of the five days crisis (International Crisis Group, 2014).

Immediately after the 5 days uprising, with death of sect leader Muhammad Yusuf, the activities of the Boko Haram went underground, but they regroup and re-emerged in 2010. Under the leadership of Abubakar Shekau, who happens to be deadly than Muhammad Yusuf attacked on armed personnel, civilians and government properties that escalated in terms of frequency and terrorist attacks.

Metelits (2022) opined that the group Boko Haram carried out its first attacks when it orchestrated a large prison breaks in September 2010 in Bauchi which led to the escape of more than 700 inmates including its members.

According to Obayuwana (2014) the group, (Boko Haram) on 16th June, 2011 attacked police headquarters in what was believed to be the first suicide bombing in the history of Nigeria. So also the group attacked the United Nation Building in Nigeria capital Abuja by a lone suicide bomber in August of 2011. An act that was claimed by the group spokesperson known as Abu Qaqa. There was increased in intensity and frequency of the Boko Haram attacks between 2011 and late 2014. The violent attacks were mainly targeted at the security agencies, government properties, markets, mosques, churches, schools, football field and political gatherings. Another dimension that was introduced between those periods was the assassination of politicians, religious scholars and abduction of school children. In between July 24 and July 28 2009, Celestial church, Deeper Life, Eklysiyar Yannwa Nigeria, five public primary schools and the headquarters of the Universal Basic Education Board in Maiduguri were destroyed. Human Rights Watch report (2012), argued that "in January 2012, Boko Haram sect coordinated and carried out series of attack which resulted in the death of more than 180 people including large number of security personnel and civilians which is believed to be among the highest death in a single day since the group began its violent campaign in July 2009".

The year 2013 witnessed the increased in the intensity of the attack. Dan'lyan (2015) argued that what "led the Federal Government of Nigeria to declare State of Emergency in the states of Yobe, Adamawa and Borno which were then the most devastated by the insurgency. It was in the year 2014, precisely April that the new tactics of kidnapping was widely adopted by the insurgents as a weapon.

On the account of International Crisis Group (2014) "On April 14th 2014, Boko Haram kidnapped nearly 300 school girls from Government Girls Secondary School Chibok, as a result Boko Haram was blacklisted by a United Nations Security Council on 22nd May 2014". Some of the girls escaped, while others rescued, some died and many remained captives to date from 20th September, 2016. It was only recently when the insurgents released a new video of the girls on 14th August 2016 showing the girls appealing to the government to release Boko Haram inmates in exchange for their freedom, and the insurgent asserted in the affirmative girls appeal (Human Right Watch, 2018). It was reported that during his speech on 1st September, 2016 at the United Nations General Assembly as reported by premium times an online newsmagazine, former Nigeria President Muhammad Buhari "has called for the United Nations and other international bodies to help mediate between his government and the insurgents, especially as with the regards to the Chibok girls exchange Abdullahi (2018). 22' September, 2016 the other prominent unresolved Boko Haram School killings and abduction is that of the Federal Government College Buniyadi. On the early hours of 25th February] 20-14, more than fifty-nine school boys were killed and others abducted by the Boko Haram insurgents. However, the case of Chibok girls over shadow that of Buniyadi, more than 59 students killed, many injured, others abducted while the schools was destroyed. Also in May of 2014, the town was attacked again, so also on July 10th 2015 which led the civilians to flee the town not until April 17th 2016 when the first batch of those who flee the town started returning back (ECOWAS Counter Terrorism, 2018).

The Boko Haram insurgent in Nigeria is one of the deadliest extremist armed groups in the world. According to Global Terrorist Index (GTF) (2015), the group was responsible for the deaths of over 6,644 people in Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Cameroon in 2014 alone. Its brutal insurgency has affected every stratum of life in Nigeria's North East and the neighbouring countries such as Cameroon, Nigeria and Chad in areas of destruction of lives and property, closure of schools, description of economic and social activities, leading to front line of the conflict (Human Right, 2018).

The menace of Boko- Haram resurfaced later and became regional as a result of the sects killings and assassination of Law Enforcement and Security Agencies, innocent civilians, and foreign nationals around northern eastern Nigeria and Sahel Region notably Chad, Cameroon and Niger on daily basis. The menace or dastard acts of Boko-Haram insurgents necessitated a regional response to end the menace (Yakubu, Gwaya & Ham, 2021). In 2011 the Federal Government of Nigerian, Chad, Niger and Cameroon formed the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) and in April 2012 it was deployed and mandated to counter insurgency in the North Eastern Nigeria and Sahel region and to use maximum force against the Boko Haram group (Onuoha, 2013). During President Goodlluck Ebel Jonathan's administration defence budget was increased consecutively from 100billion Naira (625 million dollars) in 2010 to 927 billion Naira (6 billion dollars) in 2011 and also 1 trillion Naira (6.25 billion dollars) in 2012, 2013 and 2014. The defece budget gulped 3.38 trillion Naira in four calendar years to counter or fight insurgency (Leadership Newspaper, 10 March 2024) cited in (Ja'e, Buba, Yahaya, Yusuf & Abubakar, 2024).It is against this background that this study examines the roles of MNJTF in counter insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria and Sahel region: the Boko Haram insurgency.

Conceptual clarifications

Boko-Haram

United States Institute of Peace (2012) defines Boko Haram as an Islamic sect who believes politics in Northern Nigeria has been seized by a group of corrupt, false Muslims. It wants to wage a war against them, and federal republic of Nigeria generally to create a pure Islamic State ruled by Sharia Law. The name Boko Haram has tis origin in media and public, community coinage. "Boko" in Hausa stands for Western Education and "Haram" is Hausa word taken form Arabic it means something not acceptable in Islam; something forbidden or prohibited. Boko Haram therefore may be interpreted as meaning that the Western education is prohibited in Islam (Addo, 2016).

The group's original name is *"Jamatul Alhul Sunnal Lidala Wati Wal Jihad*, in Arabic translated in English to mean People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's teaching and Jihad. The definition by USA Institute of Peace (2012) is relevant to our current study as it captures the terrorist activities of these groups and it origins as it relates to our current study under investigation.

Insurgency

This is an organized movement aimed at the overthrowing of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. The key distinction between an insurgency and other movements is the decision to use violence to achieve political goals.

Adejo (2018) opined that insurgency is problematic. He added that insurgency is perhaps best understood by first considering what is insurgency? Insurgency is not conventional war or terrorism for example but it shares with them the use of force to achieve political end. It is quite true that Adejo (2018) conceptualized insurgency to mean the use of force, but he failed to elaborate what type of force he means, this makes this concept inappropriate for the concept of insurgency as used in this study. For instance, insurgency as used in this study means the use of terror by illegal or terrorist to kill and to destroy lives and property.

Dze-Ngwa (2018) opined that insurgency as the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify or challenge political control of a region or a country. Dze-Ngwa argued that, insurgency normally begins before it is recognized by the governing authorities, allowing the insurgent leaders to organize and operate in a clandestine manner until it choose to commit violence and subversion. This definition captures our concept of insurgency as it dealt with the use of subversion and violence as the modus oprandi of insurgents such as Boko Haram in North Eastern Nigeria as the current study under investigation.

United States Institute of Peace (2012) argued that insurgency as an organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. In other words, an insurgency is an organized protracted politico-military struggle designed to weaken the control and legitimacy of an established government. Here, the US Institute of Peace (2012) is relevant to our study because it captures the concept of insurgency as an armed group that uses subversion and violence armed conflict to overthrow the constituted government as we are witnessing the ongoing Boko Haram insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria and the Sahel Region.

Ayuba & Okafor (2018), looked at insurgency in three different ways of much importance to us is the first definitions offered which is in total agreement with that of US government that "insurgency is the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, modify or challenge the political control of a region". Insurgency can also be seen as any guerrilla terrorist, militant, revolutionary or any other form of irregular warfare that does not follow the rules, laws and conventions of war and is usually carried out against a state. Equally, this concept is relevant to our study as it dealt with the activities of Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria especially in North Eastern Nigeria where these insurgent groups have been carrying out irregular wars against the constituted authorities.

Multinational Joint Task Force

Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) is the combination of security forces of individual nation-states for the specific purpose of enforcing control and orderliness in a conflict prone area(s) to restore peace and normalcy. Specifically, the MNJTF in the Lake Chad is a formation that comprises units of the Chadian, Cameroonian, Nigerien and Nigerian armed forces with a Nigerian Brigadier General (Assanvo, Abatan, & Sawadogo.,2016). It was first organized as a solely Nigerian force in 1994, during the administration of Sani Abacha, to checkmate banditry activities and to facilitate free movement along its northern border (Musa, 2015). In 1998 it was expanded to include units from neighboring Chad and Niger with the purpose of dealing with common cross-border security issues in the region. As Boko Haram insurgency intensified from 2010, the task of the MNJTF was expanded in April 2012 to encompass counter-terrorism operations. The force was made up of about 8,750 military personnel with the mandate to combat and bring to an end the Boko Haram and other violent extremism in the sub-region (Dze-Ngwa, 2018). From the foregoing, it is clear that the idea of Multinational Joint Task Force is toward the course of restoring peace and social order in North Eastern Nigeria and Sahel Region.

Theoretical Issues

Four major theories have dominated theoretical debates on insurgency and counter insurgency. The frustration aggression theory which focuses on condition which exists when a goal response suffers interference while aggression is an act whose goal response is injury to an organism.

The psychological theory which focus on personality, psycho-pathology and psycho-social traits as factors responsible for insurgency and terrorism. Structural theory of conflict which focuses on structural defects internally or externally generated as the main approach which viewed public policy and state relations as a system with components of which conflicts or peace of one state in a region will affect the whole states or systemCollins (2007). The system theory which views public policy and state relations as a system with components, of which conflict or peace of one state in a region will affect the whole states or region. These theoretical underpinnings seek to unravel the various issues of insurgency and counter insurgency that have strongly destroyed the socio-cultural, psychological, economic and institutional foundations. Although as laudable as these theoretical positions are only one of them have delved into the main classes of explanation of insurgency and counter insurgency. This, this study intends to fill this knowledge gap by using system theory approach in order to understand the history, nature of insurgency and counter insurgency in North eastern Nigeria that spread across Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Mali and lastly delve into applications of system theories to the understanding of Boko- Haram insurgency and Multinational Task Force counter insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria.

System Theory

This paper utilized one theoretical approach such as the system theory in the analysis of conflict and Multinational Joint Task Force in the fight against Boko- Haram. System theory is the interdisciplinary study of systems in general, with the goal of elucidating principle that can be applied to all types of systems at all levels in all fields of research. The term originates from Bertalaffy's General System Theory (GST), used in other fields, such as action theory of Talcott Parsons, the social systems theory of Nikijas Lukman and System theory of David Easton cited in Bamigbose (2013).

The system theory explains the interconnections of nexus between security and development and defines the regular interaction or interrelation between groups of activities in the society, as any occurrence in a sector of the society positively or negatively affects other sectors or the society. The sense of insecurity or conflict occurs when there is wanton destruction of lives and property, incessant armed robbery incidents, increase in kidnapping resulting in ransom or death, or both, armed insurgency such as the Boko- Haram menace e.t.c. Similarly, David Easton system theory views system in terms of public policy and state relations as a system with components. He further argues that policy making as a system has component that is related to each other. He sees states relation as interconnected, interdependent and integrated. He further argued that success or failure, peace, conflict in one state or region will affect the other state or region as they interact with one another in the international system or environment Easton (1965) cited in Bamigbose (2013).

The system theory is important and relevant to this study due to the fact that states are interconnected or interdependent with each other in the environment or international system. For instance, because of the linkages of states or the world economy as global village the problem or conflict in one state will affect other states or its environs. For instance, the war in Sudan has affected Chad its neighbouring state as influx of refugees into Chad. The insurgency in Northeastern Nigeria for instance is a problem that has regional and sub-regional consequences in states such as Chad, Niger, Benin Republic and Cameroon. The interdependence or states integration to solve its problems in areas of security brought states like Nigeria, Chad, Niger, Cameroon and Benin Republic to form Multinational Joint Task Force to counter insurgency of Boko Haram in the North Eastern Nigeria andSahel region.

Methodology

Research Design

This study assessed the role of multinational joint task force in counter insurgency in the North Western Nigeria. The study adopts a survey research design that employed both primary and secondary sources of data collection.

Population and Sample Size

The study population was 504,600, Taro Yemane statistics was used to draw four hundred (400) respondents as sample size. Questionnaire, interview and Focus Group Discussions instruments were used for data collection and descriptive statistics was employed for data analysis.

Sample size

A simple size is the numerical value of that portion. In other words it is the number of units that make up the sample. The sample size of this population of the study will be determined through Taro Yamne Formula.

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

Where:

n = Sample size

N = Population

e = Level of Precision in % = sampling error of 0.05

1 = Constant

Therefore $n = \frac{504{,}600}{1+504600 \times (0.05)^2}$

$= \frac{504{,}600}{505{,}600 \times 0.025}$

$= \frac{504{,}600}{1262.5} = 399.683$

$= 400$

Study Area

The study area comprises the North Eastern Nigeria that is made up of Gombe, Bauchi, Borno, Adamawa, Taraba and Yobe State, and the Sahel. The Sahel is an Arabic Word translated in English to mean "the shore". The area covers about 6,000 kilometers from East to West Africa. The Sahel region according to United Nations strategy covers ten (10) countries such as Burkina Faso, Nigerian, Cameroon, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Guinea, Benin, Gambia and Senegal. However, the study covers Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin Republic that multinational joint task force.

Method of Data Analysis

The study adopted descriptive survey research to analyse and interpret the data collected from the field with tables, percentages and content and thematic analysis was used to analyse the secondary data collected through books, journals, magazines, newspapers, seminar papers, internet sources, e-learning among others.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Table 1: Sex Distribution of Respondents

Sex of Respondents	Frequency	Percentage %
Male	288	72
Female	112	28
Total	400	100

Source: *Field Survey 2024.*

Table 1above shows that 288(72%) of the respondents are made up of male, while 112(28%) are female. The implication of this is that male respondents constitute most of the sampled population and were available for the investigation under study.

Table 2: Age of Respondents

Age (Years)	**Frequency**	**Percentage (%)**
15-20	12	3.0
21-30	142	36
31-40	110	27.6
41-50	106	26

51 and above	28	7.0
Total	**400**	**100**

Source: *Field Survey 2024.*

Table 2 provides information on the distribution of respondents across different age groups. The data is summarized as follows viz-a-viz: From 15-20 years.12 responses represents 3.0% of the total response, 21-30 years: 142 responses, making up 36% of the total, 31-40 years 110 responses, representing 27.6% of the total, 41-50 years: 106 responses, constituting 26% of the total, 51 and above: 28 responses representing 7.0% of the total.

Table 3 Profession of Respondents

Profession	**Frequency**	**Percentage %**
Farmer	150	37.5%
Military	78	19.6%
Para military	48	12.1%
Intelligence Agencies	100	25.1%
Farmer's Associations	22	5.5%
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2024.

Table 3 provides information on the distribution of respondents across different professions or works of life. The data is summarized as follows: Farmers: 150 response, representing 37.7% of the total respondents. Military: 78 responses, making up 19.6% of the total. Paramilitary: 48 responses, 12.1% of the total Intelligence Agencies: 100 responses constituting 25.1% of the total.

Question 4 Boko –Haram Insurgents Means
Table 4

Statement	**Frequency**	**Percentage%**
Terrorist Group	150	37.5
Jihadist	98	24.5
Irreligious, heartless &senseless organization	92	23.1
Islamic Extremist	58	14.5
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2024.

Table 4, shows that, 37.5% respondents said that Boko-Haram is a terrorist group, whereas 24.5% responded that they are Jihadist. Also 92 respondents which constitute 23.1% agreed that Boko-Haram is an irreligious, heartless and senseless organization, whereas 58 respondents, which constitute 14.5%, are of the opinion that Boko-Haram is Islamic extremist.

Question 5 Boko- Haram insurgency threatens the security of North Eastern Nigeria, Nigeria, Sahel Region and West Africa in general.
Table 5

Response	**Frequency**	**Percentage %**
Yes	352	88
No	28	7.0
No Idea	20	5.0
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2024.

Table 5 represents responses to a question asking the respondents whetherBoko- Haram insurgency threatens the security of North Eastern Nigeria, Nigeria, Sahel Region and West Africa in general. Respondents were given three options "Yes," "No," or "No Idea." The responses on the data are summarized as follows; Yes; 352 responses, accounting for 88.0% of the total. No: 28 responses, making up 7.0% of the total. No idea: 20 responses, constituting 5.0% of the

total. The total number is 400, and the percentages indicate the proportion of responses to each category relative to the total. The majority of respondents (88%) indicated that Boko- Haram insurgency threatens the security of North Eastern Nigeria, Nigeria, Sahel Region and West Africa in general. We therefore assert that Boko- Haram insurgency threatens the security of North Eastern Nigeria, Nigeria, Sahel Region and West Africa in general.

Question 5 Boko-Haram insurgency has negative impact on peace and socio-economic development in North Eastern Nigeria and the Sahel Region.

Table 5

Response	Frequency	Percentage(%)
Yes	340	85
No	30	8.0
No Idea	28	7.0
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2024

Table 5 presents information on Boko-Haram insurgency has negative impact on peace and socio-economic development in North Eastern Nigeria and the Sahel Region.

The data is summarized as follows based on the options given to the respondents such as "Yes," "No," or "No Idea." The responses on the data are summarized as follows; Yes; 340 responses, accounting for 85.0% of the total. No: 30 responses, making up 8.0% of the total. No idea: 28 responses, constituting 7.0% of the total. The total number is 400, and the majority of respondents (85%) indicated that Boko-Haram insurgency has negative impact on peace and socio-economic development in North Eastern Nigeria and the Sahel Region. We therefore affirm that Boko-Haram insurgency has negative impact on peace and socio-economic development in North Eastern Nigeria and the Sahel Region.

Question 6 The response to the counter insurgency by the MNJTF has been successful in areas of recapturing the territories captured by the Boko-Haram, releasing those held under the hostage of Boko-Haram and returning those internally displaced persons to their ancestral homes.

Table 6

Responses	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	350	88
No	28	7.0
No Idea	22	5.0
Total	400	100

Source: Field Survey 2024.

Table 6 presents responses to the question whether the counter insurgency by the MNJTF has been successful in areas of recapturing the territories captured by the Boko-Haram, releasing those held under the hostage of Boko-Haram and returning those internally displaced persons to their ancestral homes. The respondents were given three options such as "Yes," "No," or "No Idea." The data is summarized as follows: Yes 350 responses, accounting for 88% of the total. No: 28 responses making up 7% of the total. No Idea: 22 responses, constituting 5% of the total. The total number of respondents is 400, and the percentages indicate the proportion of responses in each category relative to the total. Most respondents (88%) indicated that the counter insurgency by the MNJTF has been successful in areas of recapturing the territory captured by the Boko-Haram, releasing those held under the hostage of Boko-Haram and returning those internally displaced persons to their ancestral homes reflecting a significant portion of the total respondents of the surveyed population. A smaller percentage of (7%) indicated No. whereas (5%) indicated No Idea. We therefore assert that MNJTF has responded successfully to the counter insurgency in the North Eastern Nigeria.

Question 7: The challenges of MNJTF in counter insurgency in the North Eastern Nigeria and the Sahel Region are in areas of corruption, lack of funding, inadequate logistics and modern counter insurgency equipment, no synergy or good civil- military

relations in the Sahel Region or North Eastern Nigeria.

Table 7

Variable	No of respondents	% of respondents
Yes	342	85.5
No	28	7.0
No Idea	30	7.5
Total	400	100

Source:Field Survey 2024

Table 7 presents responses to the question about whether the challenges of MNJTF in counter insurgency in the North Eastern Nigeria and the Sahel Region are in areas of corruption, lack of funding, inadequate logistics and modern counter insurgency equipment, no synergy or good civil- military relations in the Sahel Region or North Eastern Nigeria. Respondents were given three options "Yes," "No," or "No Idea." The data is summarized as follows: Yes: 342 responses, accounting for (85.5%)of the total. No: 28 responses, constituting 7.0% of the total. No: Idea 30 responses, making up 7.5% of the total. The total number of respondents is 400, and the percentages indicate the proportion of respondents, 85.5% that the challenges of MNJTF in counter insurgency in the North Eastern Nigeria and the Sahel Region are in areas of corruption, lack of funding, inadequate logistics and modern counter insurgency equipment, no synergy or good civil- military relations in the Sahel Region or North Eastern Nigeria. 7% said No. While7.5% indicated No Idea. We therefore assert that the challenges the challenges of MNJTF in counter insurgency in the North Eastern Nigeria and the Sahel Region are in areas of corruption, lack of funding, inadequate logistics and modern counter insurgency equipment, no synergy or good civil-military relations in the Sahel Region or North Eastern Nigeria.

Discussion

The study revealed that most of the respondents indicated that there have been successes and challenges of the Multinational Joint Task Force in the counter insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria. Most respondents asserted that MNJTF has success fully recovered territories previously under the control of Boko Haram in the North East and some parts of the Sahel religion such as Gwuza, Damboa, Baga, Damasak, Ngala and Mober to Diffa in Nigeria Republic where Boko Haram have imposed strict Sharia Law on that conquered and occupied territories. The study equally revealed that most people held as hostages by the Boko Haram sects/insurgents has been released and most of them has returned to their ancestral homes.

The majority of the respondents in the study indicated that corruption, distrust, lack of modern military equipment, logistics and poor funding from the countries that formed MNJTF are militating the effective operations of the MNJTF in counter insurgency in North Eastern Nigeria.

Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

The Multinational Joint Task Force in counter insurgency in the North Eastern Nigeria involves successes and challenges. Many towns and villages such as Chibok, Gwoza, Baga, Munguno, Guzamala, Gamborou, Ngala, Bama and Mober to Diffa in Niger Republic among other places in the Sahel region that were once under the control of Boko-Haram insurgents were collected back by the MNJTF and people in that areas that were once in internal displaced people's camps have relocated to their ancestral homes. Equally, most of those men, women, girls and children held under the hostages of Boko-Haram have been released as a result of efforts of the MNJTF in their fight against insurgency. Although successes such as recovery of some territories captured by Boko-Haram setting free the hostages of Boko Haram captives, by the MNJTF, there remain some elements of Boko Haram that are still carrying out their theories acts such as kidnapping, bombing that happened in the month of July 2024 at weeding in Gooza were about fifty people were peared dead. Again towns of Niger, Cameroon, Chad and Nigeria. This paper commends that for the MNJTF fight against counter insurgency to be wiped out completely in the Sahel region and especially in

the North Eastern Nigeria, government should have a good sinegy in civil-military relations in counter insurgency by building good confidence emasures between the military and civilians in the affected areas of insurgency by giving vital information to the military by the civilians in sensitive areas. Governments of the MNJTF state should use the Mallams or Islamic clerics to preach good moral values to the followers of these sects to lay down their arms and embrace peace.

