



**NOUN  
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF  
PEACE STUDIES AND CONFLICT  
RESOLUTION  
[NIJPCR]**

**VOL. 1, NO. 2(B), August, 2021**

A Publication of  
Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
National Open University of Nigeria

© Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
National Open University of Nigeria,  
Jabi, Abuja

August, 2021

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**ISSN: 2756-6099**

Published By:

Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
National Open University of Nigeria  
University Village, Plot 91. Cadastral Zone,  
Nnamdi Azikiwe, Express way, Jabi, Abuja

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The Noun International Journal of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution is a product of the Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, Faculty of Social Sciences, National Open University of Nigeria. The vision behind this academic journal is to:

- i. promote sustainable research culture among the academia for the enhancement and development of the intellectual capacity of both the authors and the readers.
- ii. aid the promotion and assimilation of the values of Peace and Conflict Resolution in our societies.
- iii. provide a platform for espousing writers and well researched academic works for reference and teaching purposes.

The journal will also aid the promotion and assimilation of the values of Peace and Conflict Resolution in our societies. The Journal is published twice a year, first publication in March and the second in August and may also feature special editions as may be deemed fit at any material time.

The articles in this journal have been carefully selected, effectively reviewed and edited by the Editors who are tested and proven in their various fields of study and practices as seasoned academician and practitioners and I believe it will be a worthwhile reference material.

The journal has an online presence, thus making it a reference material which is easily accessible at any point in time and has become widely acceptable within the academic world both locally and internationally.

I must of necessity appreciate my colleagues in the Department who has continued to work tirelessly for this vision to be sustained. I specially appreciate the person of **Dr. Basil Ibebunjo - the Managing Editor**, who has been a worthy partner in the sustenance of this vision. I appreciate the persons of; **Dr. Olabamiji Oyebode, Dr. Mathias Jarikre, Dr. Adeola Adams, Dr. Taiwo Orebiyi and Mrs. Anthonia**

**Okonye** . I also appreciate my administrative members of staff in the persons of; Mrs Adeola Olaniyi Ojo, Mr Umar Aliyu and Miss Oyintarela Abarugu.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, featuring a stylized 'S' and 'O' followed by a long horizontal stroke.

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# **NOUN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PEACE STUDIES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION [NIJPCR]**

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Paper submissions are welcome in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution any relative areas and they should adhere to the following guidelines.

1. Length of paper: Paper submissions should not be more than 5,000 words including footnotes and references.
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# **CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND PEACE BUILDING: THE HUMANIST PERSPECTIVE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This paper interrogates the humanist claims to conflict resolution and peace building. The core question it seeks to answer is whether humanism can engender a peaceful world devoid of conflict as claimed by humanists. As such it attempts to discover the manner in which humanism can engender a world devoid of conflict and violence. Given the internal constitution of humanism as an ideology, and following a thorough analysis of the practice of humanism in history, the paper argues that humanism is open to the pitfalls of religion which it criticises. The noticeable similarity between religion and humanism entails that humanism will therefore lead to the same type of violence and conflict associated with religion. Consequently, the paper concludes that the claim that humanism will engender a peaceful world devoid of conflict is utopian.

**Keywords:** Conflict Resolution, Peace Building, Humanist, Ideology, Religion.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIK) recorded 385 conflicts globally in 2017. A total of 222 of these conflicts were violent while 163 were non-violent conflict situations (HIIK, 2018). Conflicts situations may involve loss of life, stunted social and economic developments, promotion of injustice, and entrenchment of social inequality (Grandvoinnet and Schneider, 1998; Olsen, 2009). Individually and collectively, states have continued to search for solutions to conflict situations. The United Nations (UN) Peacekeeping is the common tool which global leaders deploy in conflict management around the world and it comprises capable personnel drawn from the military, police and civilians. The UN peacekeeping operations rest on the following instruments: charter of the United Nations, human rights, international humanitarian law, and Security Council mandates (UN, 2008).

Peacekeeping personnel as conflict management agents have been known to engage in unethical practices that call into question the motives of the entire peacekeeping process in which they were involved. Welch (2014, 62) may have had the field experiences of state and international conflict management actors in mind when she writes that “Even our commitment to justice and peace through the exercise of skilful means may lead in directions and result in consequences we can neither predict nor control.” Thus, recent peacekeeping activities around the world have led to allegations of unethical practices levelled against peacekeepers. For instance, Nigeria’s national peacekeeping operators comprising soldiers and the joint civilian task force deployed in the North Eastern part of the country as a result of insurgent Boko Haram group were accused of complicating the conflict situation by engaging in the same acts as Boko Haram. Thus, while Boko Haram insurgents were accused by Amnesty International of raping kidnapped women and girls, soldiers and civilian joint task force rape and sexually abuse women IDPs (Amnesty International, 2018).

Conflict management efforts are also complicated by carefully intended actions resulting from conflict of interests by international communities involved in peacekeeping operations. The European Union (EU) presents a handy example here. In 1997, the EU in the

wake of Rwandan Genocide expressed its concern on the need to forestall similar occurrence in Africa. Consequently, it issued a position that conflict management in Africa was its priority (Landgraf, 1998). This position was reinforced ten years after, during the EU-Africa Summit in Lisbon, where it was agreed that peace and security were the fulcrums of EU-Africa joint partnership. An assessment of EU conflict management efforts in Africa shows that the entire EU conflict management projects in Africa were informed first of all by European interests like migration and terrorism control (Olsen, 2009).

The argument is that these states of affairs run counter to the norms of equality, humanitarianism and human flourishing that ought to inform every conflict management effort. Thus, instead of subsiding, conflict situations multiply around the globe. As a counterpoise, humanist thinkers have projected humanism as an ethical disposition with innately imbued capacity for effective conflict management and ensuring human flourishing. Humanists point at centuries of opposition to cruelty and violence associated to humanism and hold that it has the key to conflict management. For instance, they argue that:

A humanistic sensibility impelled the Enlightenment thinkers to condemn not just religious violence but also the secular cruelties of their age, including slavery, despotism, executions for frivolous offenses such as shoplifting and poaching, and sadistic punishments such as flogging, amputation, impalement, disembowelment, breaking on the wheel, and burning at the stake. The Enlightenment is sometimes called the Humanitarian Revolution, because it led to the abolition of barbaric practices that had been commonplace across civilizations for millennia (Pinker, 2018: 10-11).

The above humanistic claims are not supported by history. Some prominent humanists of the era of slavery were known to have owned slaves. John Locke, a famous humanist philosopher of the time is a good example here as he was said to have owned stock in slave trading companies and was Secretary of the Lord Proprietor of the Carolinas where slavery was being practiced while at the same time preaching humanist ideals. Thus, there is a historical tension, a disconnect between theory and practice. It is in the light of this that the paper examines the humanist claims to conflict resolution and promotion of global peace.

## Understanding Humanism

The term humanism did not exist until the nineteenth century (Copson, 2015). However, humanist scholars have been able to demonstrate that sentiments and dispositions that are descriptive of the term have been recurring in all epochs of recorded history. The Sophist, Protagoras, was attributed with the earliest rendition of the content of what would later be known as humanism. Since the emergence of the word, the meaning given to it has varied and scholars often disagree on whether to describe it as a worldview or life-stance. This confusion is particularly manifest in the varied definitions of the term given by the American Humanist Association, who as of 2012, defined humanism as: “**a progressive philosophy of life** that, without theism or other supernatural beliefs, affirms our ability and responsibility to lead ethical lives of personal fulfilment that aspire to the greater good of humanity” (Ardiente and Speckhardt, 2014: 120-121). However, the current definition of humanism in the Association’s website renders it as “**a progressive lifestance** that, without theism or other supernatural beliefs, affirms our ability and responsibility to lead meaningful, ethical lives capable of adding to the greater good of humanity.” (American Humanist Association, accessed May 2018). Thus, the confusion as whether humanism is a worldview, a philosophy or a lifestance is one which humanists still grapple with. The discrepancy in the definition could be interpreted to represent the emphasis of particular leaderships at different times. It could also be used to justify the humanist’s claim to fluidity of ideas and meanings.

In order to escape from the controversy associated with defining the term, a number of scholars prefer to identify the characteristics of humanism rather than giving a full-blown definition of it. This is the path toed by Law (2011) who listed the following seven characteristics as belonging to humanism; belief in science and reason as guide to human action, atheistic or agnostic disposition, non-belief in afterlife, human-centric ethics, individual moral autonomy, man rather than God as maker of life-meaning, and secularism in the sense of state being neutral to religion. Despite some claims by some religious people to humanism (this claim has given rise to terms such as Catholic humanism, protestant

humanism, Christian humanism, Islamic humanism, and so on), contemporary humanists claim that a constant thread in the characterisation of humanism anywhere is the sense of godlessness (Hutchinson, 2014), abhorrence or hatred of God (Driscoll, 2017). It is this kind of understanding that informed the production of assorted labels for individuals that can be regarded as humanists.

If you identify as an atheist, agnostic, freethinker, rationalist, sceptic, cynic, secular humanist, naturalist, or deist; as spiritual apathetic, nonreligious, “nothing”; or any other irreligious descriptive, you could probably count yourself what I call a Humanist. Feel free to use whatever terminology you prefer—that’s not important. We don’t believe a god created perfect religions or sacred texts, so why would we believe he or she created one perfect, sacred name that all doubters were required to adopt? (Epstein, 2009, xii).

An analysis of the above gives prominence to the understanding that humanism is more of a lifestance than a worldview. And it is a stance against God, characterised by the denial of his existence, ascription of his powers to man, and sustained emphasis on the evils or mistakes of religious people. Thus, the protestation by most humanists that humanism is uncompromisingly secular is methodical and may also explain the extant emphasis on lifestance as against worldview or philosophy in the understanding of the term. Humanism as a philosophy or worldview is more likely to be accommodative of the religions. Take for example this old definition of the term given by Erich Fromm.

by ... humanism I refer to a global philosophy which emphasizes the oneness of the human race, the capacity of man to develop his own powers and to arrive at inner harmony and at the establishment of a peaceful world. Radical humanism considers the goal of man to be that of complete independence, and this implies penetrating through fictions and illusions to full awareness of reality (Fromm, 1966, 13).

Indeed, there are ample proofs that earlier humanists considered humanism as a sort of a godless religion. This is still true of Buddhism, and was also true of communism. The clearest proof that earlier humanists considered humanism as a sort of religion is found in the *A Humanist Manifesto* (1933), now known as *Humanist Manifesto I*, among whose promulgators was the Philosopher, John Dewey. This Manifesto views humanism as a new religion.

Subsequent Manifestos (1973; 1980; 2000; 2003) were all targeted at weaning humanism of any religious connotation. (Free Inquiry, 2018). Thus, since prominent proponents of humanism are scholars unconvinced of the claims of Judo-Christian and Islamic religions it becomes convenient for them to erect a system devoid of the weighty garbage of these religions. However, a reading of Harari (2015) provides an insight that besides its aversion and hatred of God, the style of humanists also involves aversion to terms or groups with any ugly historical garbage no matter how strong their irreligiosity. Thus, Harari had argued that based on their stance towards God and man, terms like communism and even Nazism should also qualify as humanism. The only explanation to give for their exclusion in the above list compiled by Epstein (2009) is humanists care to deliver a chaste and attractive alternative. This also explains humanists' critique of capitalism as anti-human and their valorisation of anarcho-socialism as an economic structure (Allen, 2017).

### **The Ascent of Man**

The strongest description of the process that will be discussed in this section is that by Yuval Harari who, after assessment of the implication of humanism, described the *homo sapiens* that arises as a result of humanism as "the animal that became a god" (Harari, 2015: 415). This is actually an inverse of a process that began long ago. In ancient Greece, Xenophanes described the process of humanisation of gods. According to him, "humans construct deities in their own image, as animals would if they could, and Ethiopians actually do." (Cf Seaford, 2004, 284). Nothing suggests that Xenophanes doubted the existence of gods. Rather it can be shown that he was expressing his marvels at the difference between the gods he saw on his visit to Ethiopia (which since Ethiopians were black, he also discovered to be black) and the ones worshipped by the Greeks who were whites as the Greeks who made them. Xenophanes' could be an expression of human ignorance about what the gods look like but not a doubt about their existence. However, the inversion of the humanisation of the gods was started by Protagoras culminating in the deification of man. This deification is responsible for the thought system that would be later regarded as humanism. Protagora's eternal relevance stemmed from his



pioneering refusal to subject himself to divine governance and direction. Protagoras would rather that he and his fellowmen govern themselves, dictate the laws that they would obey. His reason is simple. "Of all things the measure is humankind, of the things that are that they are and of the things that are not that they are not." (Cf Seaford, 2004: 285).

The above saying has been interpreted to mean that man determines reality. He sets the boundary of what exists and what does not exist, including the gods. This goes contrary to the prevailing wisdom and belief, where gods determine earthly events, reward and punish humans according to their deeds and misdeeds. According to Plato's interpretation of Protagoras' statement, this power to determine is possessed by every individual who determines the meaning of reality to himself. Plato's charge is that this would lead to relativism (Law, 2011). It is important to note that Protagoras' humankind did not include women and slaves. The Greeks of his time excluded women from public life including philosophy and slaves were regarded as mere tools. Protagoras is reputed to have drafted the Law of Thurii, an Italian colony of Greece. (Provencal, 2015). Instructively, in no place has it ever been shown that he argued for the reversal of status of slaves and women.

There were sparse subversive arguments against the gods over the intervening centuries until the period of Enlightenment. It was the Enlightenment philosophers that mounted a fresh attack on the gods and on religion, and promoted the supremacy of human reason. Immanuel Kant, in his famous essay, "What is Enlightenment," likened reliance on priests and other interpreters of the Scripture as immaturity. Maturity, therefore, was marked by strong reliance on one's reason. An individual relying on his own interpretative powers guaranteed by reason alone would arrive at the right conclusions.

The Importance of Enlightenment to humanism is so encompassing that Monica Miller regards it as the true origin of the idea and concept of humanism (Miller, 2017). This is true especially with regard to the supreme value which humanists place on man and his capacity to reason, coupled with the interpretation that this capacity to understand things for oneself would free individuals from the hold of religious beliefs and teachings. Philosophers

like Frederick Nietzsche would later seize the opportunity offered by this new teaching to proclaim the death of God. The death of God, according to Nietzsche, freed man from all entrapments of religions and religious values. Prior to his death, God was responsible for normative moral directives which man was meant to obey. The direct consequence of this is the elevation of man to the position once occupied by God. Henceforth, man should no longer look up to God for moral guidance on how to act or on what constitutes values. He must decipher this for himself since there is no God. Short of calling the human that emerge as a consequence of his reasoning about God, Nietzsche refers to him as the superman.

### **The Rationality and Ethics of Humanism**

The religious order had relied on God to give meaning and order to the world. It has looked up to the supernatural for explanation of events in the world and our relations to these events. But the new humanistic thinking, in supplanting religion and God, vested the power of meaning making to man. He must, by the deployment of his reason alone, decipher what is good for him. Consequently, Harari (2017) writes that the primary commandment of humanism to man is: “create meaning for a meaningless world.”

Thus, there is a distinct ethical disposition that is a consequence of the ascent of man. According to this disposition, human flourishing becomes the essence of living in the world and rests on the abolition of heaven which the religions –Christianity and Islam— preach. In the humanist system, the earth as we know it is the only and final abode of man, and the responsibility of determining what that earth becomes for man lies on man alone.

... humanity defines morals, ethics, and notions of justice. Scientific inquiry and reason are the best vehicles for explaining the emergence of the universe and all life forms, rather than recourse to supernatural causes and explanations. Thus, rather than privilege redemption or eternal reward in an afterlife, humanism reveres human potential, ingenuity, and creativity in the material world and the here and now. (Hutchinson, 2014: 96).

The humanist ethics therefore, rests on creating the religious prototype of heaven on earth; an ideal world of happiness and love. According to Law (2011), this ethics comprises “ultimately more life-affirming and life-enhancing alternatives.” The attack here is mainly on

Christianity and Islam's emphasis on the otherworldly. There is the confidence that the triumph of humanism, especially its emphasis on reason, would lead to a world of peace, prosperity and contentment (Law, 2011). Humanism relies heavily on science, which they interpret as one of the greatest achievements of human reasoning, to achieve this. The belief here is that a world governed by science will make life easier, eliminate diseases and poverty, and guarantee human happiness for all.

### **Humanist Understanding of Conflict**

Western philosophical thought is said to rest on the idea of conflict as the driving force of human civilisation and development (Colasanti, 2011). Thomas Hobbes, who founded this idea, rooted it on human nature. He held that by nature man is characterised by destructive violence against his fellow men. "To this war of every man against every man, this also is consequent: that *nothing can be unjust*. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no law; where no law, no injustice" (Hobbes cited in Byron, 2015: 12). Thus, the entrance into society, as well as the formation of government, the idea of justice and injustice, the formulation of law and morality are all consequences of destructive violence that derive from the nature of man.