Furthermore, corrupt MNJTF officers that are corrupt in terms of giving information, supply of arms to the Boko-Haram should be fished out and punish coupled with the civilian that do the same by giving critical information to Boko-Haram sect about the operations of MNJTF andshould be punished to serve as a deterrent to other intending officers of MNTF and civilians.

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THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISM AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN NORTH CENTRAL

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ABSTRACT
Internet is painstakingly an enormous expansion to human development. Literally, it is considered a useful key or essential to human development and social advancement causing massive revolution in the world. Over the years, the advent of Social media has pervaded, especially that of the young generation. It is against this background that this paper aims to study the influence of Social media and human right activism by Nigerian to gauge their usage in relation to political participation. For sampling purposes, the region is divided into six States. A survey research using questionnaire as instrument was used to obtain data, with 1182 respondents aged between 18 and 25 were randomly sampled from the six States of the region. The data were analysed descriptively and inferentially using SPSS 20.0. From the results, majority of the respondents, 89% are social media users having a social media account. A discouraging trend with regard to participation is the very low level of comments on general societal issues ranging from social issues, the environment to politics. The youth are more inclined to using the new media for entertainment and social networking. The paper recommends that Nigerian youth are exposed to political participation online, thus, they should be active in there doing. Also, it is time to shift to more empowered usage such as using the new media to engage with community leaders and politicians and comment on issues related to political development.

Introduction

The Social Media is considered a huge development in human civilization. It has become the main sharing tool around the world and enables people to create massive developments for many countries that are interconnected. Furthermore, it creates very large, heavy and solid interconnectivity. It is literally considered as a practical key or essential to human development and social advancement causing massive innovation in the world (David, 2011). Internet is viewed as an environmental element with potential for developmental impact (Johnson, 2012).

Over the years, the advent of new media has permeated most aspects of our lives, especially that of the young generation. New media, especially the Internet has gained popularity among young people wherever they might be and in spite of significant differences among the developed and developing world, the use of computers and the Internet is rising steadily, fastest among young men (Cozic, 2014). It is a household name coupled with its ubiquitous nature. The youth which includes the generation Y or the millennial are associated with the new media (Gasser, 2018). As leaders of tomorrow they are supposed to use the new media to get involved in political participation.

Youth are said to be 46 percent of the total global population and can be defined as a person who is still in their formative years, undergoing character modeling, personality development and sometimes receiving training that has to do with human capital development. Youth is an important human capital development in the process of national building due to the great potential they have (Kayode 2015).

New media play an important role of transformative social change. It has an overall impact on youth physically, socially, and intellectually (Gadner, 2019). The rise of new media has already brought several main changes in life.

They are digitalization and convergence of all features of media, increasing interactivity and network connectivity, mobility and relocation of sending and receiving, adaptation of publication and audience roles, appearance of diverse new forms of media 'gateway' and fragmentation and blurring of the media institution (McQuail 2010).

Like the conventional media, the power and facilities of the new media can also be harnessed for online political participation. Waller (2013) found that youth participation is now turning into online political debate in the United States, Europe and the Middle East. Social media play an important role in shaping the political debate with increasing discussions about democracy and civil rights on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube or Democracy Street (Wokni 2013). In West Asia, the people share their anger through new technology due to the inability of Arab leaders to meet their basic expectations. Public outrage prompted millions of Arab youth to unite to demand change in leadership and the government, whether in the form of online or offline (Goff, 2013).

Based on quantitative data, this paper aims to analyse the present use of the new media by youth to gauge their usage in relation to online socio-political participation. Hence, their online and offline participation will be analysed.

Review of Related Literature

Political participation is an activity carried out in order to influence decisions made by the government. This participation can be done through formal or informal association, individually, group, legally or illegally (Mathew and Lydon, 2011).

(Miller and Goeld, 2017) argue that many forms of political participation only focus on voting behavior. Actually, many activities can be considered as political participation. These include campaign, contacting public officials, reading and distributing political pamphlets, joining political organizations, donating money, working with local government, and engaging in community activities. In addition, demonstrations, protest, riots are also other types of political participation.

Expanding the concept further, one can include online participation and the difference being a matter of platform in the sense that online involves a virtual space, whereas offline has to do with physical space.

Three fundamental technical changes in ICTs are responsible for the explosion in their use to promote economic development. They are plummeting cost that allowed many people and applications that could not afford to communicate in the past to link, expanding

access to the network, and more powerful human to machine interfaces which allow new users to understand how to use the services without manuals, instruction, or translation (Katie 2012).

Although the Internet has consistent positive impacts on modern society, a recent study by Joseph and Dominick (2011) on determinants of Internet use in Iraq indicates that while Iraqis are eager or full of excitement to adopt this technology in order to reach out to the world, a number of factors are not allowing it to become a public domain. Factors include lack of adequate resources, insufficient incentives and encouragement from the government, and social inhibitions. Hence, for the Internet to be adopted fully for development and nation building purposes, encouragement and support must come from the government.

Several studies in regard to relationship between new media practices by youth and nation building has been done. Wallis (2011) studies on new media practices in China through four broad themes: networked community and identity, gaming, networked public sphere and civic engagement, and new media consumption. The findings showed that diverse new media practices emerge in China within the tensions and contradictions of the government's desire to simultaneously expand new media technologies and control what are perceived as "harmful" influences. Within a highly commercialized and more liberalized socio-cultural environment, new media technologies have opened up new spaces for multiple modes of expression, and as such, they are constitutive of complex processes of social change.

New media like Facebook, Twitter, Google+, YouTube, live blogs, podcasts, webcams, smartphones, or tablets play in the post-modern, on-demand, interactive, and open societies of today. Changes in access to technology have facilitated new conditions for young people to shoot, cut, and mix multimodal texts, and the emergence of the Internet as a convergent multimedia vehicle and a hangout for a global audience has enabled youth to communicate across borders and across the street (Hofner, 2018).

New media has power, for example using social media to mobilise political participation initially gained prominence during the 2008 US presidential election, when then-Senator Barak Obama successfully employed a social media platform that incorporated Web 2.0 applications such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube to make a range of self-organising tools available to young users. The recent events in Tunisia, Egypt, the UK and the USA leave little doubt that the role of new technology in youth political mobilisation extends beyond the Obama paradigm (Nicholas, 2011).

In Nigeria, the 2019 General Elections showed the keyboard warriors play an important role during the election campaign. According to INEC Chairman Professor AtahiruJega, the ruling party (PDP) failure to understand the impact and influence of new media caused several states to fall to the opposition. During the 2015 General Elections, blog had become a major source for information in political developments. Nowadays, Facebook, twitter and instant messaging apps such as WhatsApp are also playing important role for political participation.

Social interaction occurring through social networks has provided opportunities for individuals to be exposed to different sources of information (McClurg, 2013). Political participation has greatly been influenced by social interactions.

Steve(2011) have identified whether social sites like Facebook and video games are related to political participation. They found that Facebook and video game have relevance to political participation, either online or in traditional form. Therefore, (Benjamin, 2015) argue that the involvement of young people in politics is no longer as before. They are now engaged in political debate and show interest in politics through different ways, including social media. The same opinion was obtained from survey by Vromen (2007) in Australia. He found that a digital usage divide exists between those aged 18 to 34 years and those who are 35 and above. Young candidates who contested elections tend to use the internet as a medium for campaigning.

Theoretical framework

The media evolution theory marked the theoretical framework to this study; Focusing on a variety of compelling examples in media history, ranging from the telephone to the television, the radio to the Internet, the theory collectively addresses a series of notoriously

vexing questions about the nature of technological change. Is it possible to make general claims about the conditions that enable or inhibit innovation? Does government regulation tend to protect or thwart incumbent interests? What kinds of concepts are needed to address the relationship between technology and society in a non-productive and nondeterministic manner? To what extent can media history help us to understand and to influence the future of media in constructive ways? The contributors' historically grounded responses to these questions will be relevant to numerous fields, including history, media/communication studies, sociology, and information studies.

So far we have reviewed a variety of conceptual lessens for understanding the dynamics of innovations and structural change broadly used in the fields of science and technology history. They represent relatively well-developed models that are applicable over a wide range of historical circumstance of special interest here are institutions of mass communication, which draws our attention to several communication-specific theoretical traditions.

The principle of relative constancy is drawn from the observation that American consumers appeared to have kept their spending on communication media as a relatively constant percentage of total income in the latter half of the twentieth century (McCombs 1972 and Nolan 2002). As the theory was refined in the literature, analysis drew attention to the notion of functional equivalence, the mechanisms predicting that as new media come along that better serve a particular function, the use of the previously dominant medium that served that function declines. Thus television replaced radio as a primary home family entertainment medium in the evening and radio move to the bedroom, kitchen, and car. The cellular phone displaces the wire line phone, especially among the young's (Lessard and Bill, 2010).

Following the expansion of communication flows through increasingly broadband digital networks, we confront the communication flow paradox, observed by Motor Vehicles Database and associates in the 1997: although the flow of information may continue swiftly with Moore's law of computer computational capacity. The twenty-four-hour day and physiological limits of multitasking must put a practical limit on media consumption (Pool, 2006). The flow paradox may be seen as a distant theoretical cousin of the relative constancy finding, because both draw attention to gating functions and fundamental limits to media use-a temporal constraint in flow and a financial one in relative constancy.

Methodology

This study is a capital based survey covering the North-Central region of the nation (Nigeria). For sampling purposes, the region is divided into six states to include: Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Nasarawa, Niger, Plateau and the Federal Capital Territory-Abuja.

A survey research using questionnaire as instrument was used to obtain data. Respondents for this study were randomly sampled from the six states and selection was based on age and gender ratio using an already prepared sampling frame table. The age of respondents ranges from 18 to 25 and there was fairly equal number of males and females. Some 1182 respondents were sampled from the six states. Out of the 1182 questionnaire distributed, 1178 were successfully completed and returned, while 4 were not. The data was analysed using SPSS 20.2 and analysed descriptively.

Findings

Table 1, A. Internet subscription

Response option	***Total frequency***	***%***
Yes	*705*	*60*
No	*473*	*40*
Total	***1178***	***100***

Source: Author's field survey (October, 2023)

Table 1, B. Social Media Account

Response option	***Total frequency***	***%***
Yes	*1048*	*89*
No	*130*	*11*
Total	***1178***	***100***

Source: Author's field survey (October, 2023)

From the table 1 A&B, above, the total number of respondents who were surveyed, 60% have Internet subscription. Moreover, there is a significant difference between the total numbers of respondents who have social media account. Majority of respondents were social media users (89%) and only 11% did not sign up for an online social media account.

Table 2. Internet/Social Media Activities

Response option	***Total frequency***	***%***
a. Chatting with friends	*362*	*31*
b. Surfing the web	*201*	*17*
c. Sending and receiving email	*76*	*6*
d. Information search	*301*	*26*
e. Download music/pictures/video	*121*	*10*
f. Interaction with new and old friends	*117*	*10*
Total	***1178***	***100***

Source: Author's field survey (October, 2023)

Table 2 indicated the means for the Internet and social media activities of the respondents. The results showed that Chatting with Friends is the most common activities among the respondents 362(31%), followed by Information Search 301(26%), Surfing the web 201(17%), downloading activities such as music, pictures and videos 121(10%), interacting and communicating with new and old friends 117(105), and sending and receiving email 76(6%). This showed that e-mail which was the main usage of the Internet has now been overshadowed by other usage.

Table 3. Offline Political Participation

Response option	***Total frequency***	***%***
a. Involve in Welfare work	*265*	*22*
b. Helping the poor and the needy	*140*	*12*
c. Giving opinion for policy formation at workplace or area of resident	*163*	*14*
d. Volunteer in teaching less fortunate teens	*154*	*13*
e. Discussing current political issues in the media	*456*	*39*
Total	***1178***	***100***

Source: *Author's field survey (October, 2023)*

Table 3 presents the offline participation by the respondents. Among the offline activities, the most common activities are discussing current issues featured in the media 456(39%). This is followed by involvement in welfare work 265(22%), giving opinion for policy formulation 163(145), volunteering in teaching the less fortunate teens 154(13%) and helping the poor and the needy 140(12%), Thus, except for discussing current issues featured in the media, the respondents' offline participation is below average.

Table 4. Online Political Participation

Response option	Total frequency	%
a. *Comments to the editor through email*	**161**	**14**
b. *Comments on online newspaper*	**207**	**18**
c. comments on blog post/articles	221	19
d. Involve in online political discussion group	326	28
e. Uploading and downloading video as a protest	263	22
Total	**1178**	**100**

Source: Author's field survey (October, 2023)

Data in Table 4 indicate that majority of the respondents are interested in online political discussion group 326(28%). This is followed by uploading and downloading video as a protest 263(22%), comments on blog post or articles 221(19%), comments on online Newspapers 207(187%) and sending comments to the editor through e-mail 161(14%). Similar to offline political participation, the means for online political participation are also below average.

Discussions

Internet, especially Social Media (SM), is often associated with the youth who are seen to be more attached to the SM. Youth who belong to the generation Y are said to be natives of the new media. For them the new media is part and parcel of their lives. As this study shows 89 percent of the youth interviewed have SM account. However, only about two thirds (59.8 percent) of the youth interviewed have internet subscription. This might be due to the fact that some of the youth interviewed were still studying coupled with the fact that for some of these youth Internet subscription is still expensive. Also internet is now available free at universities, working place, restaurants and cafes. The young generation is familiar with surfing, reading, reacting and creating political messages on the Internet (Sleven, 2014).

With most of the youth having SM account, SM has the potential to serve as a platform to galvanise the youth for a meaningful political participation. Thus the public sector can take advantage of this development to engage the youth in a meaningful participation which may translate to political participation. WhatsApp is a new media app that is frequently used by youth and this is different from the findings by (Rose-Liang, 2013) who found that youth are surfing more Facebook, Twitter and multimedia sites such as YouTube. The youth are more active in new media for social interactions.

They prefer to use online media to express their opinion with group discussions that explore contemporary issues through social media such as Facebook, Twitter and Blog (Albarren 2013).

As distinct from the generation X who are the older generation, the youth who are considered generation Y tend to use the new media more for their activities. This study showed that the common activities in order of importance include information search, chatting with friends, and sending and receiving email. This shows that e-mail, which was the main usage of

the Internet, has now been overshadowed by other functions. For the youth, especially those who were not working, email use was not a priority for using the Internet. Youth navigate the new media through two ways. First, join social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and multimedia sites such as YouTube. Second, youth surf websites like wikis and blogs. Many influential friends influence them in the selection of their participation in new media, such as Facebook, Twitter, or Tumblr. Therefore, the new media can bring online relationship to an offline reality.

When it comes to online participation, the findings indicate that the youth more in online discussion groups, which is very low, participation in other aspects is much lower. Likewise, in terms of offline participation, except for discussing current issues featured in the media, the youth's offline participation is below average. Hence, not encouraging and this could be due to the lack of interest in politics by Nigerian youth who are by and large comfortable with their lives and therefore not bothered with issues related to politics.

From the foregoing, one may ask where lies the empowerment? This is because literature shows the capability of the Internet in political participation, especially by youth; hence not using it as such is a waste of resource. Does it mean that our youth use the Internet for diversion and not for empowerment which may lead to political participation? These questions and others need answers from which lasting solutions can be derived to make the youth more involved in political participation by way of participating online through commenting on national and social issues. This is due to the fact that most of the offline activities are the continuation of online activities (Moris and Clinton, 2003).

As distinct from the youth in Malaysia, studies have shown that youth in other third world countries are actively using the internet for political participation and activism (Squangin, 2020). The 2014 gathering TURUN (movement to express the anger of the people against price increases and cost of living) mostly involved youth. The emergence of youth in political movements and active participation in the democratic process occurred because these people have different political ideas. (Porter, 2007) described the youth as "Internet generation", and (Armstrong, 2017) claimed that they have the right to have their voices heard and form online communities that allow for voicing their movements.

Conclusion

The objective of this paper is to analyse the present use of the new media by youth to gauge their usage in relation to political participation and awareness. The findings have shown that the youth in Nigeria are exposed to political participation online.

Recently online political participation has mobilized opposition to the government's decision related to the implementation of GST (Goods and Services Tax), price increases and religious issue. However, the youth are more inclined to using the new media, social media to be precise, for entertainment and social networking. It is time to shift to more empowered usage such as using the new media to engage with community leaders and politicians and comment on issues related to political development. Failing this, will be a waste of resource made available by the new media for citizen participation and decision making. Based on the finding, further studies can be conducted in the context of online political marketing among youth in Nigeria especially how youth can play their role in promoting a party's strategy in election.

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DEMOCRACY AND THE FIGHT AGAINST LEADERSHIP CORRUPTION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: IMPLICATION FOR CONTINENTAL DEVELOPMENT

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KEYWORDS
Leadership, Democracy, Anticorruption, Underdevelopment, Development

ABSTRACT
This paper examines democracy and the fight against leadership corruption in relation to Africa and its implication on development and security issues using a qualitative data gathering and analysis method. There is a particular Nigeria's current governance system. Scholars frequently see corruption as a fundamental impediment to growth and development. Every society hates corruption and frequently holds the leaders accountable. Anti-corruption advocacy mechanisms exist all around the world to promote ethical leadership in government. For example, the African Union has adopted a set of continental anticorruption protocols to help member nations combat the rising tide of corruption and its ramifications for human security. It claims that the nature of African political leadership breeds a tendency for power abuse. We find that the political elite's entrenched vested interests have promoted corruption and abuse of power as instruments of governance, and have rendered the necessary statutory institutional oversight systems ineffectual. While society is gripped by governance crisis with all of its ramifications, the political elite lives in luxury. As a result, the study contends that if citizens continue to tolerate unethical behaviors by political leaders, the governance crisis caused by misuse of public resources by political leadership will worsen insecurity and underdevelopment in Nigeria, West Africa.

Introduction

The continent of Africa is filled with underdeveloped human societies. Though it stands as the cradle of human civilization, but a mere mention of the continent signifies poverty, unemployment, inequality, dependency, acute corruption, political instability and bad governance among other vices. Democracy may not be alien to Africa, but the modern democratic ethosis not readily found in African societies due to leadership corruption. Little wonder why African governments were able to jump at the opportunity to declare the year 2018 as Anti-corruption year. The African Union Summit in Addis Ababa addressed the repercussions of corruption on the continent's growth under the subject "Winning the Fight Against Corruption: A Sustainable Path to Africa's Transformation."General Muhamadu Buhari, Nigeria's president was at that programme, and he officially introduced the topic, calling corruption "one of the worst ills of our day" (Tankou, 2018).The leaders committed to "fight together to defeat this evil" after

acknowledging that "corruption deprives our young citizens of opportunities to create meaningful livelihoods" (cf. Tankou, 2018). Corruption is still rampant in Africa two years after this proclamation, with disastrous repercussions.

In its 2019 report, Transparency International (TI) noted a worsening report of corruption on the continent, urging leaders to "urgently address the corrupting role of big money in political party financing and the undue influence it exerts on our political systems," as its Chairperson, Delia Ferreira Rubio, advised (TI, 2020: 7). Only eight of the 49 African countries included in the index scored more than 43%.

The continent's average score was 32 percent, and "corrupt actions continue to hinder economic progress and good governance across the continent," according to the report (Marais, 2019). Corruption's effects on governance are more widespread in Africa (Appiah, Frowne, & Frowne, 2019; Mlambo, Zubane, & Mlambo, 2020). Despite countless studies on the implications of power abuse, the impact of power abuse in Africa continues to reverberate at every stage of development (UNICEF, 2019). While the effects of sustainable development have been detrimental, efforts by civil society have been ineffectual. Nonetheless, different development indexes and assessments have continued to show worsening occurrences of widespread governance instability (World Poverty Clock, 2020). The management of the COVID-19 pandemic, when the procurement process was marred by corruption, exemplified this epidemic of manifested unscrupulous activities in public affairs, as government officials and political leaders exploited the healthcare crisis to achieve personal goals.

The corruption that characterized the acquisition of personal protective equipment (PPE) during the pandemic in South Africa, for example, revealed how political leaders used the epidemic to advance personal interests (Nkanjeni, 2020; Cele, Amashabalala, Deklerk, & Shoba, 2020; Wicks, 2020). Similarly, political leaders in Nigeria hoarded relief items intended for public distribution while government officials diverted monies to themselves (The Observers, 27/10/2020; Obiezu, 2020; Shaban, 2020).Government officials in Zimbabwe and Somalia who were arrested for COVID-19-related corruption were either fired or prosecuted (Africa Research Bulletin, 2020).During the pandemic, the Kenya Medical Supplies Agency (Kemsa) was accused of corruption to the tune of US$400 million (Africa Research Bulletin, 2020).All these case scenarios above are impediments to development and are perpetuated by those in leadership.

Objectives of the Paper

The following objectives provided guides for this paper to;

i. unravel the nexus between leadership, democracy and corruption in Africa using Nigeria as a case study.

ii. assess the impact democratic leadership plays to thrive or delimit corruption to promoting development and security in Nigeria

iii. understand the true nature of the fight against corruption and its implication for democracy, security and development in Africa and Nigeria in particular.

iv. make recommendations on ways to improve democracy, leadership, security and development in Africa and particularly in Nigeria.

Methodology

This is aqualitative paper with primary and secondary data as instruments of analysis. It is ex post facto in nature. Primary data were derived from personal observation and various reports of relevantpublic institutions and archival materials, while extant literature constitutes the source of secondary data. Thematic presentation of thedata was supported by relevant primary data for analytical purposes.

Conceptual Clarifications

Concept of Leadership:

The concept of leadership is not an easy subject to define and explain. Leadership experts have studied leadership in one or several academic fields such as social psychology, anthropology, human resources, sociology, political science, education, theology and business. In the beginning, the definitions identified leadership as “a focus of group process and movement- personality in action. The next definitions considered it the art of inducing compliance” and “the more recent definitions

conceive of leadership in terms of influence relationships, power differentials, persuasion, influence on goal achievement, role differentiation, reinforcement, initiation of structure, and perceived attributions of behaviour that are consistent with what the perceivers believe leadership to be" (Bass and Bass, 2008).

However, Ogbeidi, (2012) defines leadership "as a body of people who lead and direct the activities of a group towards a shared goal". This implies the ability to lead, direct and organize a group towards achieving a mutually shared goal. Udegbe (1999:282) defines "leadership as the process of creating the subordinates' identification with the group's mission and creating their desires to achieve the group's goal". In the light of this understanding, (Norman Schwarzkopf quoted in Ogbeidi, 2012) defines leadership as a potent combination of strategy and character and strongly stresses that, of the two elements, character is the most preferred for leadership. Leadership is a social influence process in which the leader seeks the voluntary participation of subordinates to achieve organizational goals (Graig, 2005).