The humanists inveigh against this idea of man. Pinker (2017) paints Hobbes as a victim of history. He argues that the theorisation of wars as permanent human nature of man derived from the fact that war was a permanent feature of many societies so it was possible for him to view it as a destiny of mankind escapable only through the power of a strongman who can force obedience. Rather than conflict, humanism emphasizes sympathy as a major characteristic of human nature. Thus, where the Hobbesian humans see the state of nature as a condition for conflict and violent relations, the humanists view the world as providing a condition for cooperation among men. They predicate this on human reason which directs man alright on the true nature of relation with his fellow man.

...reason tells you that...you have the responsibility to provide to others what you expect for yourself. You can foster the welfare of other sentient beings by enhancing life, health, knowledge, freedom, abundance, safety, beauty, and

peace. History shows that when we sympathize with others and apply our ingenuity to improving the human condition, we can make progress in doing so, and you can help to continue that progress (Pinker, 2017: 3).

Through sympathy one extends the best wishes he has for himself to others. Thus, if the basic human instinct, for instance, is the preservation of self, he extends the right to this to others since his reason tells him at once that the other also seeks for preservation of himself. With this, humanists hold that the system which they promote is one that will eliminate conflicts which they argue rest on non-humanistic philosophies and religion. Particularly humanists find the Christian religion as exemplifying the capacity of religion to engender conflicts among men. The history of Christianity, especially since the reign of Constantine, is marked with repression, and wars fought in the name of God. Thus, humanists hold on to this and point out that in a world governed by humanistic thought, where reason alone informs actions, the urge to war will be completely eliminated.

What is guaranteed in such a world is human flourishing, understood as a glorious era of well-being, happiness, love, and peace. Science has a major role to play here since its advancement will lead man into an unimagined era of prosperity. To bring about such a state of peace and human flourishing, humanists look up to the emergence of a process advocated by Kant in another of his famous writings, “Perpetual Peace.”

In “Perpetual Peace,” Kant laid out measures that would discourage leaders from dragging their countries into war. Together with international commerce, he recommended representative republics (what we would call democracies), mutual transparency, norms against conquest and internal interference, freedom of travel and immigration, and a federation of states that would adjudicate disputes between them. (Pinker, 2017: 13).

Pinker celebrates the 1948 declaration of universal human rights as a triumph of humanistic ideals. One, it united world governments into taking decisions that would guarantee peace and human flourishing. Two, the declaration united every human person deeply divided by their creed, colour, geography, and so on. It also drew attention that despite perceived differences man remains fundamentally the same.

## **What if We Arm the Prophet? Deconstructing Conflict Management in a Humanist World**

The intention in this section is to imagine conflict management in a world governed by humanistic ideals. In doing so, the idea of humanism as a religion as advocated by Harari (2015; 2017) is taken for granted despite humanists' claim to the contrary. According to Harari (2015: 227) religion "is a system of human norms and values that is founded on belief in a superhuman order." Schumpeter, while identifying Marxist socialism as religion, also highlights some important characteristics of religion with which the religious credentials of any system is to be judged.

Like all religions, humanism is also presented as the absolute truth, before which all other alternatives are false. Absolute truths, when not backed by political power, are content to dwell on the level of ideas and theorise the welfare and goodness of man. However, when backed by political powers, they become injurious to alternatives (not necessarily contradictory) systems. This was true of Marxism and Nazism (Harari, 2015). In the case of Nazism, it led to the gradation of races and execution of 3 million Jews. Marxism on the other hand led to the entrenchment of totalitarian governments in which dissent of any type was forbidden.

Humanism holds such prospects as Marxism and Nazism. With its emphasis on reason and science, humanism on acquiring political power stands the danger of grading human beings according to their capacity to reason and engage in science. Individuals lacking this ability may be regarded as lesser humans. There is already evidence of this in the writings of some humanist authors.

As we know, some of the most influential mid-twentieth century freethinkers wrote and spoke harshly against certain groups such as African Americans. For example, James Hervey Johnson, who edited the *Truth Seeker*, advocated for eugenic programs and tactics. Today, his legacy is still alive and well through the James Hervey Johnson foundation, which provides huge sums of money to various freethought organizations. Woolsey Teller was another leading freethought bigot. ... (Allen, 2017: 107).

Indeed, the history of atheistic humanism supports the practices cited above. For instance, despite the writings of John Locke, cited among the promoters of the Enlightenment, about equality of man and his rights, he was reported to have kept slaves without scruples. Even Jefferson and other humanist promoters of American Independence who made grand pronouncements about man felt that the African was excluded from the people they wrote about. System with such an exclusive thought pattern, rather than peace, will promote war.

Besides the above, humanism is unsuccessfully conceived as an order in opposition to all religious orders. The entailment here is that it is founded on conflict. This is seen in the manner in which it is opposed by other religions, and the manner in which it, in turn, is opposed to them. Interestingly, some of the accusations of dehumanisation of the human person which humanism levels against religions are ones which only Christianity, Islam and Judaism are guilty of. Neither Buddhism nor African Traditional Religion is guilty of the crimes which humanism spotlights in religion. However, since it makes its allegation without any form of discrimination, it can be said, conclusively, that humanism derives its life in a divisive, dualistic epistemology of *Us vs Them; Humanists vs Non-Humanists* with its attendant consequences.

There is also another danger from humanist's over-emphasis and reliance on reason. This danger comes from the assumption that many men relying on reason alone will come to the same 'rational' and favourable decision on all issues. This is far from reality. Even among philosophers, the employment of reason has led to varying outcomes. The pursuit of these rational outcomes has not always been favourable to men. Nazism, for instance, was a product of reasoning and yet it was responsible for one of the greatest group crimes in history.

Finally, humanism's hope for a conflict-free world rests on naïve conception of contemporary conflicts and even of states. Most contemporary conflicts are as a result of natural disasters. Though humanists hope that the prosperous era of science will lead to solutions, the reality is that mankind is yet to get these solutions and these natural disasters continue to occur, displacing populations and driving them into unknown territories. Humanist

theory that sympathy among people will drive them to assist one another has not been helpful in mobilising other nations into opening their borders to the displaced individuals from other nations. Thus, despite the preponderance of humanistic thinking, the human condition has not improved.

## CONCLUSIONS

This paper has examined the claim that humanism as an atheistic social order will engender human flourishing, and therefore peace. Either as a lifestance or thought system, humanism is built on the belief that religion and its dogmas are irrational. Based on this, humanists project a social order short of religion but resting on the hope that science and reason holds the key to human progress. The humanist social order was also conceived as an egalitarian one in which conflict and violence will be non-existent. In interrogating this claim, the paper interrogates the fundamental assumptions of humanism. Its discovery is that despite its claims to the contrary humanism is a religion. As a religion, some of the criticisms against other religions can also be levelled against humanism. Thus, if other religions have led to human rights abuse and violent conflicts, humanism has the innate capacity to also result into these. Thus, instead of solution, humanism is more likely to complicate conflict situations around the world.

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## **VICE-CHANCELLORS AND DECLINING UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN NIGERIA: A PERSPECTIVE**

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### **ABSTRACT**

The need to unify Nigerian Universities' academic system and programmes was unequivocally led to the establishment of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors in 1962. While the intention of Committee of Vice-Chancellors was to guarantee quality and a standard academic system in Nigeria, the influx of politicians in academic regalia (some Vice-Chancellors) changed the momentum of the ultimate goals. The political academics have 'succeeded' in changing the ultimate goals of academic excellence to a parochial accumulation of wealth and destabilize the system. Their procedures of admission, employment, payment of salary, promotion of staff and development of infrastructural facilities fail to follow the due process. They positioned their cronies as Deans, Directors, Heads of Department, tender board members, contractors, etc. to seek rents or cover up their excesses. Incessant uses of siren are parts of the impunities, anomalies, or abnormalities experience by the Nigerian universities system from their Vice-Chancellors. The study, therefore, examines the state of the Nigerian universities system and the impacts of Vice-Chancellors on Nigerian universities education. Research interview, internet explorations, magazines, newspaper cut-out, books and journals were the instruments of data collection. Suggestions for better Nigerian universities education, rejuvenation and standardization were proffered.

**Keywords:** Committee of Vice-Chancellors, Corrupt practices, University Education, Nigeria

## **INTRODUCTION**

Education remains a paradigm of learning, acquisition of knowledge, skills, values, beliefs and habits that guarantee better living conditions for societies. It involves discussion of issues; training, teaching and researching that take place through the guidance of moderators, instructors or self-learners (Akinkugbe, 2001). It can be delivered through a formal or informal mechanism that has formative effect on reasoning, thinking, feeling, or other acts of learning considered educative and informative. Education enhances learners' levels or powers of reasoning and judgment over issues (Akinkugbe, 2001). It is the only weapon that liberates human society from endless wants, poverty, ignorance and backwardness. It however fosters knowledge-driven by 'training pool of qualified labour force' including professionals in different fields as well as future leaders, researchers, discoveries of knowledge, transmissions of values, norms, characters and ethics as sources of social development needed for the creation of healthy societies.

In other words, university education is a primary tool for African development in this century. It would help to develop African expertise and enhance analysis of African problems by strengthening their domestic institutions that serve as models or paradigms for good governance (Okoli, 2017). Haskin (1963) higher education is a global key driver of growth and development. It engenders the creation of vital knowledge and innovation of ideas that steer sustainable development, reduction of poverty, improvement of health, enhancement of national and global prosperity or competitiveness (Annan, 1998). But the increase in the numbers of higher educational institutions from 7 in 1962 to 323 in 2012 has not necessarily led to the realization of its aim and objectives in Nigeria. The adverse effect of poor university management in Nigeria has continued to nosedive the ranking of Nigerian Universities globally and raising the questions of quality graduates (Committee of Vice- Chancellors of Nigerian Universities and Trust Africa, 2012).

However, the vice-chancellors are the principal academics and the chief executive officers of the universities. They are the public faces of the universities that have the primary

responsibility of promoting the university's goals including raising funds and building networks. They are whole-time principal academics and chairmen of universities senate, academic council, academic boards, committee of advance studies, planning, and development. They preside over the university's statutory meetings, and ensure that the university acts, statutes and ordinances are faithfully observed and fulfilled. They appoint temporary staff based on urgent needs for six months and delegated power by appointment. Unfortunately, the intention of guaranteeing quality and standard academic system in Nigeria has not been materialized due to the influx of politicians in academic regalia (some Vice-Chancellors). They have changed the ultimate goals of university education to a parochial accumulation of wealth and affected the whole system.

In Nigeria, the position of Vice-Chancellor has been commercialized and politicized. Illegal recruitments of staff, non-payment of staff salary, promotion of unqualified staff and siphoning of resources that are meant for developmental projects are their activities. They promote mediocrity through their actions. Due process is no longer their watchword but a self-aggrandizement or selfish interest that weakens the system. The use of incessant sirens and violations of human rights are parts of impunities suffered by university campuses. Virtually all the public universities' vice-chancellors are alleged of corrupt practices, and made Federal Government proposes the use of Integrated Payment and Personnel Information System (IPPIS) for payment of the federal universities staff. Meanwhile, in 1970s and 1980s, such ineptitude characters or attitudes were not common in the universities system. The bad 'eggs' among the vice-chancellors are directly or indirectly rubbing the image of the Committee of Vice-chancellors.

All these and more raised the question of relevance of Nigerian university education to national development. The Nigeria university education, unlike its global counterparts, gives much to be desired in terms of fact findings and finding solutions to the perennial problems such as human/social insecurity. Hence, the study, therefore, examines the state of Nigerian universities education and the impacts of Nigerian vice-chancellors on university

system. Research interview, internet explorations, magazines, newspaper cut-outs, books and journals were the instruments of data collection.

### **Conceptual Analysis**

University is a “community” of teachers and scholars referred to as people associated with knowledge, understanding, skill acquisitions, guide, corporation, etc. It comprises different units that exercise some levels of authority with the checks and balances (Committee of Vice-chancellors of Nigerian Universities and Trust Africa, 2012). It is an institution or place of research scholarly productive. For example, a university of agriculture is established to develop new methods of improving farming productivity and mechanized techniques. Other universities are worth of the names of improving the bounds of knowledge and technology through research. They engage in teaching, research and community services. They are institutions of social change, skill acquisition and development (Colish, 1997). Universities award degrees in diverse fields of studies or conferred degrees on students after a period of classes and examinations

Vice-Chancellors are responsible for the university management and leadership functions. They lead and harness its resources, guide and shape its values, build managerial team and inspire some initiatives that guarantee institutional vision and strategic fulfilment. That is, the management of university should not be personalized, opaque, alienated or autocratic in nature, but, collegial, transparent and responsive (Riaz and Haider, 2010). Its governing system must relate well with its community members and creates effigies that bring effective progress. The university management teams are high calibres of people that have economic rights, authority, moral responsibility, and motivation to lead and achieve quality education base on global practices. Good leadership role is one of the basic important features of university, which can prevent or provide solution to the institutional problems (Draft and Marcic, 2006).

In Nigerian university system, the institutions of checks and balances are unfortunately fast eroded or completely weakened. Omafume (1995) if all the men are virtuous

and rational, there would be no need for laws and state. A completely virtuous person is governed by reasoning and not by the external laws. The law was established because of imperfect and recalcitrant nature of human. To achieve the ideal university system in Nigeria, the position of Vice-Chancellor should be left or entrusted to those who are virtuous and have philosophical insights; those who are living by reasoning and philosophically guided by nature. The ideal university system is the one that its guardians are performing their functions without interference. Some Vice-Chancellors need to surrender their egos for mutual understanding and benefits of the university system. This is because good leadership evolves through intelligent initiative, agreement, mutual understanding, benefits, etc. Their leadership position is to guide and not an avenue to exploiting the followers. A supportive and effective management style results to a higher degree of contentment and greater involvement of people (Handy, 1985).

### **Theoretical Analysis**

The structural-functionalism and strain-differential association theories were directly or indirectly explained why the universities in Nigeria are experiencing declines in the standard of education in the 21st Century. According to structural-functionalism, the quality of Nigerian university education is declining because of defectives and malfunctions of its governing institutions (social dysfunctional). That is, its structural problem is affecting its characters, functions and obtainable. Such problems occur once the rightful cultural norms and values are jettisoned. The theory avers good socio-structural system where the functional constituents guarantee the better managerial approach. It sees all the members of the university as one body that has specific functions to perform in order to move the institution forward. It asks the university management to partner with their members in achieving its sets objectives of sound educational system and quality education.

This is because the function of every member demands their contributions for a social stability that guarantees sound educational system. It categorizes their functions into inputs and outputs. In other words, a system's input is a function or matter-energy from individual to

individuals. Its output is the function of matter-energy within the system. Almond (1963) identifies the input-functions as: political socialisation, involvement, communication, interest articulation and aggregation, which are parts of the attributes of building a better social system. Its output functions include: rules making (policy making), rule application (policy implementation), adjudication (policy interpretation), progress and development.

In like manner, the system theory sees the university as a compact body with different inter-related components that made-up of many parts engaging in inter-relationship, interdependence and cooperation (Olaniyi, 2007). Pidwirny (2006) it is an assemblage of interrelated parts working together with many drives, which encompass the following attributes: (a) different parts that made-up of a component unit; (b) interactions -where changes in one component induce changes in another component; (c) mutual interaction-where changes in two components encourage changes in other components, and in the long run, inducing changes in the original component; (d) each part contributes to the survival of the whole system. For the university system to succeed; justice, respect for human rights, rule of law, protection of less privileges, political participation for all qualified members, proper promotion exercise, better service delivery, etc. need to be abound.

### **Vice-Chancellors and Declining University Education in Nigeria**

This study identified infiltrations of some politicians in academic regalia (some Vice-Chancellors) as raising factors that undermine Nigerian university education in the 21st Century. Ekpo (2012) the petitions from the students, members of the staff, the unions and other stakeholders within the university community alleging all manners of corrupt practices and abuses of office by some principal officers revealed how rotten Nigerian university system is in this dispensation. Their abuses of the admission processes, the mis-conduct of examinations, the illegal appointments and promotion of the unqualified staff, manipulation and falsification of the academic records such as transcripts, sexual harassment and victimizations, syndicated plagiarism of the students and staff, delay or non-payment of the salary, gratuity and pension to the pensioners, and non-adherence to the bidding processes of

awards of contracts are the current features of Nigerian university collapses caused by the actions of some Vice-Chancellors (Ekpo and Okoduwa, 2012). Others are illegal accreditation of the programmes through deceptive means, running of the unapproved study centres, affiliation of the illegal programmes to some accredited schools, establishment and operation of the unapproved programmes, and consequently, running of the illegal universities.

According to ICPC Chairman – Ekpo, the preliminary investigations of this commission pointed to the utter disregard and failure of the regulatory systems to live above the board within the university system. He states that his commission is undertaken a comprehensive study and advice all Nigerian university systems to identify what could be facilitating frauds and corruptions in their institutional system. In other words, fighting of the corruption is a collective responsibility of everyone in Nigerian universities system where corruption has taken all spheres of life. The frauds in Nigerian universities include examination malpractices, cultism, sorting, impersonation, indecent dress, intimidation, lateness to work, running of illegal programmes, plagiarism, suppression of information, absenteeism, etc. Similarly, the ICPC Educational Director, Mrs. Rasheedat Okoduwa, noted that the decays in ethical and academic standards of Nigerian tertiary institutions are producing unemployable graduates, grave incompetence, and amoral employees causing disdain for Nigerian degrees in the international markets.

Okojie (2012) the university system, being an integral part of the society, cannot be insulated from the menace. The system needs to strive to uphold those values that make the civility and positive development possible initially. The ICPC and other relevant government agencies are working hard to institutionalize the functional anti-corrupt practice units in Nigerian universities. Every unit should therefore be vigilant to nip in the bud all the cases of corrupt practices in teaching, research, and community development in order to ensure required academic standards that guaranteed national development and global competitiveness. Some universities are out rightly violating the National Universities Commission regulations on admission. They violated the laid down procedures regarding the



academic briefs and master plans as well as provisions for approval by commencing the programmes that have no requisite approval. They fail to take cognizance of the good governing council constituents, and in some cases, fail to appoint the pro-chancellors based on the university laws and tradition. Meanwhile, university is a conscience of society, which all responsible societies should strive to uphold its values that make civility and positive development possible.

The National Universities Commission as a regulatory body of all degree-awarding institutions in Nigeria also claimed of taken serious measures in eradicating corruption in Nigerian universities system. But the emergence of some politicians in academic regalia (some vice-chancellors) is hindering its efforts. According to NUC, the present-day Nigerian universities are havens of corrupt practices where the corruption has become the rule of the game rather than exception. The conflicting incentives, discretionary powers, monopolistic powers, lack of transparency, low payment, and culture of impunity are parts of corruptions suffered by Nigerian universities. Cases of corrupt Pro-Chancellors and Vice-Chancellor are unfortunate situations in Nigerian universities system.

In other words, the process of appointments of Vice-Chancellors has now unfortunately corrupted to the extent that integrity and credibility are less given attention. Most of the candidates emerged as Vice-Chancellors had credibility and integrity challenges. The whole process is hardly transparent. Many of them are in one EFCC probing or the other (Dike, 2016). Many Vice-Chancellors were enmeshed in the crises of appointments of unqualified academic staff. The appointments, appraisals, and promotion committees are their cronies that disregarded the rules and regulations. According to the rules of appointment, appraisal, and promotion, for any academic staff to be promoted or appointed as professor in Nigerian university, such academic staff must have taught in university system for at least ten years and published in both local and international academic journals. But today, the promotion to the rank of professor is politicized by the Vice-Chancellors. Those who did not merit it are considered while the qualified ones are denied (Dike, 2016).

In 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the appointment, or promotion to the professorial cadres in Nigerian universities was purely on merit and qualification. No one lobbies the Vice-Chancellors to get promotion. There were no petitions arising from the promotion of professor. But today, the promotions of some academic staff to the ranks of professor were through politics, to the extent that students doubt some professor status in their classes. Many qualified senior lecturers remained in their ranks till retirement or salvaged by the private universities. Petitions of such cases are before the Governing Councils of many universities, Minister of Education or Federal lawmakers including the visitors.

### **Cases of Corrupt Practice Allegations against Some Vice-Chancellors in Nigerian Universities**

The former Pro-Chancellor and Chairman of the Governing Council of Federal University of Agriculture, Abeokuta, Senator Adeyeye Ogunlewe alongside the former Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Olusola Oyewole, and Bursar, Mr. Moses Ilesanmi, were recently alleged of ₦800m financial scandals. They are facing 18-count charges bordering on conspiracy, stealing, obtaining of money by false pretenses, and abuse of the office (Economic and Financial Crimes Commission, 2016). They were also charged unresolved cases of diversion of university funds for personal use, embezzlement, mismanagement and unmerited allocation of hostel accommodation, discrimination in the allocation of staff quarters, certificate and transcript racketeering, improper use of university assets, inflation of the contracts cost, award of contracts to friends or relatives, and admission racketeering by non-staff. In Ondo State, the former Vice-Chancellor of the Federal University of Technology, Akure (FUTA), Prof. Adebisi Daramola and the Bursar, Mr. Emmanuel Oresegun, were charged of corrupt practices, frauds, and stealing of the university funds totaling ₦156m by the EFCC. The case is still on-going in the court (Abanobi, 2016). The former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Professor Bartho Okolo, was alleged of the crime of splitting contracts into several parts during his tenure. The practice was explicitly illegal and criminal under the Nigerian University Financial Regulations and Public Procurement Act of 2007. His fraud was brought to the attention of the Governing Council of the University at its 221st

meeting held on 16th and 17th September, 2010. The Governing Council expressed shock of such fraudulent splitting of contracts and opts to abet the fraud. But in the long run, the Governing Council of the institution led by Professor S.O Igwe did not do anything in applying the law of the university against the Vice-Chancellor, because, it compromised. In retrospect, similar thing happened in Abia State University, Uturu, when the same Professor S.O. Igwe was the Vice-Chancellor of the institution. The Visitation Panel on Professor S.O Igwe's tenure observed the manipulation of the Internal Tenders Board for splitting contracts into sum amounts to fall within the allowed limit by the University Financial Regulations. The Panel recommended that Professor S.O Igwe should be reprimanded for flouting the University Financial Regulations (Alabi, 2011). The Government of Abia State condemned the actions and directs his tenure to be terminated. But in spite his fraudulent acts in the past, he was still appointed the Chairman of the Governing Council of the University of Nigeria, Nsuka (Alabi, 2011).

Abanobi (2016) the former Vice-Chancellor of Michael Okpara University of Agriculture, Umudike, Prof. Hillary Odo Edeoga, was alleged of misappropriations of the University funds and illegal recruitments of unqualified staff into the ranks of senior administrative officers and academic staff as Lecturer 1, Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor and Professor. The University was enmeshed in professorial appointment saga under his leadership and formed the reasons why President Buhari's administration sets up a special panel to investigate the allegations of the Academic Staff Union of Universities on Michael Okpara University of Agriculture, Umudike. According to ASUU Branch MOUAU, Prof. Raphael Echebiri was unilaterally promoted to the rank of Professor by Prof. Hillary Odo Edeoga administration while he was neither assessed in his department nor in the faculty. The Union claimed the process led to Echebiri's promotion was not comply with the provisions of the sections 4.2; subsection 1(a) of the Conditions of Service for the senior staff of MOUAU. But in order to cover up the breaches, the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Hilary Edeoga, falsified a

letter claimed that “Senate at its 153rd regular meeting directed that Dr. Echebiri’s papers should be forwarded to independent external assessors” (The Sun Education, 2016).

But referring to the condition of service, the Senate of MOUAW does not have statutory role in the process of the staff promotion; and no evidence in the minutes of its 153rd regular meeting shows that Senate gave such directive. The Union added that before the 153rd Senate regular meeting, Dr. Echebiri had been promoted to Professor. The Union asked the Federal Panel to review all the professorial cadre promotions carried out and approved by Prof. Anya O. Anya led Governing Council from February 2011 (Abanobi, 2016). His successor, Prof. Francis Ogbonaya Otunta, administration also did the similar things. There were allegations of illegal recruitments and misappropriations of university funds to the extent that Office of the Accountant General of the Federation queried his administration over ₦3.564bn expenditures (Vanguard, 2018). His administration arbitrarily sacked some staff and employed another set of people with percentage salary.

In Osun State, the former Vice-Chancellor of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Prof. Anthony Elujoba was arraigned by the EFCC over alleged ₦ 1.4 billion misappropriation. The ‘flip flop’ of the event that made Prof. Elujoba, the Acting Vice-Chancellor of the OAU portrays the Ministry of Education as unserious governing body under the leadership of Mallam Adamu Adamu as Minister. It reveals Mallam Adamu Adamu, the Minister of Education, as a ‘man’ that is either overwhelmed by his position or easily influenced by the external forces. After the approval of Prof. Elujoba as the Acting Vice-Chancellor of Obafemi Awolowo University, Mallam Adamu turned around and dissolved the Governing Council due to external pressures. His action, on behalf of the Visitor portrays a bad light for university administration in Nigeria (<https://www.premiumtimesng.com>).

Abanobi (2016) in Lagos State University (LASU), the former Vice-Chancellor, Prof. John Obafunwa, was accused of promoting the academic staff that were not meet up with the required qualifications for professorial cadres. According to Academic Staff Union of Universities in 2014 and 2016, one of the unqualified academic staff from the College of

Agriculture is currently facing the Governing Council panel headed by a Professor from the College of Medicine (LASUCOM), for not having the required numbers of publications for professorship (<https://www.premiumtimesng.com>).

Following the release of her promotion, the then ASUU Chairman and Secretary, Dr. *Messrs* Afolayan and Solomon Oyelekan, in their capacities, wrote a letter of protest dated February 6, 2017 to the Vice-Chancellor and alleged him of nepotism over the inclusion of his wife in promotion exercises. In their letter, Dr. *Messrs* Afolayan and Solomon Oyelekan insisted that the initial appointment of Mrs. Ambali should have been Lecturer II and not Lecturer I; and that, she did not have required university academic teaching experience before she was appointed as academic staff by the University. Responding to the petition, the Management of the University of Ilorin issued a query to Dr. *Messrs* Afolayan and Solomon Oyelekan on February 6, 2017, and accused them of “malicious allegations and publications. They were query, and on February 7, 2017, the two lecturers were suspended by the University Management. Their suspension was condemned by the ASUU Ibadan Zonal Coordinator, Dr. Ade Adejumo, and described it as an act of illegality and cowardliness. The Union accused the Vice-Chancellor of indecency in the appointment of his wife, Mrs. Ambali, as Senior Lecturer (Adekunle, 2018). The ASUU Ibadan Zonal Coordinator states that Prof. Ambali broke a new ground in corruption and indecency of the ivory tower. The University of Ilorin under the leadership of Prof. Ambali devised the means of suppressing any legitimate industrial activities in order to avoid the exposures of his misdeeds. On 21st September, 2017, the University of Ilorin, under the leadership of Prof. Ambali, carried out its eventual vicious cycle of impunity, lawlessness and disregarded for due process by terminated the appointments of Dr. *Messrs* Afolayan and Solomon Oyelekan (<https://www.thisdaylive.com>).

On Federal University of Oye Ekiti, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) Akure Zone at a press conference, jointly held by four Chairmen of ASUU, demanded for a Federal visitation panel that could establish or unveil how the Federal University of Oye Ekiti had been mismanaged by Prof. Kayode Soremekun’s Administration as Vice-

Chancellor. They urged the Minister of Education, Mallam Adamu Adamu, to conduct a staff verification that can unravel those who were parading fake degrees among the academic staff. The Union accused the Vice-Chancellor, Prof Kayode Soremekun, of appointing academic staff to the rank of professors without Doctorate degree. It alleges that the beneficiaries of the appointments were paying outrageous salaries (Ogunje, 2018).

Other allegations leveled against Prof. Soremekun include irregular Senate meetings, poor staff welfare, corrupt practices in the management of University's farm, non-remittance of pension deductions to the staff, poor infrastructural facilities in the face of over-crowded students' population, and refusal to set up a budget monitoring committee in line with the Federal Government's directive (Ogunje, 2018). Similarly, a polytechnic lecturer who claimed he had Masters and Ph.D within two years from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, was allegedly appointed Professor by the Kogi State University. In University of Calabar, two professors of law, Prof. Israel Worugji and Rev. Prof. Emeka Uhuka, were alleged of falsification of degrees, dates of birth and suspiciously promotion to the rank of professors. Their claims were full of contradictions, inconsistencies, and suspicions. The issues of promotions of unqualified academic staff and frauds also rocked the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (ABU). Virtually all the corrupt variables existing in other universities are featured in ABU, Zaria. The University of Ibadan under the leadership of Prof. Isaac Adewole was not exempted over irregularities in employment to the extent that University of Ibadan could no longer pay the wages of its staff at when due ([www.sunnewsonline.com](http://www.sunnewsonline.com)).

In the final analysis, a former ASUU Chairman of the University of Ibadan Chapter, Prof Segun Ajiboye, disclosed some criteria for the promotions or appointments of professor in university. According to him, although the systems are varied from one university to the other, any intending professor must have at least 10 to 12 years in university teaching, and have at least 20 publications in both the international and local journals before he or she could be pronounced professor. He reiterated that University of Ibadan uses grade point system where an academic staff aspiring to be a professor must have scored at least 70 point or

percentage. Their publications must have been sent to three external assessors, that is, two external assessors within the Nigerian University System and one from the outside of the country. He condemned a situation where unqualified candidate is appointed or promoted to the rank of professor just as it was applicable in Michael Okpara University of Agriculture, Umudike, under the leadership of Prof. Hilary Odo Edeoga as Vice-Chancellor.

## **CONCLUSION**

From the above content analysis, it is evident that mal-administration or mis-management of Nigerian universities by some Vice-Chancellors undermines university education in Nigeria, and consequently, brews unrests that deny quality academic attainment. The university system was created to teach, research, discuss, interact, exchange and manage ideas to promote peace, security and development. But unfortunately, the challenges of corrupt Vice-Chancellors, poor governing system and weak institutional structures are accentuating constant bickering of staff, unions, students, and prevented true collaboration culture that justifies the relevance of university to national growth and development. The tensions and rancor on Vice-Chancellors appointment are unfortunately distracting and dissipating the focus of university system in Nigeria. The issue of indignity in the federal universities is contributing to ill-practices and non-inclusion of qualified staff in promotion and appointment exercises. The mismanagement of university resources by some Vice-Chancellors causes decayed or dilapidated infrastructures within the system.

All these are directly or indirectly culminated into decline in true academic culture in Nigeria and reversing the true academic culture and progress to what was obtainable in 1970s and 1980s are not negotiable. The perverted application of Federal character is also undermining the true academic system in Nigerian universities. The Nigerian universities need a criterion for the promotion and appointment of professor at large. As at today, each Nigerian university applies its rules and regulations in appointing professor, which some Vice-Chancellors are capitalizing to appoint their cronies as professors. Virtually all the Vice-chancellors in Nigerian universities are guilty of the offences and directly or indirectly

indicting the relevance of Committee of Vice-Chancellors in Nigeria. Some Vice-Chancellors through their Governing Council used the university's resources to celebrate their birthdays, wedding, or burials of their relations. All these are gross mismanagements of Nigerian universities. To redeem the decline in quality of university education in Nigeria requires stringent measures from all and sundries.

### **RECOMMENDATION**

The following steps are suggested for better management of Nigerian university education, which are hoped to reduce some gross misconduct of Vice-Chancellors in Nigerian universities. Hence, the following specific recommendations are proffered:

- a. There is need for strong institutional structure against the misconducts of Nigerian vice-chancellors;
- b. Stringent measures that prevent misuse of university funds are needed in Nigerian Universities;
- c. The appointment of Vice-Chancellors should be based on general accountability and credibility in terms of verification of the past and present records of the appointees;
- d. The rules and regulations that guide Nigerian universities' appraisal and appointment of staff should be unified and strictly adhered;
- e. Any Pro-Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor or other principal officers found culpable or guilty of corrupt practices should face the wraths of law, and even be jailed;
- f. Only qualified candidates should be given opportunity to serve in the university;
- g. The leverage of appointing the relatives of staff to the same establishment should be abolished. It encourages undue advantages and serves as shields for some breaches of due process; and
- h. The appointment of Vice-Chancellor's wives as first lady of the university is illegal, outlaw and unconstitutional. It must be abolished.



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# **ONE NATION UNDER SIEGE? BOKO HARAM AND THE NIGER DELTA AVENGERS PHENOMENA IN NIGERIA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Violent conflict within multi-ethnic and multi-religious countries is almost as given, although not all multi-ethnic or multi-religious societies are violent. The gamut of those riddled with violent conflict ranges from Yugoslavia and USSR to Northern Ireland and the Basque country, from Rwanda to Darfur, and Indonesia to Fiji. Numerous bitter and deadly conflicts have been fought along ethnic and religious lines. Nigeria is only such country today, fighting for its survival at two fronts or against two incompatible oppositions at the same time. This has heightened the state and nature of insecurity in the country. Using social movements and protracted social conflict as theoretical frameworks, this paper seeks to argue along the trajectory that Nigeria is presently experiencing two types of terrorist insurgency – political (Avengers) and religious (Boko Haram). The paper's main argument flows from the fact that people see themselves in many different ways that constitute a form of identity which can be fluid, short-lived and insignificant or more permanent and more significant personally and socially. However, the importance which people ascribe to different aspects of their identity varies according to context and over time, but where violent conflicts are mobilised and organised by identity, such identities must be sufficiently important enough to make people prepared to fight, kill and even die in the name of that identity. The escalation of the politics of identity leading to a somewhat permanent state of insecurity makes the paper to wonder whether the Nigerian state may survive this bombardments and assault on its security and political stability.