Similarly, John Gardener describes leadership as the process of persuasion or example by which an individual induces a group to pursue objectives held by the leader or shared by the leader and his or her followers (Weekly Trust, 2004). Accordingly, leadership is a process of social influence by which a superior influences subordinates to accomplish an objective and directs the organization in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent (Chemers, cited in Ogbeidi, 2012). A leader therefore is expected to be visionary, selfless, tact, prudent, level-headed with good character, and must have ability to lead by example. Leadership is defined as the ability to consistently influence a group of people and includes a variety of critical characteristics. While management is concerned with the general direction and monitoring of a team's work operations, leadership is concerned with the team's continuing motivation, engagement, and productivity.

Concept of Democracy:

Democracy can simply be defined as a political system that is capable of rectifying its own dysfunctions. It is a form of government whereby the autonomous power belongs to and is implemented by the citizen, directly or indirectly. A system in which ordinary citizens have influence, although indirectly, in the affairs of the state (Shihata, 1997). The minimalist definition of democracy according to Schumpeter, (1942) 'that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide employing a competitive struggle for the people's vote'. Dahl, (1971) expands on this definition by identifying seven key principles essential for democracy or as he calls it "polyarchy", these include; Control over governmental decisions about policy constitutionally vested in elected officials. Relatively frequent, fair and free elections. Universal adult suffrage. The right to run for public office. Freedom of expression. Access to alternative sources of information that are not monopolised by either the government or any other single group. Freedom of association, i.e. the right to form and join autonomous associations such as political parties, interest groups, and more. As a result, an increasing number of democratisation experts are turning towards a substantive definition of democracy, which is a definition that gives greater importance to the role and significance of accountability. This could be vertical, horizontal or societal. Democracy is a government in which the people have supreme power, which they exercise directly or indirectly through a system of representation, which usually includes free elections held regularly.

Corruption:

Corruption like most concepts in social sciences has been conceptualised in different ways by a variety of scholars and institutions. (World Bank, 1973) views corruption as an abuse of public office for private gains. Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when a private agent actively offers bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit.

The World Bank's definition emphasizes the abuse of public office for private gains but did not mention the fact that it is induced by the private sector through patronage. (Aluko 2009) while examining the act of corruption in Nigeria's local government system, opines that corruption is the act of illegally diverting resources (particularly financial) meant for the good of the citizenry in a defined geographical area by a privileged individual or a group, for personal use, presumably for self-aggrandizement. This definition though broad based, did not include some attributes of corruption such as nepotism, favouritism and offering of classified information

for undue advantages which are prevalent in Nigeria. The definition also did not consider the remote effect of corruption in a particular country or other parts of the globe and therefore not suitable for this study.
According to Osoba (1996), corruption is a form of anti-social behaviour by an individual or social group that confers unjust or fraudulent benefits on its perpetrators. It then means that it is inconsistent with the established legal norm and prevailing moral ethos of the land and is likely to subvert or diminish the capacity of the legitimate authorities to provide fully for the material and spiritual well-being of all members of society in a just and equitable manner. This definition is broad-based but failed to state whether it is corruption in the public or private sector. Corruption is a sort of dishonesty or criminal conduct committed by someone or something in a position of power to obtain unlawful benefits or abuse power for personal gain.Corruption is a sort of dishonesty or criminal conduct committed by someone or something in a position of power to obtain unlawful benefits or abuse power for personal gain.Corruption can entail a variety of actions, such as bribery and embezzlement, as well as practices that are legal in many nations.When a public official or other government employee acts in an official role for personal gain, this is known as political corruption.

Concept of Development:

The concept of development can be said to be relative since there cannot be one precise definition for it. As a result, it has been defined by various people in different ways. The process of growth, advancement, good change, or the addition of physical, economic, environmental, social, and demographic components are all examples of development.The goal of development is to improve people's living standards and quality of life, as well as to create or expand local regional income and employment possibilities while preserving the environment's resources.Development is apparent and beneficial, although not always right away, and involves aspects of quality change as well as the establishment of conditions for that change to continue.

According to Okoye (2010), development should imply not simply an increase in the productive capacity or income which may mean just growth without development, but major transformations in the socio-economic structures whose inequalities and rigidities resulting from outmoded systems, have tended to inhibit all-sided and even development of many third world societies. He went further to report that McNamara once emphasized that development is complex like life itself, and that 'development has been expressed in terms of growth of output. There is now an emerging awareness that the availability of work, the distribution of income, and the quality of life are equally important measures of development.

Okediji (2011), in Ibe (1989:20), summarized his definition of development as, 'A process of initiating societal change to improve the capability of the institution and values of the community to meet the increasing and various social, cultural, political, economic and technological demands of its people'. Almaric (2007:137), defines development as a path of societal evolution that combines structural changes with improvement in people's welfare. From the above conceptualization, it can be deduced, that development is for people and not people for development. For any development effort to succeed it has to be people oriented and focused.

Koinyan (1987:11) opined that true development must mean the development of man, the unfolding and realization of his creative potential enabling him to improve his material conditions and living, through the use of resources available to him. He went further to say that, it is a process by which man's personality is enhanced, and it is that enhanced personality that is the moving force behind the socio-economic transformation of society. His argument therefore is that when the emphasis on development is on things, all human resources remain latent. Untapped potential and a society can be poor amidst the most opulent material resources. According to Olatunbosun (2012:39) Seers (1969) pointed out the following important questions in his discussion about development; what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? He went further to assert that if all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result '"development", even if per capita income doubled.

Leadership, Corruption and Governance

Leadership has a critical role in the governance of every society.As a result, any society's top priority is to select leaders charged with the responsibility to achieve the common good (Walker, 2017; 2020).Early political thinkers such as Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, for example, were extremely concerned by the lack of a central authority to control men's activities in the natural world.As a result, life in Hobbesian nature was solitary, impoverished, ugly, brutish, and brief (Carey, 2020; Zivanovic, 2013). Because, as Hobbes also reasoned, a well-ordered society was in the best interests of everybody, John Locke harped on the requirement for leadership to achieve justice (Mouritz, 2010). While Hobbes proposed a Leviathan as a solution to the hazards of nature, Locke proposed the existence of a contract based on the notion of laws ruled by ethical leadership. In this regard, the laws apply to all citizens, including leaders, to protect their lives, freedom, and property (Cawthon, 2017).

There are three main defining characteristics of leadership: power, the pursuit of collective goods, and innovation (Schoeller, 2017). Leaders acquire power for the pursuit of collective goods with constantinnovative measures and mechanisms. In practice, however, leaderscould manipulate these features to serve their pecuniary interests. Innovative leaders are agents of change, who devise a variety of ways ofexercising powers to ensure equilibrium in the administration of thesociety. This requires the emergence of ethical leadership to advancegovernance.

Citizens would seek to follow leaders with a pedigree and qualities that would assist them in steering society in the direction of realizing and achieving their collective goals. Citizens implicitly prefer to "follow someone whose goal we believe is magnificent or at least worthy, and who possesses particular qualities or powers to steer us and assist us in achieving the vision" (Crosby & Bryson, 2018: 1268).

This is an ethical process in which leaders and followers interact in mutually advantageous ways in order to ensure the maximum wellbeing of citizens and society as a whole (Crosby & Bryson, 2018).Corruption undermines good governance in emerging countries, particularly in African states, and leads to a series of crises of poor public service delivery.Only six African countries – Seychelles (67), Botswana (61), Cape Verde (58), Rwanda (53), Mauritius (52) and Namibia (52) were discovered among countries with scores above the average in Transparency International's Annual Corruption Perception Index 2019.This is primarily a leadership issue.

An Overview of African Leadership and Corruption Challenges

In Africa, leadership has been the most powerful factor in precipitating the governance crisis. The majority of African political elites frequently utilize the state for personal gain."Most African presidents, explicitly or covertly, frequently convert the state to their personal properties, especially those who have a history of extended stays in power, thereby making political power a family heritage," according to another source (Fagbadebo, 2019b: 18). African leaders met in May 2013 to discuss the state of the continent and adopted Agenda 2063, dubbed "The Africa We Want."The leaders expressed concern about the need for inclusive social and economic development, regional integration, democratic governance, and peace and security (MO Ibrahim Foundation, 2019). In realization of the damage of corruption on development andgrowth, African leaders initiated the continental anti-corruption legislation in 2003 and later ratified it as the African Union Conventionon Preventing and Combating Corruption (AUCPCC) (Fagbadebo,2019b). African Union leaders expressed their concern “about thenegative effects of corruption and impunity on the political, economic, social, and cultural stability of the African States and its devastatingeffects on the economic and social development of the African peoples” (AUPCC,2003). The convention identified some activities thatamounted to corruption.

Solicitation or acceptance of bribes, offering or granting of bribes, any act or omission in the discharge of official tasks, diversion of public property, unlawful enrichment, and solicitation or granting of influence on an individual's behalf are all prohibited. Others include after-the-fact participation as a principal, co-principal, agent, instigator, accomplice, or accessory, as well as the use or concealment of proceeds gained from any of the actions.

In an environment marked by systemic corruption, institutionalised robbery of the public treasury has become prevalent, while legendary docility has increased the rate of incompetence in the conduct of public affairs.For

example, in Nigeria, the bars of administration and leadership have fallen into a muddy floor of incompetence and corruption, "because to the ruling elites' lack of good moral and ethical principles in their behaviour" (Fagbadebo, 2019: 56-57).According to the annual Corruption Perception Index 2020, corruption is widespread in 46 of the 52 African countries, giving the continent the lowest-scoring region among the 180 countries. Misuse of public resources implies that public service delivery is jeopardized, as is the well-being of the people.

Corruption and the Crisis of Governance in Nigeria

Increased instability in Nigeria, for example, appeared to have normalized criminal acts such as abduction. Kidnappers had found a safe refuge in the demand for ransom, which had become a profitable source of income due to security authorities' inability to apprehend the culprits.

Despite his self-confessions to a series of killings of some of his victims, even after they had paid payments, the litigation against Chukwudi Dumeme Onuamadike, popularly known as Evans, who was arrested for leading a gang of kidnappers on June 10, 2017, has remained in limbo (Jannah, 2019; Onyekwere et al., 2017). Kidnapping has become a "booming" business for criminals due to the government's lackluster response to the threat of insecurity. Boko Haram insurgents have kidnapped students and other residents for ransom on several occasions (Okoli, 2019). Nigeria has the biggest proportion of people living in extreme poverty, with 95.9 million (48%) of the country's 201.6 million people living in poverty (World Poverty Clock, 2020).377 million Africans will live on less than $1.90 per day by 2030 (Hamel et al., 2019).

Democratic Leadership and the Fight against Corruption in Africa, Nigeria in Focus

After attaining political independence, African states experienced various degrees of political turmoil. Many of the countries suffered from serial rapes of the political system by the military. This was considered the height of political corruption in the continent. However, corruption has a far longer political history in Africa than its post-independence colouration. Imperialistic relationships between Europe and Africa were corrupt entanglements. For example, corruption in Nigeria dates back to the independence era (around 1960) and has existed since the country's independence.

Corruption was rampant at the time, but it was hidden. However, due to public administration and the finding of oil and natural gas, it soon became the norm. Today, corrupt activities include nepotism, greed, and megalomania, among other things. It is so common that numerous nations have issued travel advisories to their citizens, and many experts have condemned Nigeria's sorry state. Ironically, various political efforts have been established throughout history to deter corruption. Despite this, military incursions into the first, second, and third republics were launched in response to allegations of corruption under civilian government. As a result, democracy had little room to breathe.

After the death of Sani Abacha, the dictatorial military ruler, the present republic, which began in 1999, provided some hope to Nigeria. Nigeria, on the other hand, had continued to suffer from corruption even after embracing democracy, a legacy of military dictatorship. After independence, many anti-crime and -corruption commissions such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) were set up. Further, years after the EFCC was formed, several other policies and laws got promulgated to fight corruption and crime.

For example, the Ministry of Finance issued a "whistle-blowing policy" in 2016 to encourage people to report corrupt acts. Another important anti-corruption policy introduced by President Muhammadu Buhari in 2015 was the so-called anti-graft battle. Despite the numerous measures taken to combat corruption, little has been accomplished other than regressive growth. Electoral activities are marred by fraud, forgeries, and violence, and living conditions are at the other end of the scale, with food costs skyrocketing. Kidnapping has also become a lucrative business for the past few years. Between June 2011 and March 2020, at least $18.34 million in ransom was paid to kidnappers, according to SB Morgen (SBM) Intelligence.

Moreover, embezzlement has become a sort of responsibility for some political leaders. To top it off, Nigeria was ranked 146th in the Transparency Corruption Index in 2019. In the previous year, it dropped to 149th place. Ironically, this is the only type of growth that the country has ever had.

Key Findings of the Study

After reviewing various literature, it is discovered in the findings, that there is a clear nexus between leadership, democracy and corruption in Africa. The role democratic leadership plays to thrive or delimit corruption in relation to promoting development and security in Nigeria is very significant.

The true nature of the fight against corruption and its implication for democracy, security and development in Africa and particularly Nigeria.Africa's underdevelopment is solely propelled by corrupt practices carried out by its leaders even in the faceof democratic eras and regimes. Nigeria was ranked 146th in the Transparency Corruption Index in 2019. In the previous year, it dropped to 149th place. Ironically, this is the only type of growth that the country has ever had.

Also, democratic governance that is blowing across the various regions of Africa seems to lack the touch of Africans, hence, its embellishment with corruption. The continent is finding it hard to transform democracy into development and security because it has failed to polish this Western democracy with the oil of African communalism. The democratic process has been turned into conduit pipes to siphon national resources and projects continental underdevelopment. In addition, the paper found that democracy has not been able to change the patriarchal nature of leadership in Africa and Nigeria in particular. Males still dominate the leadership positions across the continent, except in Rwanda, where genocide contributed to the more pronounced role of women in politics.

Conclusion

Africa used to be a sane continent where global leading capitalists found trade solace even with less people participating in governance. However, it has become a reversed trend even with democratic governance spreading across the continent. Corruption has been the major factor responsible for the continuous underdevelopment of the continent. In its 2019 Global Corruption Barometer, Africa, TI discovered that ahigh proportion of Africans bemoaned the rising tide of corruption ingovernment activities and its consequences on service delivery (Transparency International, 2019). Participants in the survey agreed that corruption was getting worse with devastating effects on the well-beingof citizens, especially on development and security. Citizens were able to access public services, such aseducation and healthcare, only after the payment of bribes to government officials. Those who paid bribes were mostly the poorestcitizens. In other words, a large population of African citizens have theperception that unethical behaviours characterize their politicalleadership in government. The implication of this is that Africans aredisenchanted by the manner their leaders run the affairs of government.

Public trust in governance is a rarity, and members of the public feelalienated and abandoned by the government (Asala, 2020; Majavu,2020). When leaders refuse to compromise the rule of law and adhere topunishing unethical behaviours, the path to recovering from theconsequences of the past begins. The warped societal values, which have ascribed wealth to leadership positions, compound thepaucity of ethical leadership in Africa.The resentment against corruption and the determination for goodgovernance requires effective anti-corruption policies and concertedefforts to explore the possibilities offered by democracy (The World Bank, 2018b).

Recommendations

The paper makes the following recommendations:

i. There is need to strengthen the voting process in order to prevent fraud. This would necessitate the development of an engaged civil society as well as independent supervision structures and agencies.

ii. For the formation of credible political leaders, electoral integrity is a must. Rigging and other voting irregularities should be discouraged via electoral reforms and administration. This will make it easier for Nigerians to demand and respond to genuine development, accountability, and good governance.

iii. Furthermore, delivering inclusive and transparent public services should be a top priority. When citizens have equal access to public services, public trust in government is restored, and resource management is maintained. To apprehend and penalize unethical

behavior, oversight systems and institutions should be effective in the application and execution of required statutory accountability measures.

iv. Like China, Africa should evolve a democratic governing system that captures its diversities and histories. This will reduce the humongous amount that is being spent on the democratic processes in Africa which have not yielded development or guaranteed security.

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INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDPs) IN NIGERIA: THE ROLES OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS

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IDPs, Refugees, R2P, UNHCR, Nigeria

ABSTRACT
The paper examines the global responsibility to protect internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Nigeria. It utilizes case studies, reports, and official documents to assess the current response to internal displacement in Nigeria and identify its challenges and shortcomings. The paper argues that the needs of IDPs in Nigeria have not been adequately addressed due to factors such as a lack of political will, limited resources, and structural barriers stemming from government corruption and conflict dynamics. Additionally, the study analyzes the roles and responsibilities of international actors, including the United Nations and international NGOs, in providing assistance to IDPs. It asserts that although these actors have made some progress in addressing the issues faced by IDPs in Nigeria. However, more effort is required to ensure the protection of their rights and reintegration into their communities. In conclusion, the paper calls for a more coordinated and comprehensive approach to the protection of IDPs in Nigeria, as well as the fulfillment of international obligations to assist them in achieving sustainable solutions.

Introduction

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are individuals who have been forced to leave their homes or habitual residences due to armed conflict, violence, human rights abuses, or natural and man-made disasters. Unlike refugees, who cross international borders and receive protection under international law, IDPs remain within their country of origin and do not have the same legal protections. This situation presents significant challenges for IDPs, including displacement, human rights violations, and limited access to essential services such as food, water, and healthcare. The issue of internal displacement is a pressing concern globally, with millions of people being forced to flee their homes due to conflict, violence, and natural disasters (World Bank, 2017; Mooney, 2005; Hugo, Abbasi-Shavazi&Kraly, 2017).

By the end of 2022, the number of IDPs worldwide had reached alarming levels. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) estimates that there are currently 71.1 million people living as IDPs globally, which represents a 20 percent increase from 2022. Out of this total, 62.5 million individuals have been displaced within their own countries as a result of violent conflict, while 8.7 million have been displaced due to natural disasters (IDMC, 2023). The countries with the highest number of IDPs

include Syria, Ukraine, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Colombia, Yemen, and Afghanistan. Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, and Sudan also have significant numbers of IDPs. However, the COVID-19 pandemic has further complicated the situation for IDPs across the globe. The pandemic has worsened existing vulnerabilitiesand inequalities, leading to additional displacement and increased humanitarian needs. According to IDMC, more than 5 million people were newly displaced due to conflict and violence in 2020, and the restrictions imposed as a result of COVID-19 have made it more challenging to provide humanitarian assistance and respond effectively to the needs of IDPs (IDMC, 2021; Khouzam& Verma, 2020; Kelley, 2022).

The challenges faced by IDPs are multifaceted and complex. IDPs often encounter difficulties in accessing fundamental services such as healthcare, education, and clean water and sanitation. They are also at risk of various human rights violations, including sexual and gender-based violence, exploitation, and forced recruitment into armed groups. IDPs are vulnerable to poverty, social exclusion, and discrimination, which can hinder their ability to recover and lead productive lives (Oghuvbu&Okolie, 2020; Khai, 2023; Kemei et al., 2023). Nigeria, a country with a population of over 200 million, has one of the highest numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs) globally. From climate change-induced disasters to protracted conflict and violence, Nigeria has been facing multiple crises that have caused a significant increase in the number of IDPs. As of December 2022, there were approximately 4.5 million IDPs in the country. This places Nigeria as the third-highest country in Africa for the number of IDPs, behind the Democratic Republic of Congo and Ethiopia (IDMC, 2023). Sadly, the plight of Nigeria's IDPs often goes unnoticed and neglected. They lack adequate attention from policymakers, global actors, and humanitarian organizations, resulting in immense suffering and hardship. IDPs are frequently deprived of essential needs such as shelter, food, healthcare, and education, and they face various forms of exploitation, abuse, and violence (Magaji, 2023).

Undoubtedly, IDPs in Nigeria are experiencing a severe humanitarian crisis that requires urgent attention and action. It is crucial for global actors, policymakers, and humanitarian organizations to collaborate and ensure the protection, respect for rights, and fulfillment of needs for IDPs. This demands a comprehensive and multifaceted approach that addresses the root causes of displacement and promotes the recovery and resilience of IDPs. Consequently, this paper aims to explore the global responsibility to protect and assist IDPs in Nigeria. It will assess the roles and responsibilities of international actors in guaranteeing sufficient protection and assistance for IDPs. The study will draw from existing literature on the concept of responsibility to protect and analyze its implementation in the Nigerian context. The previous researches focused on the general issues related to global responsibility to protect IDPs. None of them focused on global responsibility to protect Nigerian IDPs.The findings of this research are vital in guiding policymakers, humanitarian actors, and scholars in designing effective policies and programs that cater to the needs of IDPs in Nigeria. Furthermore, the research problem revolves around lack of comprehensive and effective action in addressing the challenges faced by the IDPs in Nigeria. Despite the global recognition of their plight and responsibility to protect them. However, the gap remains in the responsibility of protection and assisting IDPs in the Nigerian context.

Literature Review

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a concept in international politics that aims to protect populations from mass atrocities. It states that states are responsible for protecting their own populations from crimes like genocide and ethnic cleansing. However, when states fail in this responsibility, the international community has a duty to intervene through diplomacy, economic measures, and, in extreme cases, military action to prevent such atrocities. The concept of R2P raises questions regarding internally displaced persons (IDPs) – individuals who have been forced to flee their homes but remain within their country. IDPs are vulnerable as their displacement weakens the social contract within a state and creates conditions that foster violence and exploitation. Consequently, some scholars argue that there is a gap in the R2P framework regarding the protection of IDPs. While states have the primary responsibility to safeguard them, many states lack the capacity or willingness to do so effectively, leaving IDPs without adequate protection.

Hansel &Reichwein (2023) argue that the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) consists of three

pillars. The first pillar states that every sovereign state has the responsibility to protect its citizens within its borders. The second pillar emphasizes that the international community should assist states in protecting their citizens if they are unable to do so themselves. The third pillar asserts that the international community is responsible for protecting populations from human rights abuses and should intervene when governments fail to fulfill their responsibilities. Overall, the passage highlights the origins and evolution of the R2P, emphasizing the need for international intervention to prevent mass atrocities and protect people from human rights violations.

Hofmann (2023) examines the expectations and challenges associated with the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) framework. R2P is described as a set of norms that outline three expectations of behavior within the international community. Firstly, it asserts that sovereignty includes a responsibility for states to protect their populations from atrocity crimes. Secondly, it emphasizes that the international community should support states in fulfilling this responsibility. Lastly, it states that if a state fails in its protection responsibilities, the international community, represented by the UN Security Council, has a subsidiary responsibility to protect populations under threat. However, there is controversy and disagreement surrounding the interpretation and implementation of R2P. Many non-Western states perceive the third pillar of R2P as part of a Western liberal-internationalist agenda aimed at spreading democracy and promoting human rights, potentially through the use of coercion. They argue that, for R2P to be recognized as a norm, there needs to be a shared acceptance of the underlying standards of appropriate behavior and collective action to prevent mass atrocities.