**Keywords:** Multi-ethnic, Avengers, Boko Haram, Violent, Niger Delta

## INTRODUCTION

Going by the experience of the happenings and events in the world today, one may aptly conclude that conflict and violence are endemic to human societies. In this regard therefore, Zartman (1991:370) has associated conflict with interactions among people; “an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions and an expression of the basic fact of human interdependence.” Much earlier, Coser (1956:121) had stated that conflict occurs when two or more people engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals. Coser (1956:8) further explained that conflict emerges whenever one party perceives those one or more valued goals or means of achieving these valued goals is being threatened or hindered by another party or parties or by their activities. These perceived threats occur especially if both parties are seeking to expand into the same field or physical sphere or the same field of influence or behaviours. The failure of one party to achieve his end may lead to frustration which as Stagner (1995:53) has observed may further lead to the occurrence of aggressive behaviour and which in turn leads to some form of conflict. Thus, violence as an instrument of political power also lends itself to private use for private gains by individuals. In a bid to proffer understanding of this phenomenon, many scholarly and seminal works have been carried out concerning it thereby leading to classifying conflicts according to; (1) the parties involved in the conflict (Chazan et al, 1992:189-210), (2) the issues that generate the conflict (Holsti, 1991:306-34), and (3) the factors that cause the conflict (Furley, 1995:3-4).

The recurring phenomenon of conflicts and violence has also challenged orthodox assumptions about national security by deepening it ‘upwards’ (from national to global security) and ‘downwards’ (from territorial security focused to states and governments to people security, that is, individuals and communities), and ‘widening’ it by arguing that non-military dimensions, such as social wellbeing and environmental integrity, are important prerequisites for ensuring security (Renner, 2006:3). Given these facts therefore, Fucks (2006:12-13) has warned that security should not be defined as exclusively the security of the wealthy world

basically because such definition divides the peoples instead of looking for a common denominator and “in the age of globalisation, there cannot be security only for the prosperous minority of the world’s population.”

Makinda (2006:33) has pointed out that the founding President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, was one of the earliest people in Africa to define security in terms of people’s freedom. Nkrumah’s attempt to globalise peace, freedom and security was premised on the fact that African’s freedom can only be possible if the whole world enjoys peace and security. He asserted that “indivisibility of peace is staked on the indivisibility of freedom” in the global arena (Nkrumah 1972:106). Makinda (2006:33) is of the opinion that based on Nkrumah’s political thought, as well as writings of other African thinkers such as Edward Blyden, Leopold Senghor, Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere, Tom Mboya, Sekou Toure, Franz Fanon and Gamal Abdel Nasser (Mutiso and Rohio 1975), African perspective or definition of security should include welfare, emancipation, dignity and protection of the people. As Makinda (2005:285) has stated, “security implies the protection of the people and the preservation of their norms, rules and institutions, in the face of military and non-military threats.”

However, critics of the human agenda of security have argued that it generates false hopes and priorities and proceeds from false causal assumptions. On one hand, Khong (2001:233) has argued that “in making all individuals a priority, none actually benefits,” while Bull (1977 [1995]:79) has opined that “states and nations were originally thought to have rights and duties because individual persons had rights and duties.” The logic of this is that the security of persons is prior to that of states or political communities. This further echoed Nkrumah’s assertion that the conscience of humankind was progressively moving towards a new horizon of knowledge where due respect for human dignity and the idea of international peace were intertwined (Nkrumah 1973:216).

This paper is divided into 6 main sections. Its main argument flows from the fact that people see themselves in many different ways that constitute a form of identity which can be

fluid, short-lived and insignificant or more permanent and more significant personally and socially. However, the importance which people ascribe to different aspects of their identity varies according to context and over time, but where violent conflicts are mobilised and organised by identity, such identities must be sufficiently important enough to make people prepared to fight, kill and even die in the name of that identity. The escalation of the politics of identity leading to a somewhat permanent state of insecurity makes the paper to wonder whether the Nigerian state may survive these bombardments and assault on its security and political stability.

Given the various tactics which are available for the insurgents to choose from, the final choice is dependent on a number of factors such as the anticipated goal of the insurgents, opportunity available to them and the level of their fear of retribution.

### **Theoretical Basis/Framework**

This paper is anchored on two theoretical groundings – Social Movement and Protracted Social Conflicts (PSC). Tarrow (1999: 2) has defined the term “social movement” as “those sequences of contentious politics that are based on underlying social networks and resonant collective action frames and which develop the capacity to maintain sustained challenges against powerful opponents”. As Tarrow (1999: 3) has argued, collective action can take many forms, from brief to sustained struggle or revolt, from institutionalized to disruptive and from humdrum to dramatic, it however become contentious when it is used by people who lack regular access to official means of airing their grievances, who act in the name of new or unaccepted claims and who behave in ways that fundamentally challenge the state’s authority or elites. Contentious collective action therefore forms the basis of social movements basically because it is the only means by which the oppressed can draw an unresponsive state’s elites’ attention to their plight, or better articulate their grievances and confront the better-equipped opponents or the state. Contentious collective action brings ordinary people together under the same umbrella, for the same purpose and to confront opponents, elites or authorities.

Social movement therefore mounts contentious challenges through disruptive actions aimed and directed at the state. Disruption is always public in nature and can take the form of resistance, collective affirmation of new values or outright violence leading to a revolution (Melucci, 1996). Collective challenges are aimed at disrupting, interrupting, obstructing or rendering uncertain the activities of others; maybe states. However, collective contentious behaviour is linked to a functional view of society in which societal dysfunctions have produced different form of collective challenge and movements some of which can take the form of political or interest groups (Smelser, 1962, Turner and Killian, 1972). These societal dysfunctions can be likened to Durkheim's "anomie" in which individuals come together to form collective identities and be identify as belonging to specific group or movement (Durkheim, 1951; Hoffer, 1951). Scholars have been interested in identifying how such societal dysfunctions assume such a dimension that they become transform into concrete grievances and emotional-laden "packages" (Gamson, 1992a) or put in 'frames' that are capable of convincing ordinary citizens that their cause is just and important that they are willing to risk everything for (Snow et al, 1986). Shared or common grievance therefore provides collective incentive to mobilization and a challenge to opponents. The form which the struggle takes is a function of history. As Tarrow (1999: 21) puts it, "particular groups have a particular history – and memory – of contentious forms. Workers know how to strike because generations of workers struck before them". Hill and Rothchild (1992: 192) have earlier expressed this opinion also that "based on past periods of conflict with a particular group(s) or the government, individuals construct a prototype of a protest or riot that describes what to do in particular circumstances as well as explaining a rationale for this action".

However, it is very instructive to note that the adoption of repressive actions by the state actors to contain all contention is a function of the fact that political elites who have been successful in employing violence to quell revolts and defend their claims to power eventually become habituated to the political uses of violence. Their acceptance of violence as a means of resolving disputes or repressing people becomes part of the elite political culture. In this

respect this culture has been borrowed from the period of military dictatorship which had spawned President Obasanjo. Gurr (1988:49) had equally noted that "...elites who have secured state power and maintained their position by violent means are disposed to respond violently to future challenges". Thus, violent activism in democracies requires a climate of acceptance of unconventional means of political action among groups and the state (Gurr, 1990:87). State violence will lead to employing similar repertoire by contending social movements. Violence will always beget violence and hence conflicts become protracted, drawn-out and unending.

This situation is what Edward Azar (1991:93), has referred to as protracted social conflict (PSC). It results from "the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation." PSC deals with relationship between intra-state actors such as communities, tribes and ethnics. The traditional preoccupation with inter-states relations is seen as obscuring the more realistic domestic relations among ethnic groups. Thus, the distinction between domestic and international politics is rejected as being rather "artificial" because "there is really only one social environment and its domestic face is the more compelling" (Azar & Burton, 1986:33). Thus, the role of the state in the domestic relationship among intra-state ethnic actors is to satisfy or frustrate basic communal needs and by so doing prevent or promote conflict (Azar, 1990:10-12).

The second is that Azar identified deprivation of human needs as the underlying source of PSC. He argues that "grievances resulting from need deprivation are usually expressed collectively. The failure to redress these grievances by the authority cultivates a niche for a protracted social conflict" (Azar, 1990:9). Azar further affirms that needs are unlike interests because they are ontological and non-negotiable and so if they result in conflict, such conflict is likely to be intense, vicious, and from a traditional Clausewitzian perspective, irrational. Azar identified these needs as security needs, development needs, political access



needs, and identity needs. Arguing that security is at the root of development and political access, Azar (1990:155) opined that,

reducing overt conflict requires reduction in levels of underdevelopment. Groups which seek to satisfy their identity and security needs through conflict are in effect seeking change in the structure of their society. Conflict resolution can only occur and last if satisfactory amelioration of underdevelopment occurs as well. Studying protracted conflict leads one to conclude that peace is development in the broadest sense of the term.

### **Analysing Nigeria's State of Insecurity**

The Nigerian state has been under siege since the colonial amalgamation of 1914 which led to the forceful inclusion of hitherto different ethnic and tribal units into the colonial project later renamed Nigeria. From that time till now, the siege against the Nigerian state has taken various forms, from religious 'riots' to ethnic uprisings, to civil war and the various struggles for ethnic dominance spearheaded by the various ethnic militias that have championed their ethnic roots. Formal siege has also been mounted against the Nigerian state starting from the promulgation of various constitutions ranging from unitary to federal government, the various constitutional meetings and amendments that attempted to offer political accommodation to the various ethnic agitations for inclusion and recognition by the Nigerian state. This includes the many states creation projects, attempts at arriving at a credible and acceptable fiscal relationship between central, state and local governments, and the many military incursions into politics. In one way or the other, all these have laid siege against the Nigerian state. Today, the most prominent are the Boko Haram whose desire is to declare an Islamic state of Nigeria and the Niger-Delta Avengers with its many unnamed affiliates whose grouse against the Nigerian state has progressed from agitations for political inclusion to resource nationalism and now separatist call for exclusion from the Nigerian state.

The second distinction is between instrumental and expressive movements. Instrumental movements seek to change the structure of society whereas expressive movements address problems and needs of individuals or seek to change the character of individuals and individual behaviour. Certainly, both Boko Haram and Avengers qualify as

expressive movements but for different reasons. Boko Haram as a religious movement seeks to effect a change in the behaviour of the people albeit through their belief systems. This results in the activist attribute of proselytising associated with Islam and which is reinforced by the commandment to convert infidels everywhere and at any time. The injunction to convert does not discriminate whether it be through peaceful or violent means. According to Islamic laws, it is lawful and legitimate for Muslim faithful to wage war anywhere and everywhere against four types of enemies; infidels, apostates, rebels and bandits. Of these four only the first two counts as a religious obligation for all Muslims, hence a jihad. An infidel is an unbeliever in the Islamic faith which can be converted either through peaceful means or through war and conquest. Thus, a fundamental of Islamic faith is that proselytising is accompanied by or could be achieved through wars. However, in reality, fundamentalist groups cannot really be said to be practitioners of the religion they espoused to defend or uphold because they selectively adopt and adapt certain teachings, texts and practices of their religion that are deemed as useful and necessary in their fight against modernity and the modern state system (Almond et al, 2003:94-95).

The Avengers will also qualify as an expressive social movement, but this is to the extent that members (or the leadership) think that they are addressing the problems and the need of the people. This raises certain fundamental issues as to how the group affirms that they are giving expression to the will of the people. Every political movement fighting for separation often does so in the name of nationalism, in this case, a particular ethnic nationalism. The idea of nationalism, however, presupposes some form of cultural distinctiveness on the part of the inhabitants of a particular region. This, the movement cannot claim as the south-eastern region of Nigeria is made up of many ethnic groups; many of which may become minorities even if granted the permission to secede. For instance, the Akwa Ibom, Calabar and Ogoni are already denying their inclusion in the call for secession. Among the ethnic militias social movement group that is clamouring for resource nationalism is dissents as some are already showing their willingness to negotiate with the government while the spokesperson

for the people of the region is already disassociating themselves from the group bent on vandalising oil pipelines and disrupting oil exploration.

Of equal importance in this regard is that nationalism in the context of colonialism may be a relatively straight forward concept, but among minorities, it indicates a form of homogeneity that is often strengthened by cultural identity and uniqueness, and linguistic distinctiveness. Crucial to this also is a sense of identity and the demand for autonomy to which it can be inferred that the group once enjoyed self-government. Although a sense of nationhood may be based on any or combinations of any of the factors above, it should not be assumed that each type of identity will have the same effect on political behaviour (Connor, 1978:396; 1988:201-2; Clay, 1989:224-6; Kellas, 1991:2-3). As Smith (1971:181-6) had equally averred, none is sufficient in itself to define a nation, not even language. Smith (1971) has gone further to give a list of 7 features of a nation in the following order – cultural differentiae, territorial contiguity with internal mobility, a relatively large population, external political relations, considerable group sentiment and loyalty, direct membership with equal citizenship rights, and vertical economic integration around a common system of labour. Of these, Smith (1971:186-90; 2001) has argued that tribes have only the first two features, ethnic the first five, whereas nations have all the seven characteristics. It is worthy to bring to notice here that most post-colonial states which are, in essence, collections of tribes and/or ethnic lack at least two of these seven features - cultural differentiae and group sentiment – due to the arbitrary nature of colonial boundaries. If this is likely of Nigeria, it is doubtful whether the so-called state of Biafra can even boast of one of these features. As Emerson (1960:102) and Eriksen (1993:11-12) have further stated, the simplest statement that can be made about a nation is that it is a body who feel that they are a nation. That feeling is not equally shared by all within the region that would make up the Biafran state.

The third distinction is between progressive (or left wing) movements and conservative (or right wing) movements. Progressive movements have been described as future-oriented or utopian, seeking to bring about historically unprecedented conditions and

often seek to improve the conditions of submerged groups. Of course, by any stint of imagination, the Boko Haram religious fundamentalist movement cannot be deemed to be a progressive one. ter Haar (2004:6) has summarised the basic content of what constitutes fundamentalism as including; (1) a return to traditional values and an accompanying sense of restoration which may stimulate and contribute to the building of alternative structures; (2) the search for a new identity, often at the expense of minority groups; (3) a preoccupation with moral concerns that tends to have an adverse effect on the position of women; and (4) a spirit of militancy with which these objectives are pursued.

Conservative movements, by contrast, seek to prevent further change or perhaps resurrect the past. So, if progressive movements are utopian (to the extent to which both Boko Haram and Avengers could be termed progressive), conservative movements are usually oriented around vision of some partly mythical golden age of the past. Conservative social movements (or expressive) always almost appeal to people with lower social and economic statuses. To this extent, both Boko Haram and Avengers aptly qualified as conservative social movements. Scholars have even questioned the extent to which social movements should be described as “a collective.” To this extent, Diani (1992) has argued that rather than think of social movements as a unified entity, it may be better to characterised them as constituted by a loose connection between “a plurality of groups, individuals and organisation.” This is basically because there are private incentives that might induce an individual to participate in a movement, incentives that cannot be obtained more cheaply by other means (Olson, 1965, Barnes, 1995). Therefore, to the extent that prominent participants may use the utility of social movements to rise to positions of power, influence and high remuneration should the movement eventually come to enjoy a measure of success, notoriety and recognition, it is conservative and there is nothing collective about it.

## **CONCLUSION**

The paper is a theoretical construct. It has used the concept of social movement to explain the nature of siege – political and religious – that Nigeria has been placed. The paper has just

barely restrained itself from placing a value judgement on whether the siege is justified or not, but what had interest us was the utility of social movement concept to assess and analyse the two militant groups that have put untold pressure on the Nigerian state. The paper has seen these two as terrorist groups but has attempted to bring out the differences between these two terrorist organisations that has placed Nigeria under siege.

The way out? I agree totally with the tenets of the countries involved in the global war against terrorism that you cannot negotiate. With the religious terrorist groups like the Boko Haram, the battle line and divide are drawn between good and bad, evil and good and religious obligations of adherents which they hold as sacrosanct. The sharp demarcation and the value placed on both sides of the divide automatically rule out a basis for discussion and negotiation. The Islamic religious terrorist group is guided by the fact that the entire world is divided into two houses – *dar al harb* (the house of war) and *dar al Islam* (the house of peace). The injunction to either convert or destroy members of the house of war with any means available has added a cosmic dimension to the struggle and hence, negates any basis for negotiation except they are ready to convert. A great error has been done by the former administration in negotiating with the Niger-Delta militants.

In every federal arrangement, there are bound to be groups who believe that the socio-political and economic system or arrangement has not been fair to them. This is just human and natural. However, negotiating with leaders of such groups as a collectively is one of the ways of enhancing and ensuring that peace reigns. However, where the path of war has been trodden, and where it is not a collective but some few identifiable individuals, negotiating with such will only pave way for more shadow militant groups to emerge from the woodwork, all claiming to represent a marginalised group whose consents have not been sought or given. Negotiation implies some form of compromise and concession that grant the leaders some form of incentives which they may not have been able to access any other way. This is the situation with the many ethnic militant groups emerging almost daily from the Niger-Delta. The more the government is willing to negotiate, the more groups the government will have

to negotiate with, an unending circle of opportunists. This only leave one way out – force and greater force until the motivation and inducements to join such groups is made unviable and unattractive to future would-be members. This has played off tremendously with the Boko Haram insurgents and will play off with others be they political or religious insurgent groups.

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# **NIGERIAN MILITARY OPERATIONS IN LIBERIA AND NORTH-EAST, NIGERIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Despite being a sub-regional hero in the West African military operations in the past, the Nigerian military, comparatively seems to be on a decline considering its poor performance in combating Boko Haram terrorism. The study ran a comparative investigation of the Nigerian military's applauded success in the 1990-1997 Liberian Crisis and its seeming inability to curb the Boko Haram menace in Nigeria's North East. The study is qualitative and descriptive. Data collection focused on published online and offline literature. The Hans Morgenthau Realist Theory of Power, based on national interest and struggle for power among nation-states served as a framework for explanation. Findings identified bad leadership, corruption, and politicization of the Nigerian military as broad factors that undermined the Nigerian military's capacity. The above factors resulted in the mismanagement of human and material resources, fraud, and neglect of professionalism, brain waste, and poor funding of the Nigerian military. Return to professional military practice, diplomacy and strict adherence to lawful procedures and processes in government-military relations would be workable options for redress and return to full capacity of the ever-combatant Nigerian military.

**KEYWORDS:** The Military, Nigerian Military Operations, Military Operations in Liberia, Boko Haram, North-East Nigeria

## INTRODUCTION

No doubt, Nigeria's leadership role in West Africa cannot be overemphasized. Its active participation in ECOMOG is a demonstration of its strength and commitment in the peace and security of the sub-region – aware of the implications of any major crisis on its national security. The country's participation in conflict resolution in the sub-region served as a boast for integration. The sheer size of her population, large market, availability of natural resources and her significant military capabilities bestowed on Nigeria the role of a regional leader (Alli, 2012). Nigeria's response to sub-regional security has been strongly influenced by the national roles its leaders projected for the country to the international community. This responsibility adopted has been a defining paradigm for foreign policy engagement. In extension, Nigeria is Africa's natural leader with manifest destiny and has the responsibility to promote Africa's interests and the interests of black people around the world. It is believed that the country's security is linked to other African countries as a result of shared cultural and historical experiences, as well as trans-national security affiliations, characterized by the situation in bordering countries (Yoroms, 2010). Nigeria treats the West African sub-region as a suitable platform for promoting national interest and regional influence (Ate (2011). It has raised to the forefront of African affairs in general and West African security issues in particular. Over the last few decades, member states of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have faced a slew of security issues not anticipated by the organization's founding treaty signed in 1975.

The first phase of the Liberian crisis that lasted from 1989 to 1997 was a game-changer for the sub-regional organization as it was not expected (Gberie, 2007). The war was triggered by a former government minister, Charles Ghankay Taylor who led a small group of insurgents that crossed into Liberia from the neighbouring Ivory Coast on the Christmas Eve of December 1989, to overthrow President Samuel Kanyon Doe, the ruling President at the time. It resulted in the loss of lives of over 200,000 people of the estimated population of 2 million citizens (Gberie, 2007). Samuel Doe was a former Master Sergeant during the reign of President

William Tolbert under the long-reigning True Whig Party (TWP) and became President of Liberia after the death of his predecessor in a bloody coup-de-tat. The coup against the TWP in 1980 was led by Samuel Doe and resulted in the assassination of President Tolbert, 27 members of the presidential guard and many others. Liberians, traumatized by the violent upheavals and brutality of Doe's regime volunteered to be part of Taylor's guerrillas that overthrew Doe.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> August 1990, under Nigerian leadership, the First Session of the ECOWAS Standing Committee in Banjul waved the principle of non-intervention for the Liberia Crisis. ECOWAS was forced to intervene in Liberia because the international community displayed total apathy in the face of such a humanitarian catastrophe (Abubakar, 2001). General I. B. Babangida (Rtd), Nigeria's then military President, proposed intervention in the Liberian crisis and it was then decided that a Cease-Fire Monitoring Group should be established to halt the tide of violence and restore peace and stability in the country. As a result, the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was formed to bring the conflict under control and prevent its spread in the region (Alli, 2012). Nigeria's Military had been applauded over the years for being able to bear the huge burden of providing leadership and logistics in carrying out the security and peace-keeping operations under the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

Despite this great tide, the Nigerian military's inability to suppress Boko Haram put the force under wide scrutiny. There are concerns about the military's unsuccessful responses to insecurity within and across Nigeria national borders. The Boko Haram Insurgents, since 2009, have wreaked havoc on Nigeria's North East, causing insecurity, poverty, displacement and various forms of hardship. Despite the government's efforts insecurity and violence persisted and increased. This led to the loss of lives of tens of thousands of civilians and displacement of millions across the Lake Chad region comprising Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Nigeria. Nigeria government's recent call to the United States for military assistance was a declaration of loss of control of the situation. As the military battled with Boko Haram,

herdsmen killers and the Islamic State of West African People (ISWAP) emerged. They are today competing with Boko Haram over superiority in terror and wanton destruction of lives and property in Nigeria and Nigerian military battle to save its face without success.

Based on the foregoing, this study compared the Nigerian military's operations in the Liberian Crisis and Boko Haram terrorism. This is to determine whether the force is advancing or declining in strength. To achieve the above, the study adopted a descriptive design and qualitative method of data collection. Internet and library materials on the leading role of Nigeria's military in the peacekeeping operations in the Liberian crisis and the role of the Nigerian military in curbing the Boko Haram insurgency were widely sourced. Content analysis was used to analyze data dwelling in a valid logical reasoning, theoretical framework, and relevant data to conclude.

### **The Military**

A military, also known as the armed forces collectively, is a heavily armed and well-organized body that is specifically designed for territorial protection of the state and warfare were most needed to achieve this protective goal. It is usually authorized and maintained by a sovereign state, and its members are recognized by their distinctive military uniforms and identifications attached to them. The state military may consist of several divisions.

The military has the primary function of defending the state and its interests from external armed threats. Military history is often regarded as encompassing all conflicts, not just those involving state militaries. It focuses on the people and institutions of war, while war history focuses on the evolution of war itself as technology, governments, and geography change. There are many facets to military history and one of the most important facets is to learn from past successes and failures, as well as mistakes to wage war more effectively in the future. Another is to instil a sense of military tradition to unite military powers. Another important aspect is to learn how to deter wars effectively.

## **Nigerian Military Operations**

Nigeria has made a significant contribution to the internal security of other countries. The Nigerian government has spearheaded, organized, and funded peacekeeping missions in Africa. Nigeria has also actively engaged in several UN peacekeeping missions around the world, providing men from its police force, army, navy and air force, even in times of extreme domestic insecurity (Ekoko, 1993). Admittedly, the scope of police roles in peacekeeping has risen significantly, as has Nigerian police involvement (Julie, 2010). Some peacekeeping missions involving the Nigerian military are:

- UN Operation in Congo (ONUC) - 1960-1964
- UN Security Force in West New Guinea (UNSF) - 1962-1983
- UN Indian-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM) - 1965-1966
- UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) - 1978-1983
- Chad Operation (Operation Harmony I) Bilateral - 1979
- OAU Mission Intervention Force in Chad - (Operation Harmony II) 1981-1982
- UN Iraq-Iran Military Observer Group - 1988-1991
- UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I, II and III) - 1989-1991, 1991-1992, 1992-1995
- UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia - 1989-1990
- UN Mission for Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) - 1991 onwards
- UN Iran-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) - 1991
- UN Interim Mission Kosovo (UNMIK) - 1991
- UN Transnational Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) - 1992-1993
- UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) - 1992-1995
- UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia - 1992-1993
- UN Operation in Mozambique (UNOSOM) - 1992-1995
- UN Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL) - 1992 onwards
- Organization of African Unity (OAU) Monitoring Group in Rwanda - 1992-1993
- UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) - 1993
- UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) - 1993-1995
- UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO) - 1993-1995
- Nigeria Peacekeeping Force in Tanzania (TAPKM) - 1994
- UN Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) - 1994-2000
- UN Group in the Aouzou Strip, Libya/Chad (UNASOG) - 1994

- UN Prevention Deployment in Macedonia (UNPREDEP) - 1995-2000
- UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja, Western Sirmium in Croatia (UNTAES) - 1996-1998
- UN Observer Mission in Previakia (UNMOP) - 1996-2000
- UN Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA) - July 1997
- ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) Operation Harmony in Liberia - 1990-1997
- ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) Operation Sandstorm in Sierra Leone - 1997-2000
- UN Civilian Police Support Group, Dambe Region, Croatia - 1998
- UN Mission in Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) - 2000 onwards
- UN Transition Authority in East Timor (UNTAET) - 2000
- ECOWAS Mission in Liberia (ECOMIL) - August – October 2003
- UN Mission in Sudan (AMIS) - 2004 onwards
- UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) – 2004
- UN-African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) – 2007 onwards
- UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo – 2010 onwards
- UN Organization Interim Security Force for Abyei – 2011 onwards
- UN Organization in the Republic of South Sudan – 2011 onwards
- UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali – 2013 onwards
- UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic – 2014 onwards

**Source:** (Chigozie and Ituma, 2015).

In addition to Nigeria's involvement in the peacekeeping operations around the world, the country had the highest troop contingent contribution to the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) (Human Rights Watch, 2006), and over 12,000 men of its armed forces were deployed to the ECOMOG Peace Support Operations (PSOs) in the Liberian and Sierra Leone crises (Abdurraman, 2005). In the year 2000, Nigeria dispatched 3,404 troops to the UN-sponsored peacekeeping missions across the world, making her the world's second-largest troop contributor after Bangladesh (Ebegbulem, 2012).

Nigeria's role as the driving force behind the ECOMOG initiative, the first of its kind in Africa, was a significant milestone in African politics. It was a bold endeavour to devise

solutions to the challenges in the context within the environment of global neglect and national failure. Considering the newness of the initiative for Africa, the dynamics of the crisis in Liberia, the intra-regional rivalries, sub-regional leaders' lack of expertise in multilateral diplomacy and the challenging financial and political circumstances in which ECOMOG operated, there was scepticism on the success of the initiative. Yet, the overall ECOMOG initiative demonstrated several lessons for African peacekeeping policy and theory (Dauda, et al. 2017).

### **Nigeria's Military Operation in Liberia**

**a) An Overview of the Liberian Crisis:** From December 1989, Liberia had been in chaos eight months before its neighbour states intervened actively. The state had a turbulent history and was in a region rife with unrest. Its weakness originated from the 1847 creation of freed American slaves. The founders, known as Americo-Liberians, established a rigid, hierarchical social order in which they placed themselves at the top and the indigenous population at the bottom. Despite accounting for only around five per cent of the population, they dominated and had total political and economic control in the country for nearly a century and a half (Ero & Long, 1994). During the administration of William Tolbert, 1971 - 1980, the Americo-Liberians attained their pinnacle. The Vice President, Tolbert ascended to power following the death of President William Tubman in 1971. Their combined thirty-six years rule brought modest improvements in the lives of ordinary Liberians. Tolbert's reign was marked by corruption and harassment, which bred discontent. In 1979, riots over the price and availability of rice created the stage for political upheaval inflamed by a crackdown on anti-Tolbert, Americo-Liberian elites (Adibe, 1997). Major political personalities and government officials were executed. Essentially, this undermined the Americo-Liberian political reign. Samuel Doe from the Krahn, an ethnic minority group succeeded Tolbert and ruled with an iron fist, allowing Krahn to carry out violent activities against other ethnic groups and his critics. This resulted in ethnic tension, political corruption and stringent socio-economic conditions that triggered violent resistance.

The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), commanded by Charles Taylor, crossed into Liberia from Cote d'Ivoire to overthrow President Samuel Doe. The conflict became intense but the international community was less concerned. ECOWAS, therefore, launched a regional response to the crisis with a Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) to facilitate a diplomatic solution. Due to a lack of diplomatic progress, the SMC deployed Economic Community Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to Liberia on August 7, 1990. ECOMOG was sent to deter the warring factions and oversee the implementation of a cease-fire, disarmament, and the halting of weaponry imports, as well as the release of prisoners (Adeboye, 2020).

On December 24, 1989, the Americo-Liberian, Charles Taylor, a former official in Doe's government and a fugitive from justice in the United States revolted against Samuel Doe (Adibe, 1995). From Cote d'Ivoire, Taylor led a group of rebels into Liberia to depose Doe and re-establish Americo-Liberian supremacy (Aning, 1997). Taylor took over Nimba County in North-Central Liberia, resulting in the death of thousands of civilians and many fled to Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, and Guinea (Kodjoe, 1994). Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) arrived in Monrovia, Liberia's capital. The NPFL failed to remove Doe from office, and a standoff ensued between Taylor, a renegade section of the NPFL members. A full-fledged war broke out, involving multiple rebel factions (Alao, 1994).

#### **(b) Nigeria's Involvement in the Peacekeeping Operation in Liberia**

As a veteran of international peacekeeping missions, Nigeria positioned itself as the region's policeman and urged for regional effort to restore calm. This was an opportunity for Nigeria to show the world that charity begins at home. Nigeria was eager and ready to deploy its military while other West African nations debated the need for the intervention as the law of non-intervention was embedded in the OAU Charter. The ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) would not have been possible without Nigeria's support in the provision of finance, its soldiers, military and political leadership, and supplies. Being a self-appointed policeman of the region, Nigeria pledged to end the war and restore stability in Liberia.



Besides, Nigeria has the responsibility to protect over 70,000 Nigerians resident in Liberia during the takeoff of the crisis (Mays, 1998). It needed to prevent a possible spread of the crisis, and displacement of persons in the region which were highly detrimental to Nigeria's national interests. At a point, Nigerian troops made up two-third of the ECOMOG force in Liberia. In addition to picking the bills, Nigeria aided other West African countries in deploying their soldiers, even before the intervention by the UN and OAU.

### **Nigerian Military and Boko Haram Faceoff in North-East Nigeria**

Boko Haram (Western Education is sinful) is a terrorist group in the North-East, Nigeria bordering Nigeria and the Niger Republic. At the time of its formation in 2009, the organization was mostly pacifist. Its initial ambition was to live a sedentary lifestyle away from what it sees as the corrupt nature of the northern states (Human Rights Watch, 2014). The initial head of the group, late Mohammed Yusuf, warned his followers to reject both Yan Izala's modern Islamic institutions and the Nigerian secular education system. He also criticized Nigeria's democracy and constitution, as well as her institutions' arbitrariness (Loimeier, 2012). Between 2002 and 2007, the group had several clashes with the residents and the Yobe State police. This led to its expulsion and subsequent migration to Borno state where it became prominent. In June 2009 the Military-Boko Haram faceoff sparked an uprising in five northern states. By July 2009 the Nigerian military had killed over 800 persons, largely the group members, in what it called 'Operation Flush.' The group's mosque in Maiduguri (Ibn Taymiyya Masjid), was demolished during the conflict and the Boko Haram leader, Mohammed Yusuf was reported dead while in police custody. The execution of Yusuf by the Nigerian police according to Hill (2012), prompted the group to considerably expand and strengthen its armed campaign. He further argues that the Nigerian security forces' actions against the organization enraged northerners to such an extent that the group was able to maintain a steady stream of volunteers and sympathizers. However, the current intensification of Boko Haram's violent actions and audacious attacks against civilians has resulted in a

significant decrease in the number of recruitments and sympathizers in northern Nigeria (Barna, 2014).

The terror attacks carried out in recent times by the Boko Haram group have also resulted in the massive internal displacement of citizens in Nigeria's northeast. The United Nations High Commissioner for refugees revealed there are roughly 650,000 internally displaced people in North-East Nigeria. The UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights estimated the number of internally displaced persons in Nigeria since 2010, due to the violence, at 3.3 million, which is one of the highest numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the world. As of 2014, Niger alone was hosting about 40,000 refugees resulting from Boko Haram attacks (UN Human Rights, 2014; Barna, 2014).

Given the Nigerian military's modest success during the civil war in Liberia, as well as its experience in other peacekeeping missions in Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Cote d'Ivoire, and Mali, many Nigerians and external observers are perplexed that the Nigerian Military is has put the Boko Haram insurgency on a halt. Except for the state of emergency imposed by the Goodluck Jonathan administration in Borno, Adamawa and Yobe states in May 2013, pertinent information in the literature and from Nigerian military authorities is limited (BBC news, 2013). To keep up with the escalating intensity of Boko Haran's attacks, the emergency declaration was extended for another six months in November 2013. Initially, this was regarded as a bold strategy that might eventually put Boko Haram out of business (Amao & Maiangwa, 2015). Although in a commentary, Allen (2019) noted that the Nigerian military has not failed in containing Boko Haram, as the group has lesser territory in control, as it did in previous years, when it was declared the world's deadliest terrorist group, the Nigerian military has not to defeat the terrorist group.

### **Challenges of Nigerian Military Operations against Boko Haram Insurgency**

The Nigerian military's efforts to quell the Boko Haram Insurgency have been undermined by several factors.

#### **a) Poor Funding and Insufficient Military Weapons**

The Nigerian military is underfunded. This affected mobilization, intelligence and time procurement of weapons. Boko Haram was using superior firearms against the Nigerian soldiers. Funds meant for security operations were said to be mismanaged. For instance, the former National Security Adviser, Sambo Dasuki was accused of diversion of funds earmarked for the procurement of arms meant for fighting Boko Haram (Premium Times January 23, 2020).