Cohen (2010) explores the origins of R2P in the context of IDP protection and highlights the challenges in applying the concept to displaced persons. The study posits that the concept of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) emerged as a response to the growing number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) who were in need of international protection. The rise of civil wars during and after the Cold War brought attention to millions of individuals within their own countries who had been forced to leave their homes. The 1951 Refugee Convention and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) provided protection for those outside their countries of origin, while IDPs faced challenges in accessing basic necessities. It was only in the 1990s that efforts began to address this gap in protection for IDPs. By recognizing and addressing the unique challenges faced by IDPs, the international community can strive to fulfill its responsibility to protect all individuals from gross human rights violations.

Lwabukuna (2021) studies the concept of the responsibility to protect (R2P) as it relates to preventing, addressing, and finding lasting solutions to internal displacement in Africa. It acknowledges that while innovative norms for protecting the forcibly displaced have been developed in Africa, they have not been effectively implemented to address displacement in a sustainable manner. Similarly, R2P has faced criticism due to a lack of clarity and distrust. The study suggests that the underlying norms of frameworks for internally displaced persons (IDPs) and R2P complement each other and can be simultaneously operationalized through a more credible regional approach. This approach aims to encourage effective protection of IDPs in Africa. The study specifically explores the three pillars of R2P (prevention, response, and rebuilding) and the moral principles that underpin them, using Kenya as a case study to illustrate the process of seeking state responsibility for protecting displaced civilians affected by mass atrocities.

Ercan (2022) critically analyzes the practice of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) over the past two decades. It highlights the importance of reflecting on the norm's implementation and whether R2P has become a shared responsibility since its introduction by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in 2001. It acknowledges that there have been numerous academic and political debates surrounding R2P, and a significant body of literature has emerged addressing its normative evolution and various aspects of practice in response to humanitarian crises. However, it notes that most accounts have focused on specific aspects or pillars of the norm, as well as popular cases like Darfur and Libya.

Davies & Glanville (2010) highlights the recent invocation of the "responsibility to protect" (R2P) concept in the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa. This convention, for the first time, recognizes the rights of internally displaced persons (IDPs) to

humanitarian assistance and outlines the obligations of states and armed groups to protect uprooted citizens, including those displaced by conflict and natural disasters. However, it raises questions about the extent to which the international community should intervene when a home country is unwilling or unable to protect its people. It also discusses the relationship between the responsibility to protect and the principles of sovereignty and questions whether the Kampala convention represents the responsibility to protect in action. It further mentions the lack of debate on how R2P enhances the work of those advocating for the protection of refugees and IDPs, as well as the uncertainty surrounding the application of R2P in situations of displacement due to natural disasters, economic crises, food shortages, and disease outbreaks.

Hehir and Hehir (2019) examines the paradoxical nature of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine. It acknowledges that while R2P has gained significant popularity among states, state-sponsored oppression and atrocity crimes continue to increase, highlighting a stark gap between the commitment to R2P and the reality on the ground. It references UN Secretary-General António Guterres' observation that there is a disconnect between the stated commitment to R2P and the daily experiences of populations at risk of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. The study acknowledges that R2P has garnered widespread support from states, surpassing the earlier concept of "humanitarian intervention."

Theoretical frameworks

This study is situated within the framework of the cosmopolitan theory. The theory advocates collective responsibility to solve global problems. Accordingly, the phenomena of internal displacement should not be seen as only the responsibility of the affected State, but it should be seen as a global or collective responsibility. Fundamentally, the cosmopolitan theory is relevant to this study because it extends its enquiry beyond sovereign State borders and it assumes that “everyone matters” irrespective of national boundaries. It is a philosophical perspective that advocates for the protection of all individuals, regardless of their nationality or location, as moral equals with inherent human rights.

The etymological root of cosmopolitan derives from the combination of two Greek words, kosmo (universe or world) and polites (citizens). Therefore, kosmopolites means “citizens of the word” or “global citizens” (Kleingeld and Brown, 2014; Liddell and Scott, 1996). It assumes that all human beings belong to a single community by virtue of their common humanity. It advocates that all human beings should interact across the globe with a high sense of companionship. Furthermore, the theory upholds that all human beings shall be treated equally irrespective of color, religion, gender, race and nationality. It advocates global governance that surpasses any social, political, cultural, religious and geographical divisions. Basically, all human beings belong to the same community, regardless of their political or national attachments. Human beings are morally obliged to be good and helpful not only to their fellow country citizens but also to strangers. In fact, the cosmopolitan theory champions ‘universal hospitality’. Consequently, the idea of R2P in line with cosmopolitanism. Wyatt (2019) established the correlation between R2P and cosmopolitan approach of human protection. It argues that the notion is associated with the principles of collective responsibility that lies at the heart of cosmopolitan’s assumption. It is observed that the humanitarian crisis affecting IDPs receives less attention from the international community. It is obvious that the plight of IDPs has become a formidable challenge that requires genuine international attention and assistance.

Cosmopolitan theory challenges the traditional Westphalian notion of sovereignty, which prioritizes the rights of states over those of individuals. By recognizing the inherent value and rights of all individuals, it expands the scope of protection beyond national boundaries to include internally displaced persons (IDPs) and other vulnerable populations. It further, discourages discrimination among/between human beings and encourages anyone to see others as equally important. The adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 could be regarded as clear manifestation of the cosmopolitanism. It “brings human agency back in world politics” (Sugiono, 2011). Moreover, the theory recognizes the role of international institutions, and the importance of finding transnational solutions to global crises. This is because the international institutions are more interested in helping the generality of humanity rather than advancing narrow national institutions. Likewise, O’Neil (2004) persuasively

argues that when the rights of a particular group are not fully protected, this does not mean that they have insufficient rights. It is because their rights are not fully protected as a result of failure of their states to carry out their internal responsibilities. Consequently, the international agencies as "secondary agents of justice" shall assumes the secondary responsibility of protecting the rights the group. This is in tandem with the principle of R2P.

The theory supports the idea that when a state fails to protect its population from mass atrocities, other states or international organizations have a moral obligation to intervene. This intervention can take various forms, including diplomatic pressure, economic sanctions, and military action. The recent involvement of the UNHCR, WHO and UNDP in the internal displacement crisis shows the relevance of cosmopolitan theory. The new approach of the agency concerns not only the protection and assistance of the refugees, but also the internally-displaced persons. In this regard, Sadako Ogata, former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, urges the international community to prevent or alleviate the plights of both IDPs and Refugees (Cahill, 2013).

In summary, cosmopolitan theory provides a moral framework for protecting IDPs and promoting R2P by expanding the scope of protection, promoting humanitarian intervention, addressing root causes, and enhancing accountability. Consequently, there is the proliferation of the international organizations' involvement in internal displacement crisis more than ever before. For example, the UNHCR has played a very vital role in the internal displacement crisis not only in Nigeria but in other parts of the world. Moreover, the cosmopolitan theory attempts to reconcile state sovereignty with responsibility. It recognizes that the protection responsibility of the IDPs lies with the state concerned. However, when the state lacks political will or is incapable of discharging those responsibilities, the responsibility shifts to the international community to fill in the gaps of the state responsibilities (Cahill, 2013a; Cahill, 2013b). Boutros-Ghali posits that "Underlying the rights of the individual and the rights of the peoples is a dimension of universal sovereignty that resides in all humanity and provides all peoples with legitimate involvement in issues affecting the world as a whole. It is a sense that increasingly finds expression in the gradual expansion of international law" (Boutros-Ghali, 1992: 99).

Global Responsibility to Protect and Assist Internally Displaced Persons in Nigeria

Legally, the State authorities have the primary responsibility to protect IDPs and ensure that their rights and liberty are fully protected. This is because, constitutionally, the national governments are under the obligation to protect their citizens (including IDPs). Certainly, internal displacement concerns national authorities (Bellamy & Dunne, 2016). However, the plight of the IDPs necessitates the international community to come together under the umbrella of the United Nations to provide the means that will help in providing succor to the group. In 1992, the UN Secretary General appointed the IDPs' Representative to study the crisis of global internal displacement. He recommended that something needed to be done to alleviate the suffering of the IDPs, since no specific international legal and institutional frameworks for their protection existed. He maintained that, whenever a refugee crisis occurs, UNHCR would formally assume responsibility of providing humanitarian protection and assistance to the victims. On the other hand, no similar provision establishes for the IDPs (Ulrich, 2016). Consequently, the normative framework (Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement) has been established in 1998 to be used in the situation of internal displacement. The principles have basically shaped the institutional response. At the same time, they have facilitated the humanitarian/human rights discourse on the IDPs. Internal displacement has widely been understood as a challenge that needs to be addressed by the international community (Stavropoulou, 2016).

Protection involves "all activities aimed at ensuring full respect for the rights of the individual in accordance with the letter and the spirit of the relevant bodies of law, i.e. human rights law, international humanitarian law and refugee law" (Ferris, 2011: 278). Similarly, Humanitarian Aid Policy of the Swedish government argues that:

> *Protection includes measures designed to ensure respect for the rights of people in need, in particular the right to physical safety and dignity. Related*

> *measures include calling attention to the obligations of armed groups, registration of the status of refugees or internally displaced persons and education about rights and obligations under international law (Cubie, 2017: 23).*

Moreover, for international protection of IDPs to be effective, there is the need for concrete legal and institutional frameworks for their protection. Additionally, effective protection requires sincere states' commitment to unreservedly implement these frameworks. In this respect, Arthur Helton argues "When we speak of 'protection', we mean legal protection. The concept must be associated with entitlements under the law and for effective redress of grievances, mechanism to vindicate claims in respect of those entitlements" (1990: 119). Therefore, legal protection is beyond providing food and shelter to the IDPs in camps, it must encompass rights to entitlement and legal redress. Unfortunately, there is an absence of dedicated international legal and institutional framework for the protection of the IDPs. But to ensure global IDPs protection, the cluster approach was initiated by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) in 2005. The approach aims to invite relevant humanitarian agencies (such as the UNHCR, NGOs and state government) to address the plight of IDPs. It identifies about eleven key areas related to the problem of the IDPs, including protection, emergency shelter, camp coordination and camp management, nutrition, health, water/sanitation, logistics and emergency telecommunications. Others include education and food security and each cluster has been assigned with a "cluster lead'' (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, et al., 2014). The UNHC is a lead agency in the protection cluster.

Therefore, to examine how the UNHCR able to assist the protection of the IDPs in Nigeria, one has to refer to it role under the aegis of the cluster approach. Accordingly, a similar approach has been implemented in Nigeria to protect the IDPs. This approach in Nigeria is called the Protection Sector Working Group (PSWG). As explained earlier that the arrangement could be called Cluster or Sector.

The Roles of International Actors in the Protection and Assistance of IDPs

IDPs have been confronted with serious and unrelenting peril to their well-being. Many of them have been displaced for a long period and without any hope of finding a durable solution to their plight. Mostly, they have not been able to get the support they need from their national governments. Despite the global awareness about the plight of IDPs in recent years, the response to cater their needs have remained patchy and piecemeal. Consequently, to find a solution to their plight, various measures have been adopted, including the "Cluster Approach". Cluster Approach refers to division of labour among various UN and other humanitarian agencies to address the plight of IDPs. This approach has been endorsed by the Secretary General of the United Nations in 2005. Under this approach, the UNHCR accepts to play the leading role of providing emergency shelter and protection to the IDPs in conflict induced displacement situations. Also, the agency assumes the role of camp coordination and camp management (CCCM)(UNHCR, 2021).

Furthermore, the UNHCR has been vigorously involved in other clusters, including collaborating with UNICEF and the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) to provide protection to the IDPs displaced by natural disasters. Also, the UNAIDS has chosen the UNHCR to be the lead agency for IDPs with HIV/AIDS (UNHCR, 2007).The UNHCR acknowledges that the problem of internal displacement is beyond the capacity of any single agency including its own. It believes that the plight of IDPs will be effectively managed through inter-agency and partnership approach with the support of national governments. Therefore, the cluster approach was established to achieve effective international response to IDP management. The approach promotes "predictable, effective and accountable inter-agency response to ensuring protection and assistance for internally-displaced persons" (Cohen & Deng, 2012: 36). The Cluster approach categorizes nine vital areas of humanitarian response into "clustering" consist of various actors (including NGOs and non-UN intergovernmental organizations). Each cluster has been designated by the lead agency, depending on the area of expertise of each agency (Buzoya, 2009). For example, the UNHCR leads protection, UNICEF leads education and the WHO leads health, among others, etc. Each cluster leader is assigned with responsibility to coordinate the cluster working group in their specify area of expertise. In this regard, Cohen and Deng have recommended that "in each serious emergency, the principal responsibility for the internally-displaced persons should be

assigned to one operational agency backed by an effective inter-agency coordinating mechanism: or the agency itself could be authorized to perform the coordination" (2012: 9).

While providing assistance to the protection and humanitarian assistance to the IDPs, the UNHCR establishes working relationship with the state, regional, international and NGOs in all parts of the globe. Over the years, the Agency acquires competence, expertise as well as the capacity to protect and find a durable solution for the displaced people. The agency tries to comply with the recommendation of the High-level Panel on System-wide Coherence report that posits that the: "UNHCR must reposition itself to provide protection and assistance to displaced people in need, regardless of whether they have crossed an international border or not." (Rosenblum & Tichenor, 2012: 61). Furthermore, in line with the cluster approach, the UHNCR provides protection, emergency shelter, camp coordination and management for the IDPs**.** However, the agency needs to ensure that its involvements in IDP situations does not distract it from its core/primary mandate concerning refugees (Orchard, 2014).

In addition, cluster approach operates at both the national and international levels. At the international level, cluster leads are answerable to the Emergency Relief Coordinator and are equally responsible for coordinating the related international cluster working groups. However, these global efforts to establish a successful system has produced positive results. But it has still left a great gap specifically in respect of legal and institutional framework for IDPs' protection. The management and operation of internal displacement are completely based on a policy framework for the field action that has been used by humanitarian workers. In fact, there is no specific international legal framework for the protection of IDPs and at the same time there is no specific international agency that is responsible for IDPs protection.

Challenges in Global Efforts to Protect and Assist IDPs in Nigeria

The protection of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Nigeria has been a complex and multifaceted issue, requiring the involvement of international actors. The international actors have been facing many challenges in assisting and protecting the IDPs in Nigeria. First, there is lack of jurisdiction, limited resources, security risk, coordination challenges and corruption.

Lack of Jurisdiction/ Legal Authority

Lack of specific international legal and institutional framework for IDPs' protection is a major challenge facing the international actors (i.e. UNHCR) in assisting the protection of the IDPs. The protection of the IDPs lies with their national governments. There is no any dedicated international legal and institutional frameworks for the protection of IDPs. Consequently, IDPs suffer when their national governments fail to protect them. They become more vulnerable, because of the lack of an international legal framework for their protection when their states fail to do so (Cohen, 2010).

Although, the Guiding Principles are aimed at offering the international community the basis for involvement in IDP situations. Nonetheless, the Guiding Principles are mere "soft law" (non-binding) that lack binding effect under international laws. Therefore, they cannot be enforced on states or international humanitarian bodies. It is obvious that, the Guiding Principles have not done much to the IDPs protection.

Limited Resources

Lack of adequate financial resources is one of the constraints that hinders international agencies to adequately protect and assist the IDPs. There is no consistent international funding for the IDPs. Unlike funding for the refugees', there is no general provision for funding internal displacement. The agency depends on the donations getting from other countries and organizations, which are usually inadequate to meet the increasing needs of the IDPs in Nigeria and the world in general. This situation produces lack of capacity, infrastructures and manpower (Eweka& Olusegun, 2016). The UNHCR has been overstretched in assisting and protecting people, such as the IDPs that are not part of its primary mandate. Recently, the number of IDPs that are desperately in need of assistance and protection of the UNHCR has increased, but the funding has not (Martin, Fagen& Jorgensen, 2005).

According to the UNHCR Nigerian Situation report of 2017, UNHCR budgeted $ 169.9 Million for Nigerian IDPs in 2017. However, the agency could fund only 19% of the proposed budget and 81% remains the unmet gap (Nigeria Situation, 2017). Furthermore, the 2018's UNHCR report shows that the UNHCR budgeted $161.1million to fund (Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigerian

IDPs/refugees). Nevertheless, only 14% ($22.0 Million) had been sourced and 86 % ($139.1 Million) remains unfunded (Nigeria Situation, 2018).

Security Risk

The eight years' violent conflict between the Boko Haram insurgent group and Nigerian security forces have caused the displacement about 2 million people in the Northeastern region of Nigeria. The conflict has caused extensive humanitarian crisis in the region, rendering many people homeless (Thurston, 2017). Furthermore, the security constraints have hindered humanitarian actors from accessing the victims of the conflict. Many have been trapped in hard-to-reached areas and without access to humanitarian services. This has subjected them to a lot of hardships because they have been cut off from humanitarian access (Amnesty International, 2018). The level of insecurity in the area has become a major challenge for the international humanitarian actors to access the victims. Even the IDP camps are not free from insurgent attacks using suicide bombers (UNHCR, 2018).

Coordination Challenges

The challenge of lack of coordination exists among the various humanitarian actors and national authorities that have been involved in IDP's situations. Activities among the humanitarian actors in internally displaced situations in Nigeria have been described as "fragmented, uncoordinated and grossly inadequate" (Kolawole, 2014). Arguably, lack of proper coordination among the different actors hinders effective internal displacement management in the country. The coordination challenge exists not only among national agencies such as NEMA and NCFRMI, but also among the different international agencies that have been engaged in providing humanitarian services to the IDPs in Nigeria. The IDPs protection and assistance have been provided by the state organizations in collaboration with the UN agencies as well as NGOs (national and international). Mostly, there is no proper coordination among these national and international actors. The agencies clash because of lack of clear and specific operational and jurisdictional mandate among them. Even the national organizations such as NEMA and NCFRMI have been clashing with each other over IDPs' mandate. (UNOCHA, 2018). Likewise, there is no centralized system among the United Nations agencies in internal displacement situations. It involves several agencies such as the World Food Program (WFP), the UNHCR and United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) among others. But coordination has become a challenge to them.

Corruption and Mismanagement

The United Nations office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) reports that the humanitarian crisis of the IDPs in Northeast Nigeria is the most severe in the world (UNOCHA, 2018). However, another report from the New Internationalist discloses that Nigerian IDPs have been suffering because of endemic corruption from the camp officials such as NEMA. It reports that "IDPs are suffering not due to shortages of food and other relief items, but because of endemic corruption in the NEMA and other state emergency agencies which receives and distribute donations" (Malik, 2016:1). Other report by the UNDP and NHCR have confirmed that there is gross corruption, criminal misappropriation of funds, diversion of food and non-food items that have been donated for the IDPs. The report has noted that Nigerian officials have been getting richer on the hunger of the IDPs. The Nigerian IDPs have fallen victims to corrupt officials and mismanagement. It identifies that most of the resources meant for the IDPs have been stolen or diverted by the officials. The report maintains that, in 2016, N8.352 Billion ($23.2 Million) released for IDPs humanitarian services, but only N6.326 Billion ($17.572 Million) was spent and N2.026 Billion ($5.628 Million) was stolen (Vanguard Nigeria, 2017). In support of this, Nigerian vice president, Yemi Osinbajo has publicly admitted that about half of the food aid do not reached the IDPs (BBC, 2017).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the study sheds light on the urgent need for international action and responsibility to protect IDPs in Nigeria. The study highlights the dire situation faced by millions of internally displaced individuals who have been forced to flee their homes due to conflict, violence, or natural disasters. The research conducted in this study reveals the alarming levels of vulnerability, insecurity, and lack of basic necessities experienced by IDPs in Nigeria. It emphasizes the moral, ethical, and

humanitarian obligations of the global community to ensure the protection and well-being of these invisible citizens. The study also underscores the need for a comprehensive international response that goes beyond short-term relief measures. It calls for sustained efforts to address the root causes of displacement, promote conflict resolution and peacebuilding, and provide long-term solutions for the reintegration and recovery of IDPs. Furthermore, the study highlights the importance of international frameworks, such as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), in guiding global actions to safeguard the rights and dignity of internally displaced persons. It emphasizes the need for greater cooperation among governments, international organizations, and civil society to effectively address the challenges faced by IDPs in Nigeria and beyond. It serves as a crucial reminder of the pressing global responsibility to protect internally displaced persons and ensure their rights, security, and well-being. It resonates with the call to action for policymakers, practitioners, and concerned individuals to work together to address the plight of IDPs in Nigeria and take concrete steps towards building a safer and more inclusive world for all. Based on the findings, the study recommends the following:

1. 1.The global community should enhance collaboration and coordination among governments, international organizations, and civil society to effectively respond to the needs of IDPs in Nigeria. This includes sharing resources, expertise, and best practices to ensure a comprehensive and coordinated approach.

2. 2.Efforts should be focused on addressing the root causes of internal displacement in Nigeria. This requires investing in conflict prevention, peace-building, and sustainable development initiatives in affected areas, in order to alleviate the conditions that lead to displacement.

3. 3.Governments and international organizations should implement robust protection mechanisms for IDPs in Nigeria. This entails ensuring their physical safety, access to essential services such as healthcare and education, and protection from human rights violations, including gender-based violence.

4. 4.The international community should allocate increased resources to provide humanitarian assistance to IDPs in Nigeria. This includes funding for food, shelter, health services, and livelihood support, ensuring that the basic needs of IDPs are met.

5. Support Resettlement and Reintegration: Efforts should be made to support the voluntary and dignified resettlement and reintegration of IDPs into their communities. This involves providing assistance for housing, employment, education, and psychosocial support to ensure their successful reintegration.

6. Strengthen Monitoring and Reporting: Enhancing monitoring and reporting mechanisms on the situation of IDPs in Nigeria is crucial. Governments, international organizations, and civil society should work together to gather accurate and timely data on internal displacement, which can inform evidence-based policymaking and targeted interventions.

7. Raise Awareness and Mobilize Support: There is a need to raise awareness about the challenges faced by IDPs in Nigeria and mobilize support from the international community. This involves leveraging media platforms, advocacy campaigns, and public diplomacy efforts to ensure that the plight of IDPs is visible and receives the attention it deserves.

8. Uphold the Responsibility to Protect: The international community should uphold the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle, recognizing the obligation to prevent and respond to mass atrocities, including the displacement of populations. Governments and international organizations should incorporate R2P into their policies and actions to ensure the protection of vulnerable populations like IDPs.

9. By implementing these recommendations, we can move closer to effectively addressing the needs and protection of internally displaced persons in Nigeria, while highlighting the importance of global responsibility in this regard.

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NIGERIA TECHNICAL AID CORPS (TAC) AND NATIONAL INTEREST, 1999-2023: AN ASSESSMENT

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ABSTRACT
This paper assesses the impact of Nigeria's Technical Aid Corps (TAC) on the country's national interest from 1999 to 2023. TAC is a pivotal element of Nigeria's foreign policy, established to provide technical assistance to developing nations in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. This paper examines the program's effectiveness in advancing Nigeria's diplomatic, economic, and socio-political objectives. The study adopted qualitative data from books, journals, official data, and the Internet, and the soft power theory was considered in advancing the essence of establishing TAC. Findings indicate that TAC significantly enhances Nigeria's diplomatic relations and international image, promotes trade and investment, and contributes to capacity building and regional stability. However, the program faces challenges such as logistical constraints, political instability, and economic limitations. The research provides practical recommendations for improving TAC's operational framework and strategic alignment with Nigeria's foreign policy goals. This assessment not only contributes to the academic discourse on international aid and national interest but also offers actionable insights for policymakers to optimize the impact of TAC in fostering sustainable development and enhancing Nigeria's global influence.

Introduction

Nigeria's national interest and foreign policy pursuits are intertwined with its historical, economic, political, and social context. As one of Africa's most populous and economically influential nations, Nigeria's foreign policy is driven by a complex blend of factors such asregional power dynamics, economic interests, security concerns**,** diplomatic relations**,** Pan-Africanism and south-south cooperation**.** These aimed at promoting its national interests while contributing to regional stability and global cooperation. Nigeria has incontrovertibly emerged as a regional heavy weight on the continent, since its independence in 1960. The evidence of Nigeria's readiness and commitment to lead the continent resulted fromhistorical Pan-Africanism**,** taking leadership in African affairs**,** ensuring regional stability and security**,** trade and economic integration**,** cultural and educational exchanges**,** and diplomatic outreach**.**

Nigeria has not only made Afrocentric posture a policy statement but has practically been involved in the affairs that pertain to Africa. This was shown in Nigeria's first outing at the multilateral level, when Nigeria immediately contributed her troops to the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission in Congo, under the auspice of the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC), from 1960-1964. From that period, Nigeria has been strategically involved in the liberation of other African nations under the grip of colonialism, racism, and apartheid regimes until the end of the struggle in 1994. The country has also not relented in the peacekeeping missions in Africa at the bilateral and multilateral levels. Some countries that have enjoyed Nigeria's benevolent gestures include Congo, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, and Sierra Leone (Ukhamiand Kumapayi,2023). According to Amao and Okeke-Ozodike (2015), the decision by Nigeria to make Africa the core of its foreign policy focus is attributable to several factors which include geo-political consideration that sees Nigeria strategically located within the West African Sub-region; demographic explanations that credit the country as the most populous black nation in the world (with a present estimate of over 200 million people); and economically viable nation among other African nations. According to Yoroms (2010), among other contentions on Nigeria-Afrocentric policy, the decision also stems from the need to protect Nigeria's security, given its cultural, geographical, and historical experiences with other African states, and also because of transnational security concerns defined by the way Nigeria's security is affected by what happens around its contiguous states.

The "manifest destiny" bequeathed to Nigeria, puts the country in a vantage position to lead Africa and ensure stability in the continent. According to Ibori (2019), the description of Nigeria as "the giant of Africa" is both symbolic and salutary. The symbolic nature has to do with her strategic location in the African continent, while the salutary aspect is how her natural endowments have enhanced her leadership roles in Africa since independence in 1960. Nigeria was and is still the most populous country in Africa and one of the fastest-growing countries globally in terms of population. Her impact is not just felt in Africa but globally.

Initially, Nigeria's Afrocentric policy was primarily focused on Nigeria's immediate neighbours and Africa in general. By the late 1980s, Nigeria shifted the emphasis in her foreign policy direction more towards technical assistance to needy nations, not just in Africa, but also in the Caribbean and Pacific regions, with the establishment of the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) Scheme in 1987 (Fage, 2012). The shift reflects Nigeria's commitment to addressing global challenges, promoting South-South cooperation, and advancing its national interests in various spheres. The Technical Aid Corps (TAC) Scheme is conceived as a special programme that provides Nigeria with the opportunity to share its know-how and expertise, based on already-assessed and perceived needs of the recipient countries. The programme involves the deployment of Nigerian graduates in the fields of Medicine, Nursing, Education, Engineering, Agriculture, Accountancy, and other related fields to African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries for two years under mutually agreed terms. The Scheme serves as a complement to direct financial assistance to ACP countries, as a way of fostering and deepening international understanding and enhancing continental integration.

According to Jinadu (2011), the Scheme is mutually owned and there are no conditionalities attached to it, but just a case of one developing country assisting another. The scheme has an impressive record. Many African countries such as Namibia, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Gambia, among others, have benefited from the goodies offered by this program. In fact, in Koutonin's (2015) estimation, over 35 African

and non-African countries demand the services of TAC worldwide. With more than 1500 skilled and non-skilled volunteers of Nigerian extraction working in these countries, Nigeria has contributed through TAC in providing key services to this country (Tella, 2017). According to Akpuru-Aja (2006), the Scheme is a brain-child of Nigeria's economic diplomacy. Economic assistance has been the main driving policy instrument used in setting up the Scheme. Such assistance envisages greater mutually beneficial economic and trade exchanges with the ACP countries. Nigeria's Technical Aid Corps is, therefore, an instrument of Nigeria's economic diplomacy. By extension, it complements diplomatic linkages between Nigeria and the ACP countries as well as creates necessary conditions for mutually beneficial economic relations.

Ironically, despite the TACs' three-decade existence and the substantial deployment of material, financial, and human resources that have tremendously benefited nations within and beyond Africa, the scheme's effectiveness in promoting Nigeria's interests, especially in African contexts like AU elections, remains uncertain. While TAC Nigeria has indeed played a role in providing social services to numerous African countries, showcasing acts of international goodwill that transcend continental boundaries, its impact extends even further. Notably, countries beyond Africa, including Jamaica, Fiji, and Belize, among others, have also reaped certain benefits through their association with TAC. The underlying motives and strategic considerations that drive Nigeria's engagement through TAC have not been adequately explored within the context of evolving global dynamics. Despite the money spent and the extensive human capital contribution of Nigeria's TAC in the provision of social services to African countries and beyond, it is argued that Nigeria is often accused of gaining almost nothing in return. The allegation is rife that the program has not in any way succeeded in enhancing Nigeria's strategic interest or position in Africa.

This paper contends that Nigeria's foreign policy stance, as demonstrated by the operations of the TACs, should primarily align to tactfully realize and enrich its interests and preferences. This approach could be effectively wielded as a form of soft power, allowing for nuanced influence on the global stage.

Conceptual Clarifications

National Interest

National interest is the premise that a country carries out domestic and external policy. It forms the basis for any action and inaction of governments' policies, all over the world. However, national interest is cumbersome to define, as it expresses a different operational framework of states in the conduct of their affairs (whether domestic or external) (Ukhami and Kumapayi, 2023). More worrisome, is the inability of some states to define what forms their national interest; which is why Agaba and Ukhami (2015) point out that a nation with no adequately defined national interest is a nation with no viable agenda for both domestic and foreign policy. According to Asobie (2007), the question of what constitutes the "interest" of a nation and the problem of how to identify it, have commanded the attention and tasked the energies, of policymakers and theorists for several decades and, in some cases, centuries. The concept is not amenable to precise definition, yet it can neither be ignored nor easily jettisoned as a basis for political analysis and action.

National interest, therefore, can be said to be the broad goals that all states share- political independence, economic growth, cultural preservation, and peace - and the distinct goals each state pursues on specific goals (Nester, 2001). National interests are evoked to justify virtually every action of the state, from generosity to genocide. The most obvious national interest is self-preservation and the greatest threat to that basic interest is an enemy of invasion. Thus, the use of national interest as a cornerstone of foreign policy is a key element of the road more travelled by world politics. Realists contend that it is a wise basis for foreign policy (Rouke & Boyer, 2004). Since it is perceived that there is no morality in international politics, where power is in view, interest actualization is certain. Although, power does not amount to physical energy but in the area of economic power, military capability, political prowess, technological/industrial capacity, etc. Since all nations have interests and all nations cannot achieve their national interests, countries tend to possess unimaginable powers that will put others in check in the process of achieving national interests. To Ebegbulem (2019), the concept of national interest has continued to play a significant role in the foreign policies of sovereign states. Since a state's foreign policy is

not operated in a vacuum, there are always goals that a state wishes to accomplish in its interaction with other states.

Foreign Policy

Foreign policymaking is as old as the first organized states and their conflicts with other states. Throughout the modern era, the issues, means, and ends of foreign policy-making for nation-states, have proliferated and changed significantly. According to Maiga (2018), with the emergence of modern nation-states, modern international relations emerged as these nation-states device and followed certain principles, courses, and standards that govern their interactions in the international community. No nation is an island, so it becomes imperative for nation-states to interact with each other. These actions therefore formed the foreign relations of such states. Traditionally, these actions are guided by national foreign policies that are clearly in pursuit of national aspirations or interests.

To buttress the argument of Maiga (2018), as regards the antecedence of foreign policy, Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, and Perraton (1999) pointed out that after the treaty of Westphalia and the end of the First and Second World War, the international system has witnessed an increasing growth in the unity and development of nation-states. The end product of this development is thus, the creation of an interaction between and amongst these nation-states. In addition, the establishment of the United Nations and the process of decolonization that has liberated many states into becoming sovereign entities have further provided the impetus to interrelationships among states. Such has resulted in the formation of 'foreign policies' to determine and identify the decisions, strategies, and ends of interaction of a state with another.

A state without a foreign policy, according to Agaba and Ukhami (2015), has been compared to a ship in the deep sea without any knowledge of directions. Foreign policy is a very important concept in the study and practice of international politics. As it is true that no nation of the world can live in isolation, there is a need for nation–states to relate with one another in the international system. Thus, these relations could be bilateral or multilateral. The relationship could be positive or negative; it depends on the country's national interest. Foreign policy cannot be achieved in isolation of national interest. Ota and Ecoma (2015) defined foreign policy as a strategy that is properly articulated and designed in a coordinated manner by institutionally designated decision-makers in a bid to manipulate the international environment to achieve identified national objectives. This conception presents foreign policy as an instrument of power via which states can react to events in the international environment by its actions or inactions to advance national goals. For Obiozor (2001), foreign policy deals with how and why a nation sets particular goals, orders its governmental policy-making machinery, utilizing its own human and natural resources to compete with other nations in the international arena. In the view of Rourke (2008), foreign policy is the goal sought, values, set decisions made, and actions taken by states and national societies and it constitutes attempts to design, manage, and control the foreign relations of national societies. Thus, foreign policy is an instrument that nations use to influence their relations with other states and to achieve their objectives within the global system. Foreign policy is associated with national interest and can be seen as the total of the goals of a sovereign state. It is the primary motivation for foreign policy formulation and implementation as a guide for actors and policymakers.

Diplomacy

The term diplomacy is derived from the word "diploma" which refers to a folded paper or document. In ancient Greece, these documents often contained agreements or treaties between states. 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 relations to achieve desired goals through peaceful means. It is also at times defined as the official activity of giving state organs of external relations in pursuing through peaceful means, the objective and task of its foreign policy in protecting its right and interest as well as those of its citizens abroad.

The art of modern diplomacy is as old as mankind. It is a metamorphosed form of precedent in the process of relations inherited from some ancient state and civilization. Diplomacy has evolved over centuries, adapting to changes in technology, communication, and global politics. From traditional bilateral diplomacy to modern multilateral forums, scholars have analyzed the various stages of diplomatic practices (Smith, 2007). Diplomacy is another instrument employed by nations for the

promotion of their national interest. Diplomacy may be defined as the process of representation and negotiation by which states customarily deal with one another in times of peace (Padelford and Lincoln in Agaba and Ukhami, 2015). Diplomacy is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of groups or states. The conduct of international relations is usually referred to as international diplomacy (Barston in Agaba and Ukhami, 2015). The practice of diplomacy is guided by established principles and norms, including respect for sovereignty, non-interference, and peaceful resolution of conflicts. Diplomatic protocols and conventions govern interactions, ensuring a structured and orderly process. Moreover, diplomacy is not limited to crisis management or negotiation; it extends to preventive diplomacy, where efforts are directed at averting conflicts before they escalate, and public diplomacy, which engages with foreign publics to shape perceptions and promote cultural understanding (Berridge, 2015).

Diplomacy is therefore an indispensable tool for directing the state's domestic and foreign affairs. The machinery of diplomacy especially through the use and application of negotiation is the great engine used by civilized society to maintain peace. The essence of this is to conduct official business among the state and achieve results without rancour (Uzochukwu, 2008).

Theoretical Framework

The paperthat adopts the soft power theory (SPT) explains that the genesis of the "Soft Power" theory can be attributed to Joseph S. Nye Jr., who introduced the term in his seminal work titled "Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power" in 1990. As commonly understood, this concept refers to the capacity to sway others and advance national interests through attraction and persuasion, as opposed to employing coercion, military might, or economic sanctions - collectively referred to as hard power. Nye observed that in the contemporary landscape of international affairs, the costs and repercussions associated with military interventions, coercive diplomacy, and economic sanctions have diminished the allure of hard power as an effective toolkit for shaping state behaviour. The intricacies of globalization, accelerated by technological progress, the pursuit of nuclear armament by nations like Iran and North Korea, and swift economic expansion leading to the rise of Asian Tigers and other global complexities have significantly curtailed the capability of major powers like the United States to mold and influence global politics solely through conventional instruments of power (Vulving, 2009). Consequently, there exists a compelling argument for re-evaluating the strategy of relying solely on hard power and instead advocating for a more proactive embrace of soft power in the realm of International Relations (Wilson, 2008).

As articulated by Nye (2008:1), "Soft power entails the capacity to achieve desired outcomes by captivating others, rather than resorting to coercion or transactions. A nation's soft power draws from its reservoir of culture, values, and policies." The concept of soft power encompasses the amalgamation of a state's values, cultures, conduct, and institutions, which collectively serve as a magnetizing tool. Additionally, soft power can be viewed as a diplomatic mechanism aimed at moulding the conduct of other nations (Malone, 2011). In this context, Ogunnubi and Isike (2015) observe that soft power presupposes the strategic alignment of cultural proficiency and public diplomacy with a nation's foreign policy objectives, all geared towards the nonviolent advancement of the state's preferences on the global stage.

Delving deeper, Nye (2004) distilled the crux of the soft power theory by identifying three overarching categories: culture, political values, and foreign policies. He posited that these three dimensions have the potential to entice other nations into aligning with a country's interests. Ogunnubi (2014) presents an extensive catalogue outlining the diverse indicators within these three constituents of soft power. He discerns that culture encompasses a spectrum including literature, music, movies, tourism, media, and religion, among other elements, all underpinning the foundation of soft power. Similarly, liberal democracies, political goodwill, human rights principles, notions of equality and freedom, as well as domestic policies and democratic transition processes, collectively fall within the realm of political values. Lastly, he identifies endeavours like peacekeeping and peacebuilding, poverty alleviation initiatives, provision of international public goods, post-conflict reconstruction, debt relief, foreign aid, and more as integral threads interwoven into the tapestry of foreign policies, constituting a pivotal facet of soft power.

There is a noticeable surge in Nigeria's aspiration to attain a position of hegemony not only within Africa but also on a broader global

scale, as it discerns its "manifest destiny." This ambition has conceivably propelled the call for the embrace and implementation of soft power strategies by Nigeria, aimed at promoting its interests within the continent and beyond. The establishment of the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) in 1987 by General Ibrahim Babangida, the then Military Head of State, was intended to support the growth of nations in Africa and the Caribbean. Scholars like Ogunnubi (2014) and Tella (2017) have contended that Nigeria can effectively harness this initiative to further its regional objectives. Adebanwi (2011) offers what is arguably the most comprehensive examination of the history, influence, policy imperatives, and efficacy of the TAC program. Intriguingly, the author asserts that the TAC represents a genuinely distinctive model of international volunteerism, particularly due to its emphasis on furnishing technical aid to recipient nations and promoting collaboration among countries in the Global South.

According to the Directorate of TAC (2004:15) the TACs scheme:

> *… conceptualized as a complement to Nigeria's traditional diplomacy. The scheme identified the use of Nigeria's abundant pool of well-trained human resources as a foreign policy instrument and recognized its enormous potential in enhancing cooperation, understanding, and develop(ment) amongst countries and peoples with a common background and shared aspirations.*

True to the above, the scheme has an impressive record. Many African countries such as Namibia, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Gambia, among others, have benefited from the goodies offered by this program. Koutonin (2015) estimated that over 35 African and non-African countries demand the services of TAC worldwide. With more than 1500 skilled and non-skilled volunteers of Nigerian extraction working in these countries, Nigeria has contributed through TAC in providing key services to these countries (Tella, 2017). Consequently, and more recently, TAC has been listed as part of Nigeria's soft power potential which has increased Nigeria's goodwill in Africa and can be leveraged to advance its interest in Africa. No doubt, Nigeria uses TAC to provide vital human capital that is lacking in many of these countries. TAC has helped to provide technical know-how to developing countries lacking critical and very important skills such as medicine, engineering, and law, among others. Tella (2017) and Ogunnubi (2014, 2016) have put forth the perspective that the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) constitutes a formidable instrument of soft power wielded by the Nigerian government, capable of being strategically employed to fortify its pursuit of hegemony within Africa. They jointly assert that with a substantial cadre of more than 1500 skilled and non-skilled volunteers of Nigerian origin actively engaged in these countries, Nigeria possesses an inexhaustible reservoir of soft power that has the potential to substantiate its hegemonic standing across the African continent.

Historical Overview of Technical Aid Corp

Through both bilateral and multilateral avenues, Nigeria has demonstrably exhibited acts and behaviours that profited meaningfully, the economic development of peoples and societies in Africa and beyond. One of such avenues of Nigeria's show of benevolence is the Technical Aid Corps Scheme, TAC, instituted by Nigeria during former President Ibrahim Babangida's military government in 1987, to serve as a platform for helping African states with technical manpower, to fast-track their socioeconomic and cultural transformation (Tyoden 2012). The Technical Aid Corps is a mechanism for Nigeria's foreign aid and technical assistance to especially African countries, through the use of Nigeria's abundant trained manpower, to assist needy countries both in Africa and the Caribbean.

Motivation and drive for Nigeria's foreign aid to African states generally, and the TAC scheme in particular, is based on Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy pursuit, manifested in Nigeria's unalloyed concern for Africa's economic well-being, inter alia.

> *Nigeria cannot talk about the world's rapid economic development and economic conditions without ensuring that the same conditions prevail in Africa. Nigeria has to divert a modest amount to aid and economic cooperation with other developing countries in our sub-region to combat illiteracy and to provide the necessary infrastructure lacking from the*

years of colonial neglect (Garba 1977: 142).

The TAC scheme underlies the big brother role of Nigeria in Africa, aimed at providing, as Emeka Anthony will say, more sustainable assistance to African states' (Obi 2006). Motivated by the realization that some African states have compromised their ability to respond to the legitimate aspirations and needs of the citizenry, the Nigerian government under the military administration of Ibrahim Babangida, felt the imperative to introduce the Technical Aid Corps to fill the gap created by the weak capacity of some states to produce highly trained manpower towards driving the economy of those states. As a manifestation of Nigeria's Africa-focused foreign policy agenda, the TAC scheme has its philosophical roots buried in Nigeria's conscious resolve and efforts at using its endowed human and material resources for the benefit of the black race, first enunciated by Nigeria's Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, at independence in 1960, at the United Nations General Assembly, on the occasion of Nigeria's admission to the United Nations (Daura 2010).

The proclamation by the Prime Minister articulated the Afrocentric principle of Nigeria's foreign policy, including its desire to champion the course of the black race either within the African continent or in the diaspora. The pursuit of this declaration was later to be followed by a series of financial, material, and logistic assistance to several African countries as beneficiaries of Nigeria's Afrocentric largesse. Coming from this backdrop, the TAC scheme has been described as "One of Nigeria's designed instruments of Afrocentric foreign policy, in the area of aid and development assistance, targeted at impacting positively on Africa, and involves conscious mobilization of domestic human resources, and deploying them to different parts of Africa, where they are critically needed" (Enuka 2020).

Though the TAC scheme is credited to Babangida during whose administration it got institutionalized, the idea predates his era. Nigeria, before the Babangida regime has been at the forefront of technical assistance to African countries, as well as to countries with African descent in the Caribbean (Oyelakin 2014). Apart from peacekeeping roles in Africa, Nigeria had also assigned magistrates, judges, administrators, educators, etc, to many African countries like Zambia, Tanzania, Kenya, Swaziland, Gambia, and Lesotho among others, in the early days of their political independence in the form of technical assistance which they needed (Enuka 2010). Particularly in the case of Botswana, Malawi, Gambia, and Zimbabwe, such Nigerian judicial officers provided a veritable platform for the take-off of their judicial systems (Eze 2010). Little wonder that to date, Nigerian professionals, accountants, lawyers, university professors, medical doctors, and others, are still found in some African countries.

From the onset, having conceived TAC as an instrument of foreign policy, its Directorate came to be placed under the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Directorate is saddled with the assignments of management and general administration of the scheme; conduct of recruitment and orientation programmes for corps volunteers, deployment of volunteers to recipient countries, and debriefing of volunteers on their final exit from the host countries. The TAC Directorate carries out these responsibilities based on directives received from the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The policy objectives of the Corps Directorate are giving assistance based on the assessed and perceived needs of the recipient countries; promoting cooperation and understanding between Nigeria and Recipient countries; andfacilitating meaningful contacts between the youths of Nigeria and those of the recipient countries (The Nigerian Technical Aid Corps Scheme, 2004).

Achievements of TAC in Recipient Countries

The achievements of the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) program in recipient countries have been significant, contributing to various sectors and fostering development across the regions where it operates. TAC's presence and interventions have left a lasting impact on the institutional capacity, diplomatic relations, human capital development, and socio-economic progress of beneficiary nations. According to Fage (2012:200), the impact of the TAC programme has been profound right from the outset. Fage argues authoritatively that "…the scheme has made some remarkable achievements".

Capacity Building and Skill Transfer: one notable achievement of TAC in recipient countries is its contribution to capacity building and skill transfer. Through the deployment of Nigerian professionals in fields such as education, healthcare, agriculture, engineering,

and public administration, TAC has facilitated the transfer of technical expertise and knowledge to local counterparts (Adebisi, 2016). This capacity-building approach has empowered local communities and governments to address development challenges more effectively and sustainably, thereby laying the groundwork for long-term socio-economic progress.