#### **b) Internal Sabotage and Support to Boko Haram**

The Nigerian military has been sabotaged in the last few decades. Many officers and men of the force were retired prematurely, some died in conspirator plane crashes, while others were betrayed to the enemy bullets. Many officers and men professionally trained for military services were wasted in the above manners. This reduced the strength of the force. Besides, Boko Haram is not entirely alien to North-East Nigeria. Some North-Easterners were sympathetic, supportive and members of Boko Haram. Their support to the terrorist group contributed to the failure of the Nigerian military to defeat the group.

#### **c) Insufficient Early Collaboration and Cooperation among Nigeria and Neighbour States**

Cooperation among Nigerian and neighbour states was belated and adequately not sustained. Such cooperation was neglected at the start of the terror. By the time the danger was high, cooperation started and gained some success. However, it failed to sustain on that tempo.

**A Comparative Analysis of The Nigerian Military Performance in Liberia And Nigeria's North East:** The Nigerian military's inability to control Boko Haram, especially in the Goodluck Jonathan administration, can partly be ascribed to the country's basic structural changes to the military and political structures (Pieri & Serrano, 2014). Following the return of democracy in 1999, the Olusegun Obasanjo administration resigned numerous high-level (so-called politicized military officers) on June 10, 1999 (Bryden, N'Diaye, & Olanisakin, 2014). Consequently, the retired and acting officers began infiltrating the country's political

and economic activities, creating the foundation for the politicization and weakening of the military (Francis, 2009). The military's influence has spread on the boards of public businesses, private sector enterprises, or they happen to have their institutions (Peters (1997). Such participation in politics and the economy by the military inexorably breeds corruption and undermines their commitment to safeguarding the country and its citizens (Quedraogo, 2014).

General Ibrahim Babangida, the then Nigerian Head of State, was heavily involved in the Liberian mission, despite his decision to intervene being influenced partly by his friendship with the former Liberian President Samuel Doe. Babangida used the Nigerian army to show the rest of the world that he was a strong leader willing to go to any length to stabilize and unite the West African region. He also sought to showcase the Nigerian army's capability as a force to be reckoned with, as well as to show the international community that Nigeria's peacekeeping record in the world was not a mistake.

Though Boko Haram fought on during the Goodluck Jonathan's administration, the Nigerian military was gallant under the leadership of Gen Alex Abeh and Gen Chijiuka Ihejirika as Chief of General Staff and Chief of Army Staff respectively. The Army Chief was able to contain the terror with a lot of casualties on the side of the enemy force. Collaboration with neighbour countries of Niger, Chad, Cameroon, and Benin Republic repelled the group from areas its registered presence. Though the group was not defeated, the then military force demonstrated commendable efforts.

The above situation changed during the Buhari administration. It continues to worsen with the expansion of Boko Haram and what seems to be government romance with the terrorist organization. Porous Nigerian security space made it possible for herdsmen to engage in killing spray without repressive military responses. The Islamic State of West Africa State (ISWAS) also emerged in Nigeria as a terrorist group within this present regime. Forceful responses to agitations for secession and intimidation of those calling for restructuring the Nigerian Federation created further tension. This situation created a lot of work for the

Nigerian military at a time Nigeria economic resource is dwindling consider the drastic fall of the oil price in the international market and its negative effect on military funding. The condition of the Nigerian military today is a sorry situation. Officers and men of the force are demoralized as a result of corruption, poor pay, welfare, and military equipment. There is also varying measures of tactical disengagement of the officer and men of the military. This created job insecurity, uncertainty and demoralized Nigerian soldiers.

Furthermore, the Nigerian government in Liberia benefited from a wide spectrum of support from ECOMOG, as well as the United States and the United Nations, allowing it to successfully coordinate its actions efficiently. It should be noted that the US provided training to Nigerian troops in Liberia preparatory to the operations (Olanisakin, 2008) as well as providing them with trucks, radios and helicopters through private contractors (Leatherwood, 2001). Lack of support from the United States and the United Kingdom against Boko Haram insurgency contributed to the difference in Nigeria's military performances. The United States, in particular, was concerned that Nigeria would not be able to operate cobra attack helicopters and military involvement in human rights abuse (O'Grady & Groll, 2015).

In addition, we look at the nature of both crises. The Nigerian military is better trained for conventional warfare. It engaged Taylor's NPFL soldiers in direct combat in Liberia. The case of Boko Haram like those of other terrorist groups that have come to light in recent years is unpredictable. Terrorists use a variety of methods to cause as much havoc as possible. Such methods may include, conventional and guerilla warfare, suicide bombings, targeted killings, kidnappings, hijacking and even roadside shootings. Boko Haram has used the above strategies. As a result, confronting a very fluid and unstable Boko Haram was always going to be a challenging assignment for the Nigerian military, which is prepared for conventional military operations (Oumuyiwa and Maiangwa, 2015).

Finally, while the Nigerian military has been praised for its peacekeeping and enforcement efforts in Liberia and across Africa, it has also been criticized for suspected human rights violations. Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International have both harshly

criticized the Nigerian military's handling of the Boko Haram problem. As it seeks to contain the threat posed by Boko Haram, the Nigerian military has been accused of extrajudicial killings, torture, and wrongful arrest and imprisonment of detainees as it strives to contain the danger posed by Boko Haram. Senior officers of the Nigerian military have been at loss to justify these acts, despite being eloquent in their grasp of the possible magnifying consequences that heavy-handed domestic security measures might produce among local populations (Quedraogo, 2014).

## **CONCLUSION**

This study illustrated that Nigeria's purportedly important position in Liberia is quite related to the political and leadership orientation of the Babangida regime, as well as his intention to exploit the Liberian situation for beneficial reasons and to showcase Nigeria's capabilities in the West-Africa sub-region and Africa in general, with ECOMOG as a platform. On the other hand, Nigeria's apparent inability to effectively put an end to the Boko Haram Insurgency has been identified as a result of the institutional decline in the military; lack of political cooperation and coordination as well the delay of the intervention of the international community. Nigerian governments' (Jonathan and Buhari Administrations) inability to keep the force strong particularly in this recent time is a measuring factor undermining the strength of the force. This is worsened by the contamination of the force with the arrested members of Boko Haram as repented. At least it is odd to think a soldier on Boko Haram side in no long a time has become a Nigerian soldier while the war between Nigeria and Boko Haram is still ongoing.

The comparison of Nigeria's involvement in Liberia and its fight against Boko Haram, as it reflects in the study, reveals several facts about the country's military, leadership and regional security in West Africa. This starts from a significant decline in the military structure in terms of discipline, morale, personnel and inadequate military equipment. This is in comparison with Nigeria's performance in the Liberian crisis.

Finally, the study can, therefore, conclude that the Nigerian military is on the decline considering its capacities during the Liberian Crisis and its engagement with Boko Haram.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

The following option can serve as panaceas for redress to assure professionalism, best practice, and stronger military engagements against Boko Haram.

- a) Nigerian military needs to be restructured more professionally and technologically advanced. Investing in smart research and development to enable the utilization of the technological mix during strategic and compliance planning is need.
- b) The force needs to be weed off terrorists recruited into the force to sabotage.
- c) The military has to make its image among Nigerians clear itself from allegations of complicity with terrorism, killing and human rights abuse. It needs to secure the confidence and support of the Nigerian people to achieve victory.
- d) Nigerian government requires more diplomatic responsibility to secure international support in the war against Boko Haram.
- e) Early warning signs to conflicts should be taken more seriously to curtail some internal agitations.
- f) Government should address citizens agitations diplomatically so as not to create further unavoidable challenges to the military.
- g) Finally, terrorism and insurgency need to be well defined and must be strictly prosecuted.

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# **FOREIGN AID AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR NIGERIA-CHINA ECONOMIC RELATIONS.**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The maintenance of economic relations is perceived as one of the measures that might enhance economic development of underdeveloped countries. The study focused on the relationship between Nigeria and China specifically in the area of foreign aid. The study employed a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, while data were gathered from primary and secondary (SAIS China Africa Research Initiative (SAIS-CARI) data) sources. A total number of 263 respondents was obtained using the survey monkey calculator from six (6) study areas. Findings from the study revealed that though Nigeria stands to benefit from her relationship with China, however foreign aids (Loans) will be more productive if Nigeria has a good policy environment (implying low inflation, low budget deficit, and no protectionism). This implies that making aid more systematically conditional on the quality of policies would likely increase its impact on developing country growth. The study recommends the need to discourage leaders on constant borrowing and reliance on foreign aid, because it only leads to dependency and breeds corruption due to absence of good policies and accountability. While good governance and transparent leaders to channel its appropriate use.

**Keywords: Relations, Globalization, Foreign Aids, Development and Underdevelopment**

## **INTRODUCTION**

The promotion of all forms of interactions between sovereign states across the globe for varied strategic reasons is within the wider scope of international relations. Agreements reached are usually contained in bilateral and/or multi-lateral treaties between nations which are enabled through cooperation between institutions and persons at administrative and political level as well as in the private sector, academia and civil society of the countries concerned. The role of globalization in fostering relations between countries has been well documented in the literature. A phase of globalization tagged “Modern globalization” described by Agenor (2004) as a more forceful flow of commodities, material and human resources, technology, information and ideas across borders has resulted to a greater integration of economics and societies. The deepening of globalization and its processes can be seen to be critical in shaping foreign or international relations policies.

It is becoming increasingly necessary for countries especially with weaker bargaining power to reflect global realities in the formation of their foreign relations frameworks. More formally, there is the increasing need for countries’ foreign policies to be flexible to accommodate emerging issues such as accelerated continental and global peace and development, green planet initiative among others. In any case, states are considered to be altruistic in the design or proposal of terms for bilateral relations which are usually constructed by high-level decision-making processes of a state (Olumide, 2006). Such national interests are accomplished either through mutual cooperation from partners or exploiting their disadvantaged bargaining positions. There is the growing influence of China presence in Africa especially through the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). Over Fifty countries in the continent have established diplomatic ties with China with the recent being South-Sudan in 2011. Strategically, the defeat U.S obstructionism by China following its return to the United Nations in 1971 was made possible by the massive support from twenty-six African countries and this invigorated the development of Sino-Africa cooperation (Chibundu, 1998). Nigeria's external relations are not limited to China alone (it cut across

Africa, Scandinavian countries, Europe and America), the paper focuses on the Nigeria-China relations.

The China-Nigeria relations have dominated political and economic discourse at academia, business, trade and industrial flora. This is in view of the rising influence of China not only on Nigeria but the continent at large. Nigeria's external relations with China include but not limited to Agriculture, finance (loans/grants), trade, infrastructure and education. The extent of such influence in the determination of Nigeria's independence is needful for policy. The paper interrogates the way and manner in which Nigeria's relations with China has been operating. It is critical to examine areas of lop-sidedness of the relations between the two countries as a fundamental guiding principle if all bilateral deals are "mutual benefits". A holistic view of loans and investment perspectives amongst others is required to expose both the short-and-long run impacts of the strategic relationship to Nigeria. This is needful in addressing the inherent domestic challenges bedeviling Nigeria which is seen to be short-changed in most bilateral dealing with especially developed countries. The above provides a backdrop against which this study is carried out.

### **Conceptual Framework**

#### **Development and Underdevelopment**

Partnership amongst nations finds expression in mutual agreement. Here, nation states agree, cooperate, interact and in most cases compromise certain ideological differences in order to gain specific socio-economic advantages. As has been the case from time when China became industrial giant after the revolutions of the 1950's, the degree of intercourse between the latter and other African nations has been those of industrialization and industrial expansion. To this end, the economies of African states have been overwhelmed by the quest for expansion by the Chinese artisans ranging from construction industries, electronics, aeronautics, information and communications Technology, textiles, accessories, beverages and fast food. It then follows logically that instead of attracting the right kind of development to Africa

(Nigeria inclusive), industrial relations and expansion has been more of a huge problem than success.

The concept of development can be conceived in its multi-dimensional character. It stands for a set of properties that refer to economic, political or social aspects of life and theories about development may focus on these varying characterizations. However, from the standpoint of this study, development in human society is not only viewed as a many-sided process- in its holistic manner, but more importantly understood within the context of social relations of production (Chidozie and Eniayekan, 2013). To most scholars such as Rodney (1972) argue that even though some of the western or eastern countries claim to have been developed, the sphere of development parse can be country –specific. What therefore is development in a particular place is correspondingly underdevelopment in another place. This is why Rodney then argued further that development should rather be conceptualized as a means of comparing levels of development. The basis of this philosophy is very much tied to the fact that development, at whatever level of analysis has been uneven (though contestable), humans, and indeed social entities with their environmental peculiarities have developed differently at their own pace. Though this view by Rodney has been criticized, the criticism is basically on the basis that Rodney seem to be coming from a narrow perspective when we talk about African development concerns. To a large extent, this researcher is of the view that Rodney was simply been biased in his assessment of the African socio-economic quagmire. The fact is that the leadership etiquettes imbued in some of the world leaders to want to transform their economies are barely absent in third world countries (though with exception of few countries). In the context of globalization and globalism, Africa has literally refused to key into broader development principles of the outside world, which is why the continent is what it is today – highly underdeveloped and impoverished.

### **Foreign Aid**

Foreign aid finds expression in the kind of developmental activities embarked upon by colonial powers in order to oversee their territories during the period of colonization. It should

be recalled that many of these European countries such as Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and Portugal all had their vested interests in African territories specifically for the purpose of economic exploitation. Thus, the kind of assistance at this level was meant to facilitate the exploitative tendencies of the imperialists. It is in the light of the supposed lopsided benefit of development assistance on the part of the colonialist much to the disadvantage of the colonized people that prompted Ayittey (2005) and Mazrui (2010) to argue that the nature of development assistance where colonial powers built critical infrastructures such as roads, bridges, water ways, ports, harbours, schools, among others. Some of these developmental projects were said to have been premised on the selfish interest of the colonial masters.

Taking the debate further, Ayittey and Mazrui have concurred that such actions carried out by the colonial masters “were driven primarily by the ‘occupying powers’ economic and political interests, including gaining access to raw material resources for their metropolitan industries. It also includes opening up of local markets for their products while vigorously assuming strong control of strategic locations along vital trade routes. However, since the turn of events, especially after the World War II, official development assistance has taken a center stage in world politics. Some of these development assistances have been in the general interest of Europe to revitalize devastated economies that had suffered the impacts of war. The idea was basically to reconstruct affected regions or countries, most especially African economies specifically, and several Asians nations of the world.

## **Method**

### **Data**

The SAIS China Africa Research Initiative (SAIS-CARI) data catalogue was immensely utilized in the extraction of secondary data to address questions raised. The SAIS-CARI was launched in 2014 and is based at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies in Washington D.C. The data are evidence based and generated through high quality data collection. It has been cited repeatedly in high impact international journals.

Data on Chinese Agricultural Investments in Africa, Chinese investment in Africa, China imports and Export from Africa, Chinese loans to Africa, Chinese Contracts in Africa, Chinese workers in Africa and Chinese Foreign aid covering a period of 1990 to 2018. Both primary and secondary sources of data collection were employed. The major strength of using the survey method lies in its scientific design in eliciting first-hand information that could be generalized and enhances external validity of findings. The sampling frame of the study comprised of respondents from; (i) Chinese Embassy, (ii) Ministry of Foreign Affairs (iii) Federal Ministry of Industry, trade and investment (iv) Centre for China Studies (CCS) Abuja (v) Federal Ministry of Science and Technology (vi) National Agency for Food Drug Administration Control (NAFDAC). This target population is chosen because they are stakeholders in policy-programme, supervision and implementation of Agreements in Nigeria-China's bilateral relations. Using the survey monkey online calculator in the spirit of Roztocki (2001), at 95 percent confidence interval and 10 percent margin of error, from a population size of 480, a sample size of 263 was obtained. See URL (<https://www.surveymonkey.co.uk/mp/sample-size-calculator/>).

### **Findings**

Aside the gains from trade, there are usually fringe benefits associated with relating with developed economies in the form of aids. The study confirms if such aids has been received commensurate to the nature of trading relations between the two countries. It is also important to ascertain if the aids are directed appropriately to the designated areas of needs. Outcomes of the above investigations as well as others are presented in Table 1 below.

**Table 1: Partnership outcomes on Nigeria's Economic Development**

Items	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	disagree
Nigeria has enjoyed economic relationship with China and benefited from Chinese foreign aids	35 (16.75)	174 (83.25)	-	-
Foreign aid from Chinese government is mostly cash	126 (60.28)	-	83 (39.71)	-
Foreign aid from Chinese government is usually delivered through infrastructure	52 (24.88)	31 (14.83)	126 (60.28)	
The foreign aid is targeted at addressing infrastructure decay		83 (39.71)	109 (52.15)	17 (8.13)
The foreign aid is targeted at addressing unemployment and poverty reduction	-	-	122 (58.37)	87 (41.62)
Increased foreign aid will increase the capacity of Nigeria government to set her own strategies for development	16 (7.65)	23 (11.00)	116 (55.50)	54 (25.84)
Chinese foreign aid is usually accompanied by inappropriate policies	-	129 (61.72)	34 (16.27)	46 (22.00)
Foreign aid received by Nigerian government has been utilized effectively	-	-	154 (73.68)	55 (26.32)
Economic relation with China has delivered increased trade/investment, telecommunication infrastructure improvement, manpower training.	50 (23.92)	159 (76.07)	-	-
Sino-Nigeria economic relations has promoted technological advancement, industrialization and agricultural modernization in Nigeria	40 (19.14)	- -	140 (66.99)	29 (13.87)

**Source:** Field Survey, 2017. **Note:** Figures in parenthesis are in percentages

It was agreed overwhelmingly (100 percent) that China is assisting Nigeria with foreign aids. Whether the aids are in monetary form or not is difficult to establish as opinions are divided amongst respondents with greater proportion (about 60 percent) consenting those aids receive



are majorly in monetary form. This is critical in determining the “performance” of aids. Aids in monetary terms are very fungible. It is common practice to divert “liquid” aids to other “pressing” issues in developing countries. With respect to the aids receive from China, respondents are strongly (about 100 percent) of the view that diversion of such aids do occur as indicated by “lack of utilization of aids by government”.