Through the TAC scheme, Nigeria has over the years contributed skilled personnel to many African countries, despite the shortage of such professionals in Nigeria itself. Nothing else demonstrates Nigeria's sacrificial commitment to the African course. Findings from research conducted by experts on this area reveal that this scheme has remained a great relief to many of the needy African countries that are deficient in well-trained manpower needed for meaningful development (Oyelakin 2014. Tyoden 2012, Daura 2010). About 32 African countries have experienced the presence and services of the Nigerian Technical Aid Corps. Some of those African countries are Angola; Benin Republic; Burkina Faso; Cape Verde; Central African Republic; Ethiopia; Equatorial Guinea; Kenya; Lesotho; Liberia; Sao Tome and Principe; Senegal; Sudan; Tanzania; Gambia; Uganda; Sierra Leone; Mozambique; Zambia; Namibia; Niger Republic etc (Kamilu 2012; DTAC, 2018).

Table 1: High-skilled Nigerian manpower sent to some selected countries

S/N	Year	Country and Nature of Assistance
1	2006	Deployment of 40 Nigerian medical personnel to Kampala International University Teaching Hospital, located in Ishaka in the Bushenyi district of Uganda, to work and teach
2	2009	Spending over 70 million US dollars for the operation of 132 highly-qualified Nigerian professionals in Sierra Leone
3		Over 34 artisans, including fashion designers, auto mechanics, cosmetologists, agriculturists, and nutritionists were sent to Namibia for volunteer service
4	1999	Training of Academic and non-academic staff of Gambia's first University
5		Deployment of 50 Nigerian lecturers to Uganda Islamic University
6		Deployment of 671 Nigerian lecturers to Ethiopia
7	2007	Sending 29 Nigerian medical professionals to work in Belize, a Caribbean nation
8	2006	Deployment of 110 medical professionals to Jamaica

Sources: Tella, 2017; Adebanwi, 2011; Koutonin, 2015.

Table 1 expressly shows that since the inception of TAC, Nigeria has constantly sent skilled workers to other African countries to solve their pressing challenges. From various areas such as Engineering, Agriculture, Medical Lab, Technology, and Sport, Law, Architecture, Radiology, Accountancy, Insurance, Metrology, Lecturing, Coaching, and even Artisanship.

Diplomatic Relations: the TAC program has fostered positive diplomatic relations and goodwill between Nigeria and recipient

countries, strengthening bilateral and multilateral partnerships and promoting mutual understanding and cooperation. TAC deployments have served as tangible demonstrations of Nigeria's commitment to international solidarity, friendship, and shared prosperity, fostering a sense of camaraderie and solidarity among nations in the Global South. In addition to its direct impact on recipient countries, the TAC program has also benefited Nigerian volunteers by providing them with valuable opportunities for professional growth, cross-cultural exchange, and personal development. TAC volunteers gain hands-on experience, acquire new skills, and broaden their perspectives through meaningful engagement with diverse communities and cultures, enriching their lives and careers in the process.

Improved International Image: Since the establishment of the TAC scheme, it has made gains in various areas of Nigeria's foreign relations with other countries" (Imobighe and Alli 2012: 205). The positive contributions of the Technical Aid Corps volunteers in the countries of deployment, and commendations from international agencies, have greatly enhanced the visibility of Nigeria as a donor country and thus as an effective and responsible player in the international arena. Contrary to the stereotyped image of Nigeria and Nigerians as drug traffickers, and perpetrators of other criminal acts by many countries of the world, the deployment of the volunteer corps of the TAC Scheme to the regions of Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific served as publicity for Nigeria, portraying the country in a more positive light. As Kamilu puts it, "The TAC Scheme has endeared Nigeria to many countries…" (2012: 206). According to Ogunnubi (2016), TAC has been listed as part of Nigeria's soft power potential which has increased Nigeria's goodwill in Africa and can be leveraged to advance its interest in Africa.

Marketing and Showcasing of Nigerians: the TAC Scheme has provided many Nigerian professionals with the platform and great opportunities to showcase and market their worth and saleable qualities. Consequently, some foreign countries and companies have found many of these Nigerian professionals employable, and have since engaged their services either on a contract or permanent and pensionable basis. Some of these professionals retained in these recipient countries have become instrumental in facilitating and attracting internationally sponsored projects to Nigeria. Daura Mamman, a one-time Director and Chief Executive Officer of the Directorate of Technical Aid Corps, contained in his study, the story of how an ex-TAC volunteer retained by the Shelter-Afrique, in Kenya, and rose later, the Director of Operations of the company, became instrumental to the signing of a protocol between the Government of Bayelsa in Nigeria and the Shelter-Afrique, for the provision of affordable housing units in Bayelsa state.

Impact of TAC on Nigeria's National Interest

Admittedly, while the TAC was not established for the purpose of furthering Nigeria's interest regionally or even globally, the argument of this paper is that this altruistic foreign policy motivation is an anomaly given the reality of global geopolitics. Foreign policy implementation of any state should be intended to promote its interest among the comity of nations and should not be a 'Father Christmas' like posture of gift giving. Nigeria's foreign policy posture through the activities of the TACs ought to be directed mainly to actualize and enhance its interests and preferences subtly and as a soft power instrument. For instance, the associated benefits of TAC as regards Nigeria's position or interest in regional affairs is not clear or cannot be adequately proven despite the huge funds allocated to the scheme by the Nigerian government. Over 26 billion naira was allocated to TAC from 2009 to 2018 which is shown in Table2.

Table 2: Federal Government Budgetary Allocation to Technical Aid Corp

S/N	Year	Amount
1	2009	1,533,400,704
2	2010	2,021,573,574
3	2011	3,110,482,666
4	2012	1,977,659,825
5	2013	2,143,627,637
6	2014	3,110,482,168
7	2015	3,220,985,668
8	2016	2,554,300,951
9	2017	3,196,585,658
10	2018	3,909,174,942
	Total	**26,778,273,793**

Source: Budget (2009-2018).

Table 2 reveals the amount of money the Nigerian government has allocated to TAC from 2009 to 2018 showing that over 26 billion naira have been spent on TAC over a decade. Nevertheless, no evidence demonstrates that this huge investment has yielded any specific benefit in the advancement of Nigeria's position or interest in Africa. For instance, it is expected that this underutilized soft power tool will enable Nigeria's candidates to secure key positions in regional organizations such as the AU as a supposed hegemon but cases abound where Nigerian candidates are routinely defeated in these regional organizations that were created and are largely funded by Nigeria (Okereke, 2012).

Despite the money spent and the extensive human capital contribution of Nigeria's TAC in the provision of social services to African countries and beyond, it is argued that Nigeria is often accused for gaining almost nothing in return. The allegation is rife that the program has not in any way succeeded in enhancing Nigeria's strategic interest or position in Africa. Specifically, viewed from the prism of outcomes on recent elections in regional organizations such as AU, claims that TAC as a soft power tool has advanced Nigeria's position in Africa is debatable.

As Table 3 indicates, this is evident when Nigerians or Nigerian-backed candidates vie for elective positions in regional organizations such as ECOWAS and AU (Udo and Ekott, 2013).

Table 3: Positions Won and Lost by Nigerians/Nigerian-Backed Candidates in AU

S/N	Names of the Position	Names of the Individual and Year
1	African Union Commissioner for Peace and Security	A Nigerian Fatimah Mohammed lost to Smail Chergui of Algeria (2017)

2	African Union Commission Chairman	Nigeria supported Amina Mohammed who lost to Moussa Mahamet of Chad (2017)
3	African Union Commission Chairman	Nigeria supported Jean Ping who lost to Nkosazana Dlamini of South Africa (2012)
4	African Development Bank President	A Nigerian Adesina Akinwumi won the position against other contestants (2015)

Sources: Vanguard Nigeria 2012; 2015; Premium Times 2017.

Apart from the African Development Presidency, Nigeria and Nigerian-backed candidates from other countries have lost recent elections contested in the African Union, wherein countries that have benefitted from the TACs have failed to vote in support of Nigeria's preference. While state beneficiaries are not obliged to vote in support of Nigeria and also acknowledging that the TACs were not established for this purpose, Nigeria's embarrassing failure perhaps explains Koutonin's (2015) argument that the Scheme is a sheer waste of Nigeria's resources because apart from mere commendation, it does/has not helped the country to advance its interest in world politics. Also, it is quite ironic that Nigeria is home to numerous IVOs such as the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), and German Cooperation for International Cooperation (GIS), among others trying to solve the many socioeconomic and political problems bedevilling the Nigerian state. Yet, Nigeria is going abroad to solve the socio-economic problem of other states. Invariably, the Scheme is criticized as a means by the bourgeoisie class to allocate and appropriate state funds to allies. People who are selected as TAC are often associates and proxies of those in charge of the scheme. In this regard, the TAC is seen as an avenue to compensate them for their loyalty. Buttressing the point, Adebanwi (2011) argues that there are constant contestations over the selection and appointment of volunteers. This suggests that the scheme is perceived as a means to appropriate state resources and secure benefits from the Nigerian state by the ruling class.

In the argument of this paper, with the many years of funding TAC and the provision of key services to many African countries, Nigeria is in a position to benefit more from the scheme through better outcomes at its official preference at the African Union elective positions where its strategic influence is more dominant. Often, Nigeria's interests and position in Africa are routinely disregarded (Ezirim, 2011). In fact, evidence abound of gang up by some African countries that have benefited from TAC during elections in regional organizations in Africa. For example, Niger Republic not just a beneficiary of the program but other goodies from Nigeria, voted against Nigeria's quest for a seat in United Nations Permanent Security Council in 2015. Also, the exclusion of Nigeria from AU ad-hoc mediatory committee on Libya and other actions and activities of many African countries captured in Table 5 is a pointer that TAC has been of limited value for advancing Nigeria's leadership position or presumed hegemonic interest in the Africa.

Table 5: Name/Countries of Candidates who won in 2017 AU Elections

S/N	Positions	Names	Country
1	Chairperson	H.E. Moussa Faki Mahamat	Chad
2	Deputy chairperson	H.E. Quartey Thomas Kwesi,	Ghana
3	Commissioners Commissioner for Peace and Security	Smail Chergui,	Algeria
4	Commissioner for Political Affairs	Samate Minata	Burkina Faso
5	Commissioner for Human Resources, Science and Technology	H.E. Agbor Sarah Mbi Enow	Cameroon
6	Commissioner for Infrastructure and Energy	Abou-Zeid Amani	Egypt
7	Commissioner for Social Affairs	Elfadil Mohammed	Sudan
	Commissioner for Trade and Industry	Muchanga Albert	Zambia
	Commissioner for Rural Economy and Agriculture	Sacko Leonel Correa	Angola
	Commissioner for Economic Affairs	H.E Victor Harrison,	Madagascar

Source: Retrieved from https://au.int/en/AUC/leadership/7/9/2018

From Table 5, neither Nigeria nor its supported candidates won any elective positions in the AU elections held in 2017. Although, the issues of zoning affected Nigeria's chances and interest in the elections. However, this electoral outcome did not portray Nigeria in the light of a regional hegemon. This is because it is assumed that as a regional power or supposed hegemon, its interest and positions in regional organizations within its sphere of influence should be advanced or protected without many obstacles (Prys, 2020). The illustration of the US projection of Kim Yong Kim as World Bank President and his subsequent victory is apt. The point here is that there is a need for the Nigerian government to widen the scope of TACs to drive its foreign policy interest in the African Union. Regrettably, although the activities of TAC can be strongly regarded as a huge soft power tool that has contributed to the social economic development of many African countries, yet, Nigeria needs to take pragmatic steps against countries that continue to benefit from the scheme but still vote against Nigeria's interest or positions in regional organizations.

Challenges of TAC in Achieving Nigeria's National Interest

Though the Scheme has been applauded by some who perceive it as the most ambitious foreign policy project ever undertaken by Nigeria (Oyelakin 2014), but it has attracted criticisms from those who are opposed to it. The Scheme has been weighed and found to be a clear demonstration of the foreign policy of waste pursued by Nigeria at the great expense of the

good of its citizens (Enuka 2020, Obi 2006). First, it is argued that the scheme is wasteful since young Nigerian professionals working at home do not earn as much as those in the TAC Scheme. Secondly, and most importantly, Nigeria is still much in need of these professionals herself. Many Nigerians do not have access to medical doctors, yet Nigeria sends out the ones available for other countries' needs, at the health expense of Nigeria and Nigerians. These are needed men and professionals who ought to be sent to the rural areas in Nigeria, given the dire need for them in such places. It is a paradox that Nigeria still hires and imports Engineers to execute road projects etc, and yet exports her own Engineers to other African countries.

Obi (2006) could hardly contain his avowed disapproval of this scheme and policy. He lamented that it is simply incomprehensive how Akinyemi and his master, Babangida, got to the conclusion that a country like Nigeria which is so much in need of high-class manpower for her development now has more than enough to think of exporting them to other lands at Nigeria's expense.

The pursuit of such Nigeria's Afrocentric foreign policy, have not been without costs. Their achievements have been at the expense of the nation's economic interests, especially in the short run. Aid which are urgently required for rapid economic development in Nigeria and to enhance the material welfare of Nigerians, has been expended abroad as aid or on other uneconomic ventures. The rationale which Nigerian successive governments have proffered for the granting of economic assistance to other African countries creates the impression that such assistance is obligatory. Therefore, no serious efforts are made to tie the aid to some activity that would enhance Nigeria's national interests. More so, the TAC scheme evidently turned out to be an encumbrance on Nigeria's national budget because a huge amount of money is expended annually on the programme without immediate visible gains on the expenditure.

In addition to the matter of the foreign policy of waste, the TAC scheme is a demonstration of Nigeria's foreign policy of illusion. The pursuit of the TAC scheme and other of such programmes are informed by Nigeria's perception and image of herself. Nigeria's image of herself is that of a great African power, a view that has served as the basis for her allocation of flamboyant roles and responsibilities to herself. One begins to wonder if Nigeria really has the resources and magnitude of power that match those visions and self-imposed mission. Any serious student of International Relations and Foreign Policy will have little or no difficulty to discover that such Nigeria's image of herself is only assumed and preposterous. For Nigeria in her known real situation to be operating her foreign policy as if she is a great power is indicative of a sort of political illusion. This is nothing short of a self-imposed mission based on an obscured vision of reality. In their bid to acquire international praise, by playing big and good brother roles, fuelled by the Afrocentric foreign policy force, different Nigerian governments appeared to be more interested in expenses on foreign African states and nationals than the very Nigerian citizens for whom the resources are meant. Nigerian leaders and the different Nigerian governments forgot that "Respect from abroad acquired through the prodigal disbursement of scarce national resources in favour of external forces, cannot act as a sovereign elixir for such a nation whose internal survival is at stake" (Ukaeje 1999:137).

Nigeria is significantly charitable to African countries; while that same affection is not shown to her citizens. This is why the nation is characterized by a high rate of poverty, unemployment, lack of infrastructure, and very low industrialization. Nigeria's altruistic contributions to Africa and beyondhave made her too blind to see the economic and political realities of her actions domestically and in her ability to weigh her authority and interest in the continent(s). Nigeria is often and secretly mocked by other African countries as "a giant with clay feet" (Ukhami and Kumapayi, 2023). According to Ukaeje (1999), "our false generosity abroad and penury at home are proof that we are pretending to be what we are not in reality". Akinboye (2013), simply captured that Nigeria's Afrocentric behaviour is likened to "beautiful abroad but ugly at home."

Prospects of TAC in achieving Nigeria's National Interest

The prospects of the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) in achieving Nigeria's national interest are promising, given its potential to contribute to sustainable development, regional integration, and diplomatic engagement in Africa and beyond.

One of the key prospects of TAC lies in its capacity to strengthen Nigeria's soft power and influence on the global stage. By deploying

skilled professionals to assist other developing countries, Nigeria can showcase its expertise, innovation, and goodwill, enhancing its reputation as a responsible actor and a reliable partner in international development cooperation (Ankomah, 2014). This positive image projection can pave the way for expanded diplomatic relations, economic partnerships, and strategic alliances that advance Nigeria's national interests and geopolitical objectives. TAC holds the potential to foster regional integration and cooperation among African countries, contributing to the realization of the African Union's vision of a united, prosperous, and peaceful continent. Through collaborative initiatives and knowledge-sharing platforms, TAC can facilitate cross-border dialogue, exchange best practices, and promote inclusive growth and development strategies that benefit all stakeholders (Adebisi, 2016). By championing regional integration efforts, Nigeria can harness the collective potential of African nations to address common challenges, leverage shared opportunities, and promote shared values and interests on the global stage.

TAC also offers opportunities for economic diversification, trade expansion, and investment promotion in Nigeria and recipient countries. By leveraging its technical assistance programs as vehicles for economic diplomacy, Nigeria can open new markets, attract foreign investment, and enhance bilateral trade relations with partner nations (Mwenda &Ssekamwa, 2019). Through strategic partnerships and collaborative projects, TAC can unlock synergies, create value chains, and stimulate economic growth and job creation across sectors, driving socio-economic transformation and poverty reduction in Nigeria and beyond.

Additionally, TAC can play a catalytic role in advancing Nigeria's human capital development agenda and fostering inclusive growthand social cohesion. By prioritizing investments in education, healthcare, skills training, and entrepreneurship development, TAC can empower individuals and communities to realize their full potential, participate meaningfully in economic activities, and contribute to national development efforts (Ankomah, 2014). By investing in human capital, Nigeria can build a more resilient, equitable, and prosperous society that reflects the aspirations and interests of its diverse population.

Conclusion

From the study, itis evident that TAC deployments are driven by multifaceted motivations, including altruism, diplomatic pragmatism, and strategic interests. While the Nigeria Technical Aid Corps (TAC) has undoubtedly served as a significant instrument of Nigeria's foreign policy, it is not without its criticisms and challenges. The period from 1999 to 2023 has revealed certain shortcomings and areas for improvement within the TAC framework, which merit careful consideration alongside its achievements. One notable criticism of TAC is its perceived lack of sustained impact and long-term sustainability in recipient countries. While TAC deployments have provided valuable technical assistance and expertise, there have been instances where the initiatives implemented have not translated into enduring solutions or meaningful systemic change. This raises questions about the effectiveness of TAC's approach and the need for more comprehensive strategies that address underlying structural issues and promote genuine capacity building.

In addition to these challenges, there remains a pressing concern regarding the inability of Nigeria to adequately impact its citizens before extending its generosity to other countries. While TAC embodies Nigeria's commitment to international solidarity and cooperation, critics argue that prioritizing assistance to other nations over addressing domestic challenges, such as healthcare, education, infrastructure, and poverty alleviation, may divert resources away from pressing needs within the country. This highlights the importance of striking a balance between international obligations and domestic priorities to ensure that Nigeria's development efforts resonate with the aspirations and well-being of its citizens.

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GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE AND CONSUMPTION IN NIGERIA (1990-2022): AN ARDL APPROACH

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Government expenditure, Consumption and ARDL

ABSTRACT
This study intends to examines the dynamic relationship between government expenditure and consumption in Nigeria over the period from 1990 to 2022. This is due to the fact that Nigeria, as one of the largest economies in Africa, has experienced significant fluctuations in government expenditure and consumption patterns over the years. The aim of this research however is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the role played by government expenditure in influencing household and private sector consumption behavior. On this note the study employs a combination of quantitative methods, including time series data analysis and econometric modeling via an Autoregressive Distributed Lag Model(ARDL) approach to investigate the impact of government expenditure on consumption in Nigeria. The ARDL analysis test approach revealed that the null hypothesis of no significant impact of government expenditures on consumption in Nigeria is rejected at 5% level of significance. Rather, the result of the test hypothesis however showed that government expenditures have positive significant impact on consumption expenditures in Nigeria during the period under review (t-test > 2). Also, the result from the ARDL approach revealed that government expenditure has significant negative impact on consumption spending. GNI and CPI were positives and significant, while INFR and INTR were positive yet insignificant. The results of this study suggest that government consumption spending is a substitute for private consumption and concluded that Government expenditure is inarguably a prominent fiscal tool for a sustainable economic growth.

Introduction

Government expenditure plays a crucial role in shaping the economic landscape of any nation. In Nigeria, government spending significantly impacts the country's economic performance, influencing various sectors including infrastructure, education, health, and defense. This introduction delves into the intricacies of government expenditure and consumption in Nigeria, highlighting its patterns, effects, and implications on the overall economy.

The relationship between government expenditure and economic outcomes has been a subject of extensive research and debate in economics for decades. This dynamic interplay takes on particular significance in the context of emerging economies such as Nigeria, where governments often play a central role in shaping economic development and stability. However, Nigeria as one of Africa's most populous nations and a significant player in the global economy, offers a compelling case study for examining the impact of government expenditure on consumption.

Over the past three decades, Nigeria has experienced a range of economic, social, and political transformations. The country over the years embarked on a journey marked by periods of robust growth, fiscal challenges, and shifts in government priorities. The allocation of resources, particularly through government expenditure, has been a key instrument in shaping the nation's economic trajectory. As such, understanding how government spending influences consumption patterns becomes crucial in comprehending the broader dynamics of Nigeria's economic landscape.

Based on this therefore, this study aims to explore the intricate relationship between government expenditure and consumption in Nigeria from 1990 to 2022. By delving into this relationship, we seek to uncover the underlying mechanisms through which government spending impacts household and private sector consumption behavior. Moreover, we aim to assess the implications of these dynamics on economic growth, welfare, and policy formulation within the Nigerian context.

Literature Review

It is a known fact that several empirical studies were targeted at examining the link between government expenditure and consumption in both developed and developing economies over the years. However, these studies have produced mixed findings, indicating that the relationship is contingent on various factors, among which are the composition of government spending, the fiscal stance, and the broader economic environment. To be precise, the relationship between government expenditure and consumption behavior within an economy is a complex and multifaceted subject that cannot be describe by a single word and so has garnered considerable attention in economic literature. Hence, understanding how government spending influences household and private sector consumption is not only crucial for policymakers but also for economists and researchers seeking to unravel the rationale behind economic dynamics in several emerging markets like Nigeria.

As mentioned earlier, several studies have explored the direct impact of government expenditure on household consumption. For instance, research by Adebiyi (2009) found a positive relationship between government capital expenditure and household consumption in Nigeria. Similarly, Olaniyan Abiodun and Oyeranti (2010) concluded that increased government expenditure on education and healthcare positively influenced household consumption patterns.

In the same vein, Barro (1990), found that increased government spending can stimulate economic activity and consumption, while others contend that excessive government expenditure can lead to crowding out of private investment, potentially dampening consumption (Blanchard & Perotti, 2002). In the Nigerian context, scholars like Oluwatobi and Egwaikhide (2012) have examined how government spending affects economic growth, providing valuable insights into the dynamics at play.

In relation to Fiscal Policy and Household Consumption: The impact of government expenditure on household consumption has been a topic of interest worldwide. Studies by Gali and Lopez-Salido (2001) have explored the effects of fiscal policy on consumption in developed economies, highlighting the role of government spending as a stabilizing factor during economic downturns. In Nigeria, Osinubi

and Ogun (2006) analyzed the impact of fiscal policy on household consumption, shedding light on the importance of government spending in influencing consumer behavior.

More so, in terms of Government Expenditure Composition: Research has shown that the composition of government expenditure matters alot. Public investments in infrastructure, education, and healthcare, for instance, can have different effects on consumption compared to expenditures on subsidies or defense. Studies by Celasun, Gelos, and Prati (2004) emphasize the importance of public investment in promoting long-term economic growth. In Nigeria, researchers like Adewuyi (2016) have examined the composition of government spending and its impact on household consumption patterns.

Similarly, with respect to Income Distribution and Welfare Effects: The distributional impact of government expenditure is a crucial aspect worthy of any level of consideration. This is because Government spending can affect income distribution and thereby influence consumption patterns across different income groups. Studies by Lustig and Pessino (2014) have explored how fiscal policies, including government spending, can be designed to reduce income inequality and enhance overall welfare. In Nigeria, scholars like Aigbokhan and Iwayemi (2000) have investigated the welfare implications of government spending, particularly in relation to poverty reduction

In addition, economic shocks, such as fluctuations in oil prices, have had a significant impact on Nigeria's economy given it over reliance on oil sector. These shocks can influence government expenditure patterns and, subsequently, consumption behavior. Studies by Oyinlola and Adeniyi (2013) have examined how this dependence on a single commodity affects the sustainability and predictability of government spending and, consequently, its impact on consumption patterns.

However, beyond household consumption, the impact of government expenditure on the private sector is also a critical area of inquiry. Research by Ayoola and Adenikinju (2005) suggested that government spending on infrastructure projects had a positive spillover effect on the private sector, leading to increased business investment and consumer spending.

Worthy of note is the fact that the impact of government expenditure on consumption extends to macroeconomic outcomes. Research by Nwaka and Ezeabasili (2018) argued that an increase in government spending in Nigeria can lead to inflationary pressures, which, in turn, affect consumption patterns. Thus, the relationship between government expenditure and inflation requires careful consideration.

Conclusively, the above literatures on the impact of government expenditure on consumption in Nigeria reveals a complex interplay of factors. While there is evidence supporting the notion that government spending can stimulate consumption, researchers also emphasize the importance of fiscal discipline, efficient resource allocation, and addressing macroeconomic challenges. This literature review serves as a foundation for the empirical analysis in this study, aiming to contribute to a deeper understanding of the government expenditure-consumption dynamics in the Nigerian context and its broader implications for economic growth and welfare.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for government expenditure-consumption nexus could be said to be rooted in Keynesian economics. According to this framework, government spending, particularly on infrastructure, social welfare, and public services, can stimulate aggregate demand, leading to increased consumption by households and businesses. Additionally, the Permanent Income Hypothesis (PIH) suggests that changes in government expenditure can influence consumption patterns based on individuals' perceptions of their permanent income. Based on the above, these theories shall serve as basis for analyzing the government expenditure-consumption relationship in this study.

Model

This research utilized and adapted the model developed by Ogunjimi and Adebayo (2018) in their analysis of how government expenditure affects economic growth. The model was selected due to its alignment with the data analysis techniques used in this study. The functional form of the model is presented as follows:

Adopted Model:

RGDP = f (GCE, GRE, GEE, GAE, GHE, GE)

Modify Model:

C = f (GEX, GNI, CPI, INFLR, INTR).....
1

Where;

C is Households and Non-profit institutions serving households (NPIHs) Final Consumption Expenditure,

GEX is Government Expenditure,

GNI is Gross National Income,

CPI is Consumer Price Index

INFR is Inflation Rate, and

INTR is the Interest rate

In a linear function, this is represented as follows:

C = β0 + β1GEX + β2GNI + β3CPI + β4INFR + β5INTR + µt..... 2

Where:

β0 = Constant term,

β1 to β5 = Regression coefficient and

µt = Error Term or Stochastic random variable

To reduce the outliers among the variables, all variables with the exception of CPI, INFLR and INTR will be expressed in logarithmic form. That is:

LogC = β0 + β1LogGEX + β2LogGNI + β3CPI + β4INFLR + β5INTR + µt 3

Considering the apriority expectations, we expect

$0<b_1>0$, which implies that Government expenditure stimulates consumption.

Analytical Techniques

The study employed the Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) Model for its analysis, following the approach suggested by Pesaran, Shin, and Smith (2001). This method was chosen because the data are stationary at both the level I(0) and first-difference I(1) stages. The ARDL Model is appropriate for data that exhibit a mix of integration levels (I(0) and I(1)) and effectively reveals both short-run and long-run dynamics.

Thus, ARDL model specified as:

$$\Delta \text{RGDP} = \beta_0 + \sum_{i=0}^{a} \beta_1 \Delta \text{R}GDP_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^{b} \beta_2 \Delta GEX_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^{c} \beta_3 \Delta \text{GNI} \sum_{i=0}^{d} \beta_4 \Delta CPI_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^{e} \beta_5 \Delta INFR_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^{f} \beta_6 \Delta INTR_{t-1} + \varepsilon t \text{----------} \quad (4)$$

Whereas RGDP, GEX, GNI, CPI, INFR and INTRare the variables under consideration, β_1 - β_6 are parameters of the model, $\varepsilon t$is the white noise error term, Δat time t denotes lag differences of the variable under consideration.

Before the above function is estimated, the variables are subjected to stationarity test.

Unit Root Stationarity Test

The stationarity of the variables was assessed using the Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) test. To identify any time trends in the variables, we performed trend and intercept regression. This process allowed us to determine the stationarity of each variable.

$$\Delta Y_t = \alpha + \beta_t + \gamma Y_{t-1} + \delta \Delta Y_{t-1} + \ldots + \delta_{\rho-1} \Delta Y_{t-\rho+1} + \varepsilon_t \ldots\ldots 5$$

Where α is a constant, β is the coefficient on a time trend, and ρ is the lag order of the autoregressive process. The unit root test is conducted with the null hypothesis Y= 0 indicating the presence of a unit root, against the alternative hypothesis Y< 0 suggesting stationarity. The test's significance is assessed at the 5% level.

Granger Causality Test

To determine the causal relationship between government expenditure and consumption spending in Nigeria, the Granger Causality test will be employed. Initially proposed by Granger in 1969, this test is widely utilized for identifying causal links between two variables.

$$X_t = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \alpha i Y_{t-1} + \sum_{j=1}^{n} \beta j X_{t-1} + U_{1t} \quad \ldots\ldots\ldots\

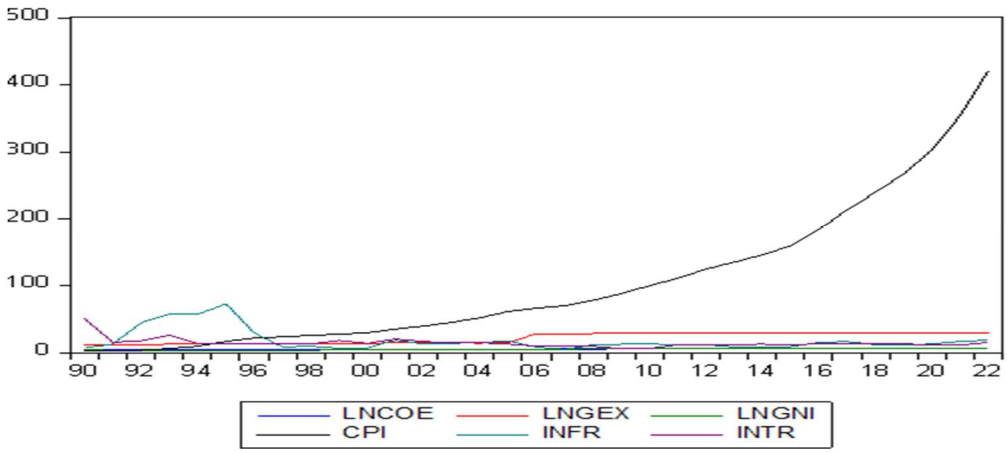


Figure 4.1: Trend movements of selected variables Source: Researcher's Computation on E-

Dependent Variable: LOG(CON01)
Method: ARDL
Date: 11/04/23 Time: 07:14
Sample (adjusted): 1994 2022
Included observations: 29 after adjustments
Maximum dependent lags: 4 (Automatic selection)
Model selection method: Akaike info criterion (AIC)
Dynamic regressors (4 lags, automatic): LOG(GEX) LOG(GNI) LOG(CPI) INFR INTR
Fixed regressors: C
Number of models evaluated: 12500
Selected Model: ARDL(4, 4, 4, 4, 3, 4)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.*
LOG(CON01(-1))	3.724129	NA	NA	NA
LOG(CON01(-2))	4.302244	NA	NA	NA
LOG(CON01(-3))	0.756120	NA	NA	NA
LOG(CON01(-4))	2.373076	NA	NA	NA
LOG(GEX)	-0.019501	NA	NA	NA
LOG(GEX(-1))	0.179276	NA	NA	NA
LOG(GEX(-2))	-0.066815	NA	NA	NA
LOG(GEX(-3))	0.073022	NA	NA	NA
LOG(GEX(-4))	0.134015	NA	NA	NA
LOG(GNI)	3.930469	NA	NA	NA
LOG(GNI(-1))	-9.827500	NA	NA	NA
LOG(GNI(-2))	1.635839	NA	NA	NA
LOG(GNI(-3))	-0.851895	NA	NA	NA
LOG(GNI(-4))	-0.927970	NA	NA	NA
LOG(CPI)	-27.74927	NA	NA	NA
LOG(CPI(-1))	-27.36688	NA	NA	NA
LOG(CPI(-2))	-27.14389	NA	NA	NA
LOG(CPI(-3))	25.44143	NA	NA	NA
LOG(CPI(-4))	56.04179	NA	NA	NA
INFR	0.213678	NA	NA	NA
INFR(-1)	0.417122	NA	NA	NA
INFR(-2)	0.576913	NA	NA	NA
INFR(-3)	0.437412	NA	NA	NA
INTR	0.043640	NA	NA	NA
INTR(-1)	0.041695	NA	NA	NA
INTR(-2)	0.086232	NA	NA	NA
INTR(-3)	-0.071259	NA	NA	NA
INTR(-4)	0.012353	NA	NA	NA
C	-24.14231	NA	NA	NA

R-squared	1.000000	Mean dependent var	5.513990
S.D. dependent var	0.487647	Akaike info criterion	-36.28694
Sum squared resid	4.00E-17	Schwarz criterion	-34.91964
Log likelihood	555.1606	Hannan-Quinn criter.	-35.85872
Durbin-Watson stat	3.321306		

*Note: p-values and any subsequent tests do not account for model selection.

Views 10

		ADF Test Statistics				Order of Integration	Remark on Stationarity
S/N	**Variables**	**Level**	**Prob.**	**1st Difference**	**Prob.**		
1	**LNCOE**	2.957110	0.7905	-2.960411	0.0000	I(1)	Stationary
2	**LNGEX**	-2.957110	0.7760	-2.960411	0.0001	I(1)	Stationary
3	**LNGNI**	-2.960411	0.7591	-2.960411	0.0438	I(1)	Stationary

4	**CPI**	-2.963972	0.0000	-2.963972	1.0000	I(0)	Stationary
5	**INFR**	-2.960411	0.0906	-2.960411	0.0009	I(1)	Stationary
6	**INTR**	-2.963972	0.0333	-2.967767	0.0860	I(0)	Stationary

Table 2: Unit Root Stationarity Test

Source: Researcher's computation on E-views 10

The stationarity of the variables was assessed using the Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) test, which revealed a mixed order of stationarity. Specifically, COE, GEX, GNI, and INTR were found to be stationary at first difference, indicating they are integrated of order one (I(1)). In contrast, CPI and INTR were stationary at level (I(0)). Therefore, the Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) technique is the most suitable method for analyzing the relationship between these variables.

TRACE TEST				
Hypothesized No. of CE(s)	**Eigen value**	**Trace Statistic**	**0.05 Critical Value**	**Prob.****
None *	0.808457	118.7544	95.75366	0.0005
At most 1	0.575242	67.52241	69.81889	0.0752
At most 2	0.463429	40.97913	47.85613	0.1893
At most 3	0.314587	21.67987	29.79707	0.3167
At most 4	0.223400	9.970125	15.49471	0.2830
MAXIMUM EIGEN VALUE				
Hypothesized No. of CE(s)	**Eigen value**	**Max-Eigen Statistic**	**0.05 Critical Value**	**Prob.****
None *	0.808457	51.23196	40.07757	0.0019
At most 1	0.575242	26.54327	33.87687	0.2886
At most 2	0.463429	19.29927	27.58434	0.3918
At most 3	0.314587	11.70974	21.13162	0.5765
At most 4	0.223400	7.837706	14.26460	0.3954

Table 3: Results of the Johansen Co-Integration Test

Source: Researcher's Computation on *E-views 10*

Table 3 presents the Trace and Max-Eigen value statistics for the model, with asterisks (*) indicating the likelihood of rejection. The Trace statistic reveals one co-integrating equation, as does the Max-Eigen value statistic. The presence of co-integration indicates a long-run relationship among the variables.

Dependent Variable	**D (LNCOE)**
ARDL Long-run model	

Variables	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-statistic	Prob.
LNGEX	-0.041638	0.016524	-2.519850	0.0199
LNGNI	0.741307	0.120645	6.144534	0.0000
CPI	0.000996	0.000393	2.532797	0.0194
INFR	0.003334	0.002222	1.500197	0.1484
INTR	0.004354	0.010076	0.432134	0.6700
ARDL Short-run (Error correction) model				
Variables	**Coefficient**	**Std. Error**	**t-statistic**	**Prob.**
C	1.770410	0.335360	5.279134	0.0000
D(LNGEX)	-0.028559	0.007605	-3.755334	0.0012
D(LNGNI)	0.886967	0.170673	5.196882	0.0000
CointEq(-1)*	-0.754621	0.145000	-5.204300	0.0000

Table 4: ARDL Long-Run and Short-run Test Result
Source: Researcher's Computation on *E-views 12*

Table 4 displays the coefficients for both the short-run and long-run relationships. A positive sign indicates a direct relationship, while a negative sign signifies an inverse relationship. Government expenditure (GEX) has a negative coefficient and is statistically significant (t-test >2 and P-value = 0.0199 ≤ 0.05), indicating a significant inverse relationship with consumption expenditure (COE). Specifically, a one percent increase in GEX results in a 4.16% decrease in COE in the long run.

In contrast, gross national income (GNI) and the consumer price index (CPI) have positive but statistically insignificant coefficients (t-test < 2), implying a direct impact on consumption expenditures in Nigeria over the long term. A one percent increase in GNI and CPI corresponds to a 74.13% and 0.10% increase in COE, respectively, in the long run.

Additionally, the coefficients for inflation and interest rates are positive but statistically insignificant. This indicates that these variables exert an insignificant positive impact on COE, with a one percent rise in inflation and interest rates leading to a 0.33% and 0.44% increase in COE, respectively.

Table 4 also displays the short-term coefficients derived from the model estimation. Specifically, GEX shows a negative and significant effect, whereas GNI exhibits a positive coefficient and is statistically significant in the short term. A one percent increase in GEX corresponds to a 2.86% decrease in COE, while a one percent increase in GNI leads to an 88.80% increase in COE in the short term. The long-term equation was formulated mathematically as follows:

EC = LNCOE - (-0.0416*LNGEX + 0.7413*LNGNI + 0.0010*CPI + 0.0033*INFR+ 0.0044*INTR)

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis One:

Ho1: There is nosignificant impact of government expenditure on consumption in Nigeria.

Based on the coefficient of significance of the result presented in Table 4, with a significance level set at: P ≤ 0.05. The findings indicate the following:

Table 5: Coefficient significance of government expenditure on Consumption in Nigeria

	Short-term			Long-run		
Variable	**t-test**	**Prob.**	**Remark**	**t-test**	**Prob.**	**Remark**
LNGEX	-3.7553342	0.0012	Significant	-2.5198509	0.0199	Significant

Source: Researcher's Computation on E-Views 12

Based on the t-test values and P-values for government expenditure as shown in Table 5, it is clear that government expenditure has been found to be statistically significant. Therefore, we reject the null hypothesis, which suggests that government expenditures do not significantly affect consumption expenditures in Nigeria. Thus, we can conclude that government expenditures indeed have a significant impact on consumption expenditures in Nigeria.

Hypothesis Two:

Ho2: There is no causal relationship between government expenditure and consumption expenditure in Nigeria.

Table 6: Granger Causality Test

Null Hypothesis:	Obs	F-Statistic	Prob.
LNGEX does not Granger Cause LNCOE	32	2.09472	0.1585
LNCOE does not Granger Cause LNGEX		7.19582	0.0119
LNGNI does not Granger Cause LNCOE	32	2.48686	0.1256
LNCOE does not Granger Cause LNGNI		6.01884	0.0204
CPI does not Granger Cause LNCOE	32	0.83132	0.3694
LNCOE does not Granger Cause CPI		10.0264	0.0036
INFR does not Granger Cause LNCOE	32	0.88764	0.3539
LNCOE does not Granger Cause INFR		1.71084	0.2011
INTR does not Granger Cause LNCOE	32	0.37976	0.5425
LNCOE does not Granger Cause INTR		4.84206	0.0359

Source: Researcher's Computation on *E-views 10*

The results of the Pairwise Granger Causality test for hypothesis two are presented in Table 6. The null hypothesis that there is no Granger causality cannot be rejected for variables with probability values greater than 0.05, indicating statistical insignificance at the 5% significance level. Therefore, the Granger causality test results between GEX and COE do not reject the hypothesis for GEX, suggesting a unidirectional causal relationship where GEX does not Granger-cause COE, but COE Granger-causes GEX. Similarly, GNI, CPI, and INTR do not Granger-cause COE, but COE Granger-causes GNI, CPI, and INTR. There is no Granger causality observed between INFR and COE.

Tests	Value	Prob.	Decision
Normality	1.831277	0.400261	Residuals are normal
Serial correlation	0.326975	0.7251	No serial correlation
Heteroscedasticity	1.270444	0.3087	No heteroscedasticity
Ramsey RESET	4.316502	0.0685	Model is well specified

Table 7: Residuals of Diagnostics Tests
Source: Researcher's Computation on E-Views 10

Table 7 displays the diagnostic tests conducted to assess the precision, dependability, and consistency of the model. The probability that the residuals conform to a normal distribution is 0.400261, exceeding the 0.05 threshold, suggesting that the null hypothesis can be accepted at a 5 percent significance level. Therefore, the residuals exhibit normal distribution characteristics. Additionally, the Residual Serial Correlation LM Tests indicate the absence of serial correlation and heteroscedasticity, affirming the model's reliability. Furthermore, the Ramsey regression specification error test (RESET) confirms that the model is appropriately specified.

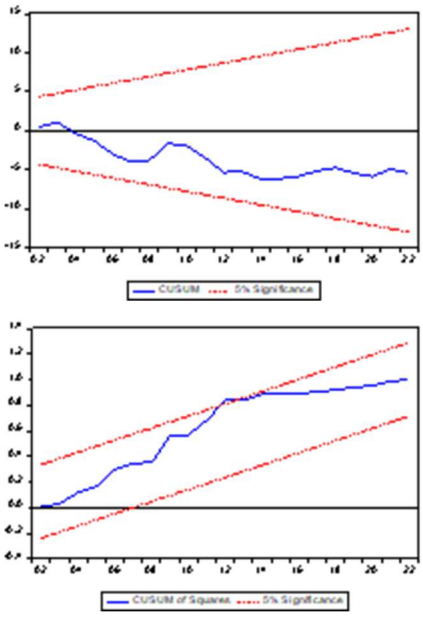


Figure 2: Result of CUSUM and CUSUM Squared Test
Source: Researcher's Computation on E-View 10

The cumulative sum of recursive residuals (CUSUM) and cumulative sum of squares of recursive residuals (CUSUMSQ) plots were utilized to assess the stability of the model parameters. The line must remain within upper and lower boundaries for stability. The plots satisfy this criterion, indicating significant stability at the 5% level.

Discussion of Findings

The research aimed to investigate the influence of government expenditures on consumption expenditures in Nigeria, employing various statistical analysis methods. The stationarity results in Table 2 indicated a mixed order of integration, with variables exhibiting stationarity at orders of I(0) and I(1). The Johansen cointegration test results in Table 3 showed the presence of long-run cointegration among the variables. Furthermore, the ARDL analysis approach demonstrated that the null hypothesis, which posits no significant impact of government expenditures on consumption in Nigeria, was rejected at the 5% level of significance.

The results from the hypothesis test in Table 5 indicate that government expenditures have a statistically significant positive impact on consumption expenditures in Nigeria during the study period (t-test > 2). However, according to the estimated ARDL long-run approach presented in Table 4, the negative coefficient associated with government expenditure (GEX) suggests that these variables have not exerted a positive influence on consumption expenditures in Nigeria in the long run.

There are several possible explanations for this finding. Firstly, it could be that government expenditures have not been adequate or that they have been allocated to projects that do not directly increase consumers' incomes over the

long term. Another possibility is that consumers may not respond proportionately to government spending; instead, they might choose to save their increased earnings due to concerns about future expectations such as potential tax increases. Additionally, time lags in the impact of government spending, as discussed by Nwaka and Ezeabasili (2018) and Egwaikhide (2012), could also contribute to these results.

On the other hand, Gross National Income (GNI) and Consumer Price Index (CPI) show positive coefficients that are statistically significant (t-test ≥ 2 and P-value ≤ 0.05), indicating a positive relationship with consumption expenditure in Nigeria. Inflation and interest rates, however, exhibit positive coefficients that are statistically insignificant.

The negative impact of government expenditure aligns with Barro's (1990; 1991) endogenous growth model, which considers government recurrent expenditure as part of consumption expenditure. This finding also resonates with studies such as that of Nurrudeen and Usman (2010), but differs from the findings of Oyinlola and Akinnibosun (2013) and Segun and Adelowokan (2015).

Conclusion and Recommendation

Government expenditure is widely recognized as a crucial fiscal tool for fostering sustainable economic growth. This study aims to empirically investigate the impact of government expenditure on consumption in Nigeria from 1990 to 2022. The Johansen cointegration test confirmed the existence of a long-run equilibrium relationship between government expenditure and consumption expenditures.

Using the ARDL approach, the study found that government expenditure exerts a significant negative impact on consumption spending. Gross National Income (GNI) and Consumer Price Index (CPI) were found to have positive and significant effects, while Infrastructure (INFR) and Interest Rates (INTR) showed positive effects that were statistically insignificant.