In addition, while aids from China were discovered not to be directed towards addressing the problems of unemployment/poverty reduction (agreed by all respondents), about 40 percent of the respondents maintain that it is channeled to the resuscitation of decaying infrastructure. The percentage increased significantly (almost 100 percent) when respondents were asked if there has been improvement in telecommunication infrastructure as well as man-power training due to the tie between the two countries.

The above view was countered by a respondent in one of the study areas that:

There are host of projects in agriculture that is meant to provide employment to the teaming unemployed youths in the country. This include; The Omal Poultry and feeds company in Kaduna, the Kabe Lagos Rice firm and the Green Agricultural West Africa Ltd (GAWA) located in Warra Kebbi State Nigeria which was initiated by China Geo-engineering Construction overseas Corporation. It obtained 2025 hectares of land on a 99 - year lease from the Kebbi State in 2006. Also, GAWA have obtained a 54ha land near Abuja to build an agricultural industrial park to demonstrate hybrid rice and maize developed with Chinese technologies, experiment ecological farming and show case agricultural processing machinery from China is worthy of mention (Field survey, 2017).

Given the unbalanced trade relations, the hypothesis that foreign aids could correct such deficit and reposition the economy on the path of growth to become competitive was rejected by many of the respondents (approximately 80 percent).

An important finding from this sub-section entails the conditionality's of trading relations especially between a highly industrialized economy on the one hand and a traditional agrarian economy on the other. Though no respondent strongly accepted the notion that some conditions are not favourable to the weaker country, majority (61 percent) of the respondents

agree to the above notion. It is expected that national patriotism would play out and can be used to explain away the proportion that strongly disagree. *To the extent, the superior advantage of an industrialized nation, impacts on the shaping of bilateral terms with a developing nation is worthy of future research.* The debate in literature, though unresolved, whether foreign aid is harmful found expression in the question asked about the role of aids in assisting developing countries set their own strategy for development (row 6, Table 1). The proposition that foreign aid/loan perpetuates dependency was upheld strongly by most (55 percent) of the respondents and a further 25 percent disagree less.

Speaking on foreign aid with Mr. Charles, N.A, a Desk officer in the Asia Pacific Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he opined that;

It is unfortunate that monies received in forms of aids, grants and loans have not been used effectively for the good of the nation yet leaders have remained unrepentant by seeking to get more from these advanced nations who continue to promote and ensure our dependency on them by giving the more funds (Report from survey work, 2017).

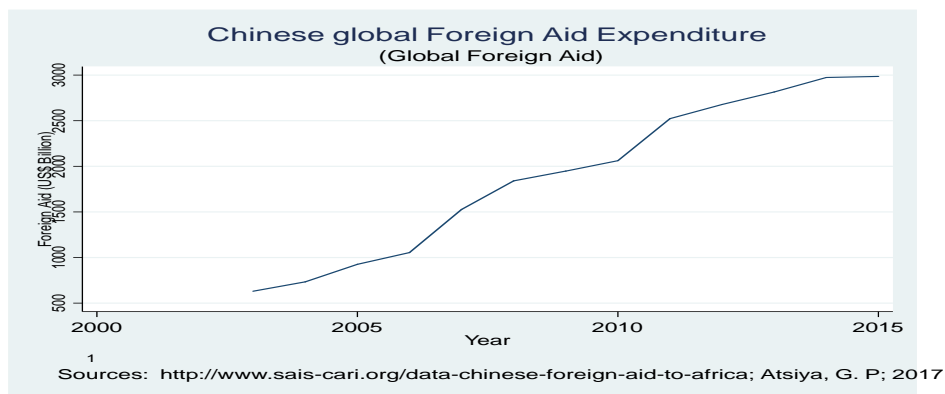
It is common to argue that continuous borrowing or receiving foreign aid will lead to dependency which is detrimental to growth and development in developing countries. Such countries are web into some complex relationship that appears to only reinforce their present predicament. Reisen and Ndoeye's (2008) research on China's role in African countries debt (2008) added a new approach to ways in which debt impacts the country. Through their study, they assumed that because China has an impact on debt ratio through stimulation of export and growth, it creates a negative effect in the reduction of product diversification, since countries tend to export the demanding product, which in this case is oil. By demanding and exporting energy commodities, Nigeria's export rises, while its reliance on its natural resources increases.

## **Discussion**

China's Foreign aid only became conspicuous in the national budget and available online in 2003. The Chinese government had before 2003, considered its international development finance programme as a "state secret". China's foreign aid was categorized into three in the

2011 China's white paper on foreign aid: grants, concessional loans and interest-free loans. While the first and last are source from China's state finances, concessional loans are majorly financed by the Export-Import Bank of China. Based on the submission of Kitano and Harada (2016) that China's foreign aid figures are "based on committed amounts and that disbursed amounts are still unpublished", caution is taken in the interpretation of estimates of aid to developing countries. Data for country-level finance development appears to be in dearth. The status of China as a donor can be said to be of recent origin. However, the "effect" of its financial assistance in the economic transformation of the African continent and Nigeria in particular appears to be unclear as opinions among researchers continue to differ. Broadly, the financial assistance in lump-sum over the globe from China has been disproportionately distributed across communications (\$4.1 billion), energy generation and Supply (\$11.3 billion), Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing (\$ 1.4 billion), Industry, mining and construction (\$4.4 billion), action relating to debt (\$12.3 billion), transport and storage (\$23.1 billion) and everything else (\$25.4 billion) (CNBC, 2017). This has continued to soar as depicted in the Fig below.

**Figure 1: Chinese Global Foreign Aid**



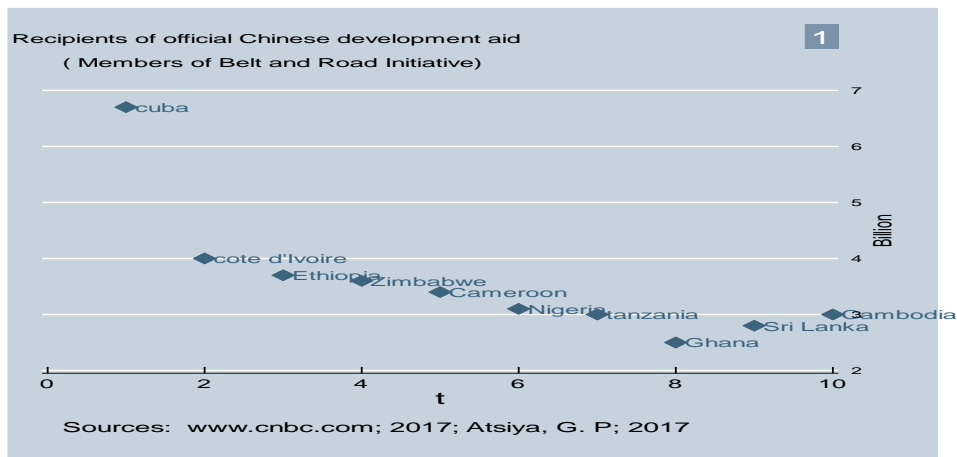
From the year official foreign Expenditure was made public (2003), it can be seen from the above figure that the rate of increase in Chinese foreign assistance to developing countries has continued to rise unabated. There was dramatic upsurge in the level of global assistance from

2006-2007. Similar rise was again experience between 2010 and 2011 but appear to be plateauing especially in 2015. This could be attributed to the global economic down turn effect.

In Africa, from the figure below, Cote d'Ivoire amongst African members of Belt and Road Initiative appears to enjoy greater patronage from China.

### ICT Infrastructure Backbone Project respectively CNY (Chinese Renmimbi Yuan)

**Fig 2: Foreign Aids to Members of Belt and Road Initiative**



With respect to foreign loans as a component of financial aids, there are concerns that most developing countries are likely to drift into debt traps due to the increasing patronage of Chinese Banks offering appetizing loans. Due to weak institutions, the productivity of such loans is greatly compromised with potential difficulties in repayment. Further, there is indiscriminate advancing of loans to economies without respite to the quality of governance in terms of rule of law. More succinctly, there is no association between financial aids from China and governance in developing countries (CNBC). To what extent this has strengthened obnoxious regimes in these countries and retarded their economic growth rates is still in need of objective evidence.

Chinese foreign aid expenditure has increased steadily in the past decade, growing from US\$631 million in 2003 to close to US\$3 billion in 2015, with an average annual growth

rate of 14%. The steepest growths were observed between 2005 and 2008, when annual growth rates range between 14% and 45%. A sluggish growth of less than 1% was observed in 2015, the lowest growth rate yet since 2003. China has assisted Africa with numerous projects, the largest of which was the construction of the 1800-km Tanzania-Zambia railway which cost over US\$450 million. China has also constructed roads, wells and telecommunication facilities in Africa, with political allies being granted large projects to mark their independence such as airports, stadiums, palaces, government buildings and factories.

China is working closely with Nigeria to strengthen its Chinese-Nigeria strategic partnership, reflecting the importance of their economic relations. Looking at the physical infrastructure transformation, China won its biggest foreign contract on the amount of \$12 billion with the Nigerian government to build another train system. This train system is said to run 871 miles from Lagos (West) to Calabar (East). Others include the \$500 million for airport terminals in Lagos, Abuja, Port Harcourt and Kano. \$1 million hydroelectric power plant in Niger State. \$600 million to build light railway in Abuja. \$7.5 billion loan for the construction standard rail gauge from Lagos to Kano. \$1.4 billion of the loan was for construction of rail from Lagos to Ibadan. \$6.1 billion for Ibadan to Illorin, Minna, Kaduna and Kano amongst others.

Investigations from the study also showed that China has not only positioned itself as a good trading partner, but also as a good lender to African countries that now prefer borrowing from China. Its aid program is glued to its economic engagement, and it features characteristics that differs from the West is appealing to developing countries. China's foreign aid initiative as compared to the West is the infrastructure funding. For several reasons, Western aid for infrastructure falls way behind funding for the social sectors. China is willing to give loans and grants for building infrastructure in African countries with less rigid and complex conditions. Its implementation of aid offer is attractive and compelling. Considering that most African countries have been subjected to many conditions from the West, the World Bank, and the International Monetary fund (IMF) for development projects in their countries, the

ability to have these restrictions lifted is solace for African leaders. These two components to its aid program give China an unfathomable advantage in Africa. Other attributes of China's package include, the increase of investments despite debt, the refusal to slow debt- financed infrastructure, and the ease of the debt cancellation process. Loans from China and the West are unequalled. On the other hand, China's role on debt and its impact on Nigeria's economic growth can be scrutinize through its method of operations.

No doubt Nigeria is the most salient beneficiary of Chinese financial assistance. It is also among the beneficiaries of new lending mostly through export credit from China. Nigeria received a comparatively modest amount of export credit from OECD sources: \$455.8 million between 2003 and 2006. In 2006, the Export-Import Bank of China signed globally \$4.24 billion export buyer credits, and actually disbursed \$2.27 billion to Nigeria as its major client. President Jonathan visited China in July, 2013, and the highlight of his visit was the signing of a Chinese loan of 1.5 billion US dollars for the development of infrastructure in Nigeria, including the expansion of four airports at Lagos, Kano, Abuja and Port Harcourt. The new Chinese loan of 1.5 billion US dollars brings to a total of nearly 15 billion China's investments and loans to Nigeria in recent years, including the 2.5 billion US dollars investment in the newly refurbished Lagos-Kano rail line. This amount excludes the \$2 billion from China to finance the deficit in the 2016 budget amongst others by President Muhammadu Buhari on assuming office. The consistent lending of China to Nigeria will further plunge the country into another debt trap, that Nigeria will have trouble detaching itself from, considering that a substantial sum of revenues has been disappearing from the government's account. It is common to argue that continuous borrowing or receiving foreign aid will lead to dependency which is detrimental to growth and development in developing countries. Such countries are web into some complex relationship that appears to only reinforce their present predicament.

Notably, debt accumulation through loans for infrastructure is not the only problem bedeviling Nigeria. Its policy of "oil for cash" is equally controversial and tricky. China has imbued some substantial amount of money in the energy sector of the economy. Through the

procurement of soil assets and oil blocks in Nigeria, China has advanced a huge amount of capital in the energy sector that will be hard to trace due to fraud for the acquisition of the several assets now owned by Chinese companies.

China's aid package needs to be perceived based on its function and method of promoting debt and influence in Nigeria. Debt accumulation is designed in a trapped cycle of aid from China. China structures its aid package in such a way that it gives many favours and facilitates countries thrive to increase aid from China, while increasing their debts. Chinese method is principally developed to give China business opportunities while increasing other countries' debt.

A cycle of consistent lending has been designed that impedes and poses a challenge to debt sustainability through China's loan, aid and debt relief program. By using debt relief to assist the country, turning it into loans and later relieve the debt, which increases widespread support and enhances its stronghold on governments. China's method of operation of non-interference also promotes corruption, which affects debt in Nigeria. Nigeria is a weak country where most revenues come from the oil sector, and this revenue has had a tendency to disappear. Nigeria's politics has long been an open scramble for power in which elites, often utilizing the ethnic card and playing up tribalism and religious differences, compete for control of the state in order to capture the mega benefits associated with the country's enormous oil revenues.

China's presence in Nigeria tends hinder export diversification and also has a negative impact on debt sustainability because it reduces product diversification. This in turn lowers standards, undermines democratic institutions and increases corruption, because Nigeria is an oil rich nation that depends on it. By increasing the demand on raw material and encouraging exports of raw material, China heightens Nigeria's dependency on its commodity, which has been the major source of fraud and debt accumulation over the years. Loans and grants have assisted Nigeria improve some of its infrastructure, while increasing its debt through the attribution of enormous contracts to China at the cost of excluding local markets that do not

benefit from any of the contracts. The loan cycle has significantly favoured China more than Nigeria.

It is important to categorically state that increase in aid and donor (China) policies do not give priority to poverty reduction. Governments of developed countries do not appear to be making the transition from rhetoric to action. The volumes of resources available for poverty reduction is threatened both by aid budget cuts as well as by the diversion of funds for other purposes such as emergency relief and debt forgiveness.

The rationale for raising external loan by third world countries (Nigeria) has always been to bridge the gap between domestic gap and available resources capacity in order to accelerate economic development. In that light, no one would blame third world countries for resorting to borrowing provided the proceeds are utilized in a productive venture that will facilitate the eventual serving and liquidation of the debt. But instead, debts in developing countries exist as the key mechanism for transfer of wealth from weak to strong, from debt nations to international creditors. It is therefore simply impossible to speak of any meaningful or significant measure of development for as long as we are obliged to allocate so much of our lean resources for debt serving.

## **CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, it is clear that several scholars have not yet adequately addressed certain issues in the Nigeria-China economic relations which relates to the inherent domestic problems facing Nigeria. These challenges include the implementation processes in strategic partnership, leadership style, policy change, evaluation and monitoring processes and interrogating the impact and benefits of foreign aid received to Nigeria. Nigeria stands to gain a lot from China by investing the inflow of resources from the commodity booms in improving investment climate, developing human resources necessary to support investment in new industries and ensuring the provision of long-term financing to provide financial support to private investors. Towards this end, there must be good and transparent governance while implementing these initiatives in order to ensure that the desired outcomes are realized.



Successful implementation of these initiatives under good governance will create necessary conditions for Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to have significant backward and forward linkages in the Nigerian economy.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

This study recommends that Nigeria should focus on how China's engagement in Africa fits into the broader picture of international engagement. Specifically, Nigeria has the chance to diversify its economy by balancing Western assistance with that of China but needs to better comprehend how each type of aid can be favourable, and to what sectors, in order to implement a successful strategy. For instance, China's experience as a more disciplined Society has the capacity to curb corruption in Nigeria, while the United States' devotion to human rights and transparency prevents an abuse of power. There is also the need to discourage leaders on constant borrowing and reliance on foreign aid, because it only leads to dependency and breeds corruption due to absence of good policies, accountable and transparent leaders to channel its appropriate use. Finally, Nigerians should be pro-active as they strive to "build institutions". Critical to the success of any agreement is an effective institutional framework, particularly a public service dedicated to excellence and efficiency and supportive of reforms. The government cannot achieve the professed goals of Sino- Nigeria economic relations due to weak management and corruption. Also, the support of civil society organizations must be sought for.