These findings suggest that government consumption spending may act as a substitute for private consumption. This raises questions about how different components of government spending are valued by individuals and households, influencing their consumption decisions. For instance, increased government investment in education and healthcare might lead households to spend less on these services and allocate more towards savings or other investments. Conversely, improvements in public transportation infrastructure might encourage greater use of public transport, thereby increasing household spending on transportation.

Based on these results, the study recommends several policy considerations for policymakers. Firstly, to enhance consumption spending and foster economic growth, governments should prioritize productive capital investments in areas and projects that yield maximum benefits to citizens and have strong linkages across various sectors of the economy. Additionally, policymakers should consider increasing the share of capital expenditure relative to recurrent expenditure to bolster consumer confidence. Historically, capital expenditure has been relatively lower compared to recurrent expenditure, and boosting it could support sustained economic expansion and development, leading to increased consumer spending and economic growth.

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PARTY POLITICS AND ELECTIONS IN KOGI STATE BETWEEN 1999 AND 2015: A CASE STUDY OF THE PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY

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ABSTRACT
Politics is a way of life and democracy has come to be seen as the world best practice in fair and equitable representation. This paper therefore tries to unravel the history, party politics and democracy in Kogi State especially in Nigeria's Fourth Republic, the nature and history of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), one of the dominant political parties in the state in the period under review. Understanding the major political features of the state apparatus of the party is a big step in unraveling the dynamics of party politics in the state. In so doing, this paper deployed historical methodology and usedboth primary and secondary sources. This study examined the emergence of the Peoples Democratic party in the state as well as some major factors responsible for the success of the party in the 2003 elections and thereafter. It further highlighted some factors responsible for the defeat in the 2015 elections respectively. The paper argues that the major factor that influenced politics in Kogi state are ethnic issues or what is known as ethnic politics between the three major ethnic groups of Ebira, Igala and Okun. Intra-party squabbles and struggle for hegemony is also a factor among other factors. Findings in the paper reveal that these internal issues and personality clashes played a serious role in the party's success and failure in elective positions within the state during the period under consideration. Thus, internal crisis, occasioned by personality clashes and ethnicity is a major factor that affects party politics in Kogi state.

Introduction

Political party is one of the political institutions of a competitive democracy. It also serve as a yardstick through which democratic governance could be compared in States, in that, "the structure and operation of party politics in states usually serves as measuring rod for determining the fragility or otherwise of democratic systems."[i] That is, a situation where political parties are poorly structured to perform "articulative", aggregative, communicative and educative functions, such a system is likely going to be associated with poor political culture which tend to make the democratic process so fragile. While in a situation where political parties are well structured to perform these functions, such a system is often associated with participant political culture which tends to ensure a stable democratic process. Many studies have underscored the importance of political parties in consolidation of democracy, for instance, Omotola in his 2009 study expounded that political parties are the makers of democracy such that no democratic or undemocratic settings can exist without them[ii] he established this by linking the fundamental roles of parties that are central to making sure that the will of the people is done in a democracy. Similarly, Agudiegwu portends that "the strength and effectiveness of political parties is directly proportional to the degree of resilience democracy enjoy."[iii] These concepts of the roles and importance of political parties was summarized by Muinat and Ambali that "political parties pose as an instrumental paddle of democratic foundations, which employs diverse processes in ensuring such democratic structures are guarded and protected."[iv] Not only are parties instrumental to the selection of political candidates, they are also saddled with other vibrant responsibilities such as political mobilization of citizens to vote, training of the candidate, political socialization among others. While parties are essential part of state governance in democratic societies, it should be noted that they are also an institution of their own, with several features such as administrative arms, and such other arms delegated to perform economic functions, social functions, and even political functions within the party. This helps ensure that the party also runs smoothly and is strong enough to present a 'strong' candidate. Therefore, of paramount importance is the understanding of the internal structure and characters of parties.

Party Politics has been a strategic part of Nigeria's democracy since the inception of her independence, even when her republics were truncated by several military incursions in the form of coup de tat. Starting from the era of independence, party politics played more strategic role in the election of key strategic offices of the President, senators, governors, and local government administrators in Nigeria. Throughout the country, leaders emerged from the platforms of various parties among which were the popular National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon, which later became National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU), Action Group (AG), Northern Peoples' Congress (NPC), Alliance for Democracy (AD), National Youths Movement (NYM), Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), All Progressive Congress (APC) among several others.

The People's Democratic Party has a long history in Nigerian party politics. Its origin dates back to 1998, in preparation for the new democratic consolidation.[v] The end of the military dispensation, and the necessity to have a democratic one in place, made it essential for party formation in the wake of the fourth republic. The party was registered by General Abdulsalam Abubarkar (The then Military Head of state). The Party received wide range of support from various individuals and groups in the country. It was made up of different individuals like traditional chiefs, Academicians, Businessmen and also retired military officials.[vi] The party was originally formed by a conglomeration of majorly four groups, which includes the Institute of Civil Society (ICS), which was also known as G-34, resulting from the 34 individuals, led by Alex Ekwueme, who signed the petition against Abacha's self-succession during his regime. The Second Group comprised of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), also known as the All Nigeria Congress, who were conversely not opposed to Abacha's self-succession, but were also not part of his regime, this group was led by S.B Awoniyi. The third group was the former followers of Late Shehu Musa Yar Adua, popularly known as the People's Democratic Movement (PDM), having prominent members like Atiku Abubakar and Chief Tony Anenih. The fourth group was the Social Progressive Party (SDP). The diverse nature of foundational membership will reflect in a multi-dimensional structure that the party will adopt in all areas of its internal formation

and administration, at all level. It should be noted also that the party's resilience to rule and also ensure no return to military rule in Nigeria is demonstrated by her many years of consolidation of power, until the 2015 general elections which she lost to the All Progressive Congress.

Kogi state is one of the 36 states and the federal Capital Territory that makes up Nigeria. It is located in North Central Nigeria. With its capital as Lokoja, the state is known as the Confluence state and lies on coordinates 7°30'N 6°42'E. It covers a total land area of 29, 833Km2. It is the only state in Nigeria which shares a boundary with 9 other states; FCT to the North, Nasarawa state to the North East, Benue State to the East, Enugu state to the South East, Anambra State to the South West, Ondo State to the West, Ekiti state to the West, Kwara state to the North West and Niger state to the North.[vii] Politically, Kogi state is divided into 3 senatorial districts, and is divided into 21 Local Council areas which are Adavi, Ajaokuta,Ankpa, Bassa, Dekina, Ibaji, Idah, Igalamela/Odolu, Ijumu, Kabba-Bunu, Kogi, Lokoja, Mopa-Amuro, Ofu, Ogori-Magongo, Okene, Okehi, Olamaboro, Omala, Yagba-East, and Yagba West.[viii] Kogi state was created in 1991, and since the transition to civil rule in 1999, and the change of power from the All People's Party in 2003, the party in power in the state was the People's Democratic Party (PDP) until the 2015 election which brought in the All Progressive Congress (APC) into power at both the National and the Kogi State levels.

The term politics has no one universally accepted definition, it has been examined by different scholars from different perspectives. However, a common assertion is that politics is about the state, and refers to issues that affects or concerns the city-state. This has made scholars like Modebadze to assert that politics can be define as the study of the state[ix] The study of Modebadze in his work *The Term Politics reconsidered in the light of recent theoretical developments* explained that the term politics have come to be associated with specific group of individuals who participates in taking care of issues relating to the state, among this groups are politicians and political parties. And that it also is the art of guiding or influencing governmental policy. His study explained that the term "politics", is derived from the Greek word "Polis", which means the city state According to Greek Philosophers, Politics was a subject which dealt with all the activities and affairs of the city state. Their City States were known as "Polis". City state was an all-inclusive term, as the ancient Greeks made no distinction between the state and the Government on one hand, and State and Society on the other. They never differentiated between personal life and social life. Hence according to them Politics was a total study of man, society, state, morality and so on[x]

The work of Abdurahman Suberu on *The Struggle for and the Creation of Kogi State (1983-1991)* presented the political dynamism that surrounded the political history of Kogi state, especially during the era of struggle for state creation. The study discussed how the area which was previously known as Kabba Province, which comprised of Ebira (then called Igbirra), Idah, Kabba, and Lokoja divisions[xi] were merged with other divisions such as Idah division to become Kogi state in 1991. The study traced the origin of the struggle for the creation of Kogi state to 1967, and later the creation of twelve states by the then regime of General Muritala Muhammed. The study terminated at discussion on the coming to power of Prince Abubarkar Audu under the platform of the National Republican Convention (NRC), and the coming to power of General Sanni Abacha through a military coup on November 17, 1993 to May 29, 1999. However, the account of political issues within the state must be further examined, especially with further probe into party activities of that of the PDP which managed to rule the state for about thirteen years, and this is the crust of this present study.

Statement of Problem

While there is a great deal of literature on "politics" and "party politics," although less than one would expect in view of the importance of the subject. Most of that which is available seeks to examine the nature of parties. Hence, there is a narrow concentration on "history, roles and characteristics," and particularly of state levels/arms of political parties. A study of this aspect of Nigerian politics is important to an understanding of her political dynamics and government formation politics.

Brief History of the PDP

The Peoples Democratic Party's history in Nigerian party politics is a long and significant one in the study of Nigeria's democracy this is largely because it had significantly been at the epicenter of the party politics in Nigeria since the emergence of the fourth republic, until the

coming of the All Progressive Congress (APC). The origin of the PDP dates back to as early as 1998, with the declaration of the intention of the Abdulsalam Abubarkar's government to conduct elections and return the country to democratic rule, after a long time of military rule.[xii] The end of the military dispensation, and the necessity to have a democratic one in place, made it essential for party formation in the wake of the fourth republic. The party gathered membership from people like traditional chiefs, Academicians, Businessmen and also retired military officials.[xiii]

The party was originally formed by a conglomeration of majorly four groups, which includes the Institute of Civil Society (ICS), which was also known as G-34, resulting from the 34 individuals, led by Alex Ekwueme, who signed the petition against Abacha's self-succession during his regime. The Second Group comprised of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), also known as the All Nigeria Congress, who were conversely not opposed to Abacha's self-succession, but were also not part of his regime, this group was led by S.B Awoniyi. The third group was the former followers of Late Shehu Musa Yar Adua, popularly known as the People's Democratic Movement (PDM), having prominent members like Atiku Abubakar and Chief Tony Anenih. The fourth group was the Social Progressive Party (SDP). The diverse nature of foundational membership will reflect in a multi-dimensional structure that the party will adopt in all areas of its internal formation and administration, at all level, and to examine this in relations to the party formation at Kogi State level is core to this present study. It should be noted also that the party's resilience to rule and also ensure no return to military rule in Nigeria is demonstrated by her many years of consolidation of power, until the 2015 general elections which she lost to the All Progressive Congress.

The Kogi State chapter of the party also emerged in the year 1998, and the first state chairman was Chief John Odawon[xiv]in whose house the founding members of the party within the state met, because then there was no secretariat as you have it today.[xv] Some of the party's founding members who established the party's foundation in Lokoja include; Chief John Odawon, Architect Olorunfemi, Hassan Salawu, Margaret Orebiyi among many others.

Kogi State PDP in the 1999 Elections

The party alongside other political parties in Kogi State such as the APP, ANPP after their primary elections presented their candidate, Dr. Arch. Stephen Olorunfemi a citizen of Kogi West, who ran against the popular Prince Abubarkar Audu, of the All People's Party a Kogi state indigene from the Kogi East area. The Peoples Democratic Party however could not win the elections, for some reasons which include: Ethnic issues related to the choice of party candidate, and intra-party squabbles.

First, Ethnic Issues: The ethnic struggle for hegemony between the three major ethnic groups of Ebira, Igala and Okun in Kogi state is reflective in several areas of endeavors including politics. Like Ake argued, a major feature of ethnicity in politics is the entrenchment of struggle for hegemony and supremacy. The PDP party primary in 1999 was contested by two major candidates, Architect Steven Olorunfemi from Okun area and Dr. Stephen Achema, who is an Igala man. The party primary elections ended in the favour of Stephen Olorunfemi who emerged as the party candidate, however, several members of the party who were from the East, were dissatisfied with the result of the election hence, massive party defections were recorded and many party members decided to support the APP candidate who was from the East.[xvi]A basic truth however, is also that much of the voters population from the east voted massively for the APP candidate Prince Audu Abubarkar, hence, the struggles within the party over candidacy splitting allegiances and the fact that the party was just formed, and the candidate presented still gaining popularity compared with Prince Audu who was already a popular political figure in the state.[xvii]Aside this, there were several party defections from PDP due to the primaries in 1999, and massive support for the Prince Abubarkar Audu who was from the East, hence the loss of the Election by the PDP.

Secondly, the party was barely established as efficiently as it later became in the 2003 elections. By the period of the 1999 elections, the necessary strategic planning and considerations that were later made for instance, choice of candidate, efficient and effective campaigns, and encompassing leadership across board was not yet fully in place to ensure that the party becomes formidable against the opposition, hence she could not win the election.[xviii]

The PDP Emergence in the 2003 Gubernatorial Elections

The party though defeated in the 1999 elections, was able however to win the 2003 elections, and took over power from the incumbent governor, Prince Abubarkar Audu.The following factors were largely responsible for the success in the 2003 elections;

Strategic choice of candidate: This is an essential factor because unlike in 1999 elections when the candidate was chosen from Kogi West against a candidate from Kogi east, which made the Eastern votes within the state majorly directed at the candidate from Kogi East, the 2003 elections presented a viable candidate also from Kogi East, Alhaji Ibrahim Idris, hence, politically balancing the odds,[xix] and also working endlessly to ensure that other areas also supported the candidate, this gave the party the credence, and this strategic choice helped her to correct the 1999 mistake.

Also, strategic campaign moves and steps were taken to enhance political campaigns, for instance, a system of "One man–Four persons campaign"[xx] in which party members were encouraged to strategically engage people actively at least four different times, such that every voter would have at least been reached by four different party members canvassing for their support in the election.

Another factor was the issue of national support from the party and government at the national level, especially from the arm of the party at the national level, which is also in control of the central government. Sources described this "support as the power of incumbency"[xxi] which entails that the government at the central level and the party gives both monetary and technical support to the party at the state level, to help them win against the opposition. This point agrees with the popular assertions of Kura about party financing and selection of candidates in the PDP in which he asserted that the party engages in raising massive financial supports through every means including crooked once, which served as a major source for which the party maintains a grip on power and is able to spend extensively on elections among other measures often employed to win elections.[xxii] The Human Rights watch captured some involvement of the government at the federal level in state elections when it stated that "federal officials have tolerated and often encouraged"[xxiii] actions and steps at the state and local government levels, which sometimes are not legal or are anti-democracy, just to support the activities of their own party. Another example in this regard is the claims and counter claims by the PDP and APC about the use of state funds by the federal government to aid political campaigns across Nigerian states[xxiv]

From the above discussion, it is clear that the party at the national control of governance (i.e the party whose candidate is the incumbent president) often capitalizes on supports from the central to aid her political activities at the state level against the opposition, and from the sources engaged in this study, the PDP in Kogi State benefited from this arrangement to hoist the sitting governor and establish themselves in power.

Table 1.1. Showing the Kogi State 2003 Governorship Elections Result and the Various Party Candidates

S/N	Governor	Deputy Governor	PARTY	Received votes
1	Evan. Love Laraba Emma	Mal. Ahmed Musa-ododo	AD	1,346
2	Prince Abubakar Audu	Patrick Adaba	ANPP	293,089
3	Kato Frank	Olu Oritogun	APGA	2,056
4	Alhaji Saidu Audu	Alhaji Usman Suleiman	NAC	54
5	Adeyanju Johnson Babatunde	Obadaki Abdulmalik	NCP	77
6	Nuhu Audu	Omuya Adairaji	NDP	3,116
7	Prof. Abdullahi M.	Alabi M.N.O.	NNPP	618
8	Alhaji Ibrahim Idris	Philips Ozovehe Salanu	PDP	481,264
9	Kabir M. Shuaibu	Arc. Raphael K.O.	UNPP	97,237

Source: INEC 2003 elections result mainframe page. Available online at: http://www.inecnigeria.org/2003elections/results/gubernatorial/mainframepage.htm.Accessed 23rd July 2023.

The election results above depicted a clear win of the election by the Peoples Democratic Party against the incumbent Prince Abubarkar Audu. While some accounts for instance, Human Watch Report of 2004, faulted the election as riddled with violence[xxv], the PDP candidate was later sworn in under the umbrella of the PDP.

The Loss of the 2015 elections

With the coming to power of the PDP in 2003 election, the party was able to consolidate power and produced the state governor in the 2007 and 2011 elections respectively. However, the party lost political control of the state to the APC in the 2015 elections. That was held on November 21 2015. Some of the major factors responsible for the loss of the 2015 elections in Kogi state include:

Intra-party Squabbles and Struggle

Intra-group conflict can be described as a form of conflict that happens within a party or said group, in this case squabbles within the PDP. Like Holland opined, intra-group conflicts can be caused by factors like economic factor e.g competition over scarce resources, social factors like miscommunication, and perceived bias or even political issues such as power struggle.[xxvi] As revealed by evidences, one of the major factors responsible for the loss of power of the party at the state level was the intra-party crisis or feud between party members who became split into factions some of which were loyal to the then incumbent governor Captain Idris Wada and some of which were loyal to the former governor and god-father of the then incumbent, Alhaji Ibrahim Idris.[xxvii]And yet another faction of the party were displeased for the non-rotation of power to other regions by the party as previously agreed on prior to the election and first tenure of Captain Idris Wada.[xxviii]The feud led to many prominent party members leaving the party to join parties like the SDP or even the APC some of these people included Achuba Simon, Shaba Ibrahim, Simon Ocholi, Alhassan Idoko among others,[xxix] while some who remained in the party and were not in support of Wada's candidacy were not enthusiastic enough to work for the party because they felt betrayed by the incumbent governor. A narration of the account

by Folorunsho a former Special Assistant to governor Ibrahim Idris accounted thus;

> *Many people among us did not enjoy any benefit from Wada's government especially after his first two years in office, when he started quarrelling with Ibrahim Idris and the party machinery that he used to make him governor, and since he neglected us and refer to us as thugs, we decided to work against his re-emergence*[xxx]

Causes of the Feud in the Party

Personality Struggle: This was majorly a crisis between the governor Idris Wada and the predecessor, largely over the running of the affairs of the state. The sitting governor felt he needed to consolidate power and stop the interference of the former governor who was his political god-father, however, this turns out to dissatisfy the governor and his own supporters within the party, which then created a faction between party members loyal to the governor, and those loyal to the former governor. The statement above represented the major view of key party members of the PDP Interviewed in the state during this study and from their discussions and assertions the key issue that can be deduced is that;

There was a personal feud between the then incumbent governor Captain Idris Wada and Ibrahim Idris his predecessor over control of the party and the state. The former who was then the sitting leaders of the party, attempted to consolidate his hold on political power and party control, however, the latter also wanted to held on to the party's control, hence splitting the party into factions loyal to either of the two. The Issue became more serious when the party primary election was conducted and the incumbent governor was able to secure the ticket of the party, winning Jibrin Isah Echocho,[xxxi] hence, party members who felt maligned and cheated, and those who felt the party is supposed to support a rotation of power to another region decided to leave the party and join another with their supporters.[xxxii]

This intra-party struggle created two basic challenges;

One, a large number of key officers of the party defected to other political parties leaving the party vulnerable. Most of these individuals were instrumental to the success of the Party in erstwhile elections, especially because they were able to garner people's support at the grass roots. Hence, when they changed their parties, the political party lost many of their supporters.[xxxiii]

Secondly, another large percentage of members that stayed only stayed to work against the interest of the party's candidate, who they believed have side-lined them, or is trying to arrogate all powers in the party to himself and his cronies, hence, most of these key members neither supported him nor encouraged their followers to do same, and this was a major effect of intra-party crisis.

Aside the intra-party struggle is the issue of the nature of candidacy which seems often to come to play in periodic elections in Kogi state. The two major parties' candidates were both from the eastern part of the state, and also seeking re-election. While Prince Abubarkar Audu was a former governor seeking another term, the then incumbent was also seeking re-election, hence, there was a basis for comparison by the people, as to who they believe can help develop the state, especially in the face of biting economic hardship, massive scale of unemployment, and economic crisis which is not only peculiar to the state, but also a national condition then. These comparison seemed to favour Abubarkar Audu whose tenure was seen to have led to more development than that of the sitting governor, coupled with the outrages by a large percentage of the Kogi workers especially about non-payment of salary against the incumbent governor, Captain Idris Wada[xxxiv]hence the massive votes and support for his political party.One of the notable factor that led to the defeat of the party within the state in 2015 elections was the poor level of performance by the party, especially under the regime of the governor Captain Ichalla Idris Wada[xxxv] in terms of infrastructural development, salary payment and other major governmental benefits to the people, as asserted by Folorunsho, "the Idris Wada Administration performed poorly, thereby causing a wide scale dissatisfaction among the people, as well as the clamour for a change of government".[xxxvi] There is no doubt that Nigeria faces challenges of development nationally, and the era of the fourth republic like other previous ones was riddled with apparent failure of the government to perform optimally in terms of human and infrastructural development, given factors like widespread unemployment, high level of insecurity, delayed payment, non-payment or

even half payment of workers' salaries among others, which have often plagued governmental administrations, and often a yardstick to evaluate their performance especially in a democracy, which Lipset argues have economic development as a major requisite[xxxvii]From the foregoing discussion, no doubt, the candidate's popularity also played a key role in the winning of the APC, especially considering the fact that Prince Abubarkar Audu enjoyed massive support as a long awaited "messiah" for the state.

Another key issue was the national support which was no longer there as before.[xxxviii] This was largely because of the change of power at the national level from PDP to APC. The defeat of the incumbent president Goodluck Jonathan of PDP, by the new president Muhammadu Buhari at the national level not only meant that the party at the state level can no longer leverage on the support from the central government, but also that the party's morale was negatively affected, and the opposition's resolve was made stronger. These factors were key to the emergence of the APC and the defeat of the PDP in the 2015 gubernatorial elections, and subsequently led to the change of government in power, and terminated the about thirteen years of political rule of the PDP in the state at the state government level.

Conclusion

This study set out to examine party politics within Kogi state, by specifically discussing the PDP and the roles the party played in the state, the emergence of the party in 2003 and the loss of power in the 2015 elections. It was discovered that peculiar political issues within the party, such as power tussle especially between the sitting governor, and the former one during this period was a strong factor that split the party into factions, also, the emergence of the APC at the national level defeating the sitting PDP presidency had both physical and psychological effects on party activities within the state. And ultimately, the various defections, and dissatisfaction by members within the party all culminated to the defeat of the party in the 2015 elections. Thus, it was a combination of both internal issues and external influences that gave rise to the party coming to power in 2003 that also played out negatively allowing the loss of power in 2015.

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