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# **DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION: THE IMPACT OF WOMEN EXCLUSION IN PEACE BUILDING IN NORTHERN NIGERIA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The high rate of poverty sometime tends to develop violence and conflicts due to competing interest and scarce resources. Again, the consistence cases of domestic violence over the last decades, the figures create a worrisome. This is because the daily reports of cases received at Police stations, and those that reported and settled at communities' levels is another issue of concern. Upon all the forms, causes and consequences of domestic violence physical abuse is the most common form of violence which resulted to death of the victim. Women are abandoned with nursing babies and young ones who their survival depends on their parents. But the central issue here in relation to these kinds of violence and conflict is that during the conflict resolution and peace-building women are often neglected. They are not coopted in most committees or commissions of inquiry especially during the rehabilitation and reconstruction process. In view of this background that this paper implored methods of examined existing studies on domestic violence, conflict and peace building in relation to women and how it affects their lives. The relevant of both primary and secondary source were examined and utilized throughout the paper. The paper identified some issues concerning women participation at conflict resolution and peace building which hindered their socio-economic development. It however, concluded with comprehensive suggestions and recommendations which needs to be implemented fully so as to enhance women capacity building on conflict resolution and peacebuilding at grass root for societal development at large.

**KEYWORDS:** Domestic Violence, Conflict Resolution, Women, Peace-Building.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Women are essential instrument of growth and development of any community, state or nation at large. The fact is that women serve as the custodians of socialization, guardians of culture, norms and values, breadwinner and mothers. They, therefore, deserve respect, dignity and caring, not maltreatment against their fundamental values and right as a whole (Alokan, 2013). It is beyond reasonable doubt that women are confronting with all sorts of discrimination with no reason. There was a recent public opinion poll conducted by NOI Polls Limited in partnership with project Alert on domestic violence which revealed a consistence prevalence of domestic violence across Nigeria in recent times. Although from the report data analysis indicated that the highest percentage went to South-West geo-political zone with (86%). Furthermore, this poll indicates that 50% of Nigerians have suffered a form of domestic violence and majority of the victims are women as stated in the report. Report from world health organization (WHO) indicated the 40%-70% of violence against women are caused during the domestic violence, which sometime led to physical and mental assault by the male counterpart (WHO, 2019; CEDAW Committee, 2017).

The literary aspect of domestic violence has to do with a sustainable pattern of abusive behaviour. This pattern of behaviour indicate that one partner wants to gain, dominate and control over another (Fareo, 2015). Domestic violence is a serious issue of concern especially it violates fundamental right of the victims and socially relegated their statues. It creates aggressive behaviour on the side of female while on the part of male develop cruelty with state of abusiveness, through verbal assertion, physical attack, emotional assault and psychological imbalance (Jura, 2015). The plain fact is that domestic violence has no boundary in terms of its manifestation and consequences. It does not have a specific target because both the partners in union can be victim of physical and mental assault. There are several cases which in many occasions are not being reported to the police simply for fear of being victimized and stigmatized. In most rural communities, it is considering taboo to involve the police in family matters while in the urban settlements there is the fear of dishonour the family

prestige and respect. Sometime the victims found it very difficult to access or locate human rights organizations offices to lodge their complaint. Another logical reasons apart from being victimization, there is the pervasive role played by traditional beliefs, cultural silence, significantly attached to marriage. This silence culture asserted that beating wives and children is part of discipline acculturation. The normative society believed that domestic violence is normal, a family affair; henceforth, outsider should not intervene, interfere or reported to police. Moreover, survivors of domestic violence are usually turned back at police stations on grounds that it beyond family affairs, thereby, denying any further alternative dispute resolution at community level (CEDAW Committee, 2017).

There is an adage where women regarded as the second-class citizens on the account of gender-based biases, therefore; all rights, privileges; freedom and liberty are not guarantee. This traditionalist assertion of women second class statues is cut across all strata of the society in northern Nigeria. Domestic violence also constitutes the act of rudeness which in most cases this inhumane act prevailed in rural areas. This is because women in the rural area experience social vices such as beating, hitting, kicking, biting, shoving, slapping, and injuries as well as throwing objects(Fareo, 2015). Although religion and tradition play side-by-side by empowering men than women because of their pivotal role in taking responsibility of the house as a whole. Domestic violence against women is not acceptable by all religions; because there are lay down rules and regulations, principles guiding the affairs of marriage in accordance to religious legal system and jurisprudence. It is a clear testimony that religion command men to be humble, kind and caring to their spouse and to be patience with them because they are weaker vessels.

There are various theories on causes of domestic violence against women. Thus, there is psychological theory which has to do with personality traits and mental characteristic of the offender. In this case personality trait is more concern with burst of anger, poor impulse control and poor self-esteem. These views suggest that men with abuse character have borderline personalities that are born, developed early in their life (Golant, 1995; Fareo, 2015). In regard

to these assertion women are regarded as behaviourally arrogant in nature while some men are partially cruel in reaction. These Psychological theories were argued on the basis of limitation on social factors which are important, while personality traits, mental illness or psychopath are fewer factors. Jealousy is another cause of domestic violence against Women. Jealousy in this respect is regarded as miss-trust between the two partners. One partner is suspected of being unfaithful or is planning to leave the relationship or having affairs outside matrimonial home with another person.(Goetz, 2010). This behaviour is commonly among the couples and eroding relationship and respect. Social Stress is among the causes of violence against women. Family pressure, over stress, uncertainty on some delicate and fragile issues are bound to ignite violence and when these vices are added up surely create aggressive behaviour toward each couple. Social Learning is a process whereby violence is transmitted from generation to generation through constant violence at present of children which is cyclical manner(Jewkes, 2002). This is a bad omen to the family of such critical behaviour and also this attitude is currently developed in many families with ignorance of the repercussion.

### **The Role of Alternative Dispute Resolution in Resolving Domestic Violence**

Alternative dispute resolution (ADR) is a concept usually adopted informal dispute resolution processes in which the parties meet with third party who counsel and guide them to resolve their dispute amicably. Alternative dispute resolution is very unique in its kinds and features that involve mediation, arbitration, fact finding as well as ombudsmen. In many occasions, alternative dispute resolution is applied in various dispute settlement, including the family, schools, workplace, mosque, churches, government agencies and the court. The issue of settling domestic violence is a critical subject in the sense that one side felt injustice in terms of dispute settlement. Whether it is arbitrary, mediation or conciliation mechanism, the process remains difficult but with cooperatives from both sides a meaningful resolution could be reached. In most cases, the domestic violence ends up at the police station or court, even though

sometimes the court allow the disputants to try mediation before they take their case to court (Nicole, 2003).

The best way to settle domestic violence is through the use of ADR which an instrument for resolving family crises. Many families prepare to settle their family matters internally without the involvement of a third party. In that case less success could be achieving after the dispute settlement, otherwise the disputants could find another alternative. Although, some family implored the intervention of third party who is either a relative from the both sides. Others reported the cases to the head ward, village head or religious leader for settling of their domestic violence. In this regard, the disputants agreed with the outcome of resolution. In whatever form it may be, the policy maker at all levels should implement alternative dispute resolution mechanism in order to manage domestic violence cases.

### **Women and the Consequences of Conflicts in Northern Nigeria**

Women in northern Nigeria suffered a series of consequences in their life as a result of devastating conflict especially in the past two decades. They have endured unprecedented level of sexual violence, along with related HIV infection, involuntary pregnancies and health complications, increased food insecurity and internal displacement. All these circumstances occurred due to ravaging of destructive conflict in the country ranging from Terrorism, Insurgency, Kidnapping, Farmers-Herders clashes, ethnic-crisis as well as religious violence. The conflict in the North-east generate massive loss of lives and properties. The Boko-Haram's constant attacks are leading to an increase militarization in the region which continue to have a devastating impact on women and girls. It has been reported that in the North-East there are over 2.4 million internally displace persons as a result of Boko Haram insurgency activity. From available report findings by non-state actors and other coalitions (e.g. FOMWAN, WOSADLO, WRAPA, WILPF NIGERIA), revealed that women and children constituted 55% among IDP's in various camps (Shadow, 2017; Rapporteur, 2017; CEDAW Committee, 2017). Multiple clashes between Farmers and Herders (i.e. in Benue, Taraba and Jos) in last couple of years culminate the situation with high tension and deadly attacks and

reprisal from both sides. Majority of women in rural area are farmers, food producers, therefore, farmlands have been abandoned out of fear that herders would graze on them. The situation exacerbating poverty and food shortage in the Northern region (Shadow, 2017).

The Banditry and Kidnapping violently slaughtered men in a cruel manner. Houses are burnt to ashes, farmland were destroyed, economic activities have been destructed. The crisis has seriously affected the life and security of women and girls, particularly of widows who are often killed, raped and rendered homeless. Many of them faced with the uncertainty as there are unrevealing atrocities committed against them. Combatants and Kidnappers use raping as a tool of warfare and serving not only to terrorize individual victims but also to inflict collective terror on some ethnic groups. (Dayo, 2018). For assurance of safety and protection during the violence conflict, women willingly offer themselves for sex or marriage in an exchange for basic necessities such as food, shelter. (Elizabeth, 2018). This barbaric act of gang rape that remained order of the day without considering age or social status has eroded portray image of Nigeria before international communities. This social milieu has destroyed morality, customary system of an ordinary traditional African man which respects human dignity (Jibril, 2005; Rights, 2004; Murjanatu, 2020).

### **Issues of Side-lining Women During Participatory of Peace Building Process**

During the wars or conflict, women enduring trauma of several tragic of bombings, famine, epidemics, mass executions, torture, arbitrary imprisonment for migration, ethnic cleansing, threats and intimidation. But when it comes to peace building, women are not engaged to reflect their needs in the rehabilitation and reconstruction process. It has deeply been observed that international donor reconstruction programmes fail to meet up some certain social needs during distribution of humanitarian aid. The concern issue here is women economic activities which has been destructed as a result of war, therefore, neglected during the rehabilitation process. There is the need to explore some avenue where women active economy to be restore for speed social recovery. Ex-combatant women should be fully integrated into community with economic support so as to gradually erase personal accounts of nightmare. The policy



maker of conflict rehabilitation and negotiation should to bringing women to the round table, to render services as advisors, to prevent domestic conflict and to serve during the emergency assistance (NSRP, 2017). When women are included, they can make viable changes toward conflict mechanisms.

### **State and Non-State Actors on Women Involvement in Free Violence and Peace Building**

Usually, when a conflict or violence occurred, in order to douse the tension, or response, the Federal Government sent security operatives to quell the conflict. Followed by setting up of a panel or commission of enquiry to ascertain the degree level of destruction caused by the conflict. For instance, in order to give maximum response to devastating violent conflict bedevilling Plateau State, the government set-up four commissions of inquiry while three commissions were established by the Federal government. Thus, the commissions comprise the Abisoye panel of inquiry; the Solomon Lar Presidential Administrative Panel of Inquiry and Prince Bola Ajibola panel of inquiry, among others (Eleanor, 2013). But the irony of this commissions of inquiry is that women are largely absent from those commissions. Honourable Justice Rahila Hadea Cudjoe was only woman in the past headed the Judicial Commission of Inquiry on Zango-Kataf riots in 1992. As part of their resilient to double efforts on conflict resolution mechanism, the Northern Governors' forum Committee on Reconciliation, Healing and Security (NGFCRHS), constituted a 41-member peace committee, comprised statesmen in the core North in August 2012 and 2019 respectively. In the committee membership only six are women from both Muslim and Christian side. Mrs. Saudatu Mahdi MFR served as deputy secretary of the committee. The principal objective of the committee is response to the general and overwhelming challenges of development peaceful coexistence and security in Northern Nigeria.

### **Women at Corridor of power and Relented Support to Peace Building**

In order to demonstrate their active commitment, the Northern Governors' Wives Forum also met in July 2016 issued a unanimous statement to *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awal-Jihad* (Known as Boko-Haram) that to lay down their arms and to embraces peace and engage in

dialogue with the Federal Government. Various women activist at individual level and group made a clarion call on Boko-Haram to urgently release all Chibok and Dabchi girls under their captivity. The first Lady of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Aisha Muhammadu Buhari relented her support on the detrimental condition of those girls under captivity and even to those at various camps in Northern Nigeria. She has reached out to those vulnerable and displaced women and girls through her Future Assured NGO by addressing some critical economic and social conditions exclusively.

### **Theatrical Role of Women Civil Society Organisation and Faith-Based Organisation**

Women at community level work collectively, rather than individual in pursuit of peace. Working as a team create window of success. Women struggle for peace initiative and gender-based reach to a certain development. Since then, women are systematically resort to other channels of engaging themselves to humanitarian service through organisation such as mothers' groups or neighbourhood alliances to speak out on conflict, to resolve conflicts non-violently or to influence the conduct of more formal mechanisms. The famous among these organisations at the front banner during the peace advocacy include BOABOB for women's rights, Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), the Gender Equality, Peace and Development Centre (GEPaDC), the Integrated Women and Youth Empowerment Centre (IWYEC). Religion has a powerful influence over its adherence because it connects them spiritually. Religious leaders, too have influential position within the inner circle spiritually. There are various organisation of Muslim women who's their faith-based work reflects both the demographic political divide in the country Nigeria. They propagate their mission largely at conflict zones in the north and the target persons are women. The Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria (FOMWAN) organized an annual conference, theme: 'Islam Women Peace and Security' held in Owerri, Imo state in August in August 2012.

The reason for chosen Imo state is to show case the divisiveness of mutual connectivity among Muslim and Christian women across religious divide. The communique after the conference was the 'involvement of women in conflict resolution and peace building

initiatives (NSRP, 2017). In Kaduna state, the Women Interfaith Council (WIC) provides forum for dialogue between women leaders and members of Muslims and Christian faiths. It has carried out various peace advocacy, initiation including press conferences, courtesy visit to media houses and internally displaced person's camps. Also paying solidarity visit to victims of bomb blasts in various hospitals in the Northeast. They also coordinate interfaith prayers, sensitization meetings, conducting workshops, seminars and public lectures. Similarly, in Jos, the Women Without Walls Initiative (WWWI) has also presented with some recommendations to the Plateau State Government through a peace proposal. The coordinator of the group Pastor Esther Ibanga of Jos Christian Missions shows their readiness toward united with one voice and vision. The mission also aims at develop a non-violent, creative and inclusive approach for conflict resolution mechanism and women transformation in Nigeria. Other interfaith based organisations during the struggle in the Northeast include the Muslim Sisters Organisation (MSO), Women in Da'awa; Zumuntan Matan; Church Women; Kanem Women Association and WOWICAN. Women's intervention in disputes is restricted to the domestic sphere and they are not involved in mediation between the JAS and government (CEDAW Committee, 2017; NSRP, 2017; Dayo, 2018)

## **CONCLUSION**

It is beyond reasonable doubt to state that the high level of violence and devastating conflict more especially in Northwest and Northeast cause for alarm. The various degree of violent conflicts ranging from Boko-Haram saga, ancient Farmer-Herders rivalry coupled with recent social milieu of Banditry and Kidnapping, it is a clear testimony that they have largely affected socio-economic development of Nigeria as a whole.

The role of women in peacebuilding has received impedimenta from all quarters. Many factors are said to be driving forces which hindered women's involution to violence reduction and peacebuilding. There are internal factors which setback women's participatory in strategizing post conflict resolution. Discriminatory social norm is part of the major constrain because of culture, traditional or religious interferences which marginalized women

and girls from taking part in peacebuilding. Media representation has either under-report, black out or relegate women-led peace initiative to some large extent. Indeed, peace initiatives are not generally reported except where there is a sensationalist element for example women in a peace march half naked. Women have generally less access to media facilities unlike their counterpart men.

Generally speaking, women are not engaged in high level peace initiatives. However, when they are invited to such programme, they are often assigned auxiliary and subsidiary roles. Women's involvement in mainstream peace and security events is still often relegated to domestic chores rather than serving as mediators, panelists or negotiators (CEDAW Committee, 2017; NSRP, 2017).

### **Suggestions and Recommendations**

This paper come up with the following suggestions and recommendation as follow:

- There should be regular community sensitization on peacebuilding so as women to be aware that their active role is beyond domestic chores.
- That government at all levels should include women in various response committee, commission of inquiry and panel.
- Also, women should be co-opted during the strategic policy-making for effective decision.
- That the Federal Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs, Disaster Management and Social Development should create a department that will take care of women sensitization on conflict resolution and peacebuilding programmes far beyond distribution of reliefs and aids materials.
- That the Federal Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Development should create women network at rural and urban settings to complement NAP development on women, peace and security for effectiveness. The implementation of NAP will rely on the commitment and resources of the Federal and states governments as well as the involvement of civil society.

- The Federal government should ensure that there is full implementation of United Nation Security Council on approved Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. The resolution mandated the UN Secretary-General and Member States to guarantee an increase in the representation of women in all spheres of peacebuilding, including the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. The council all request that states be provided with training materials for the subject of the protection of women, and that there be an increase in the provision of resources for training.
- That human right activist and civil society organisation should monitor not just sensitization programmes but ensure that women are involve in any committee set-up by governments at all level.
- That religious faiths should keep aside their religious difference and work collectively for common purpose as violence or conflict has no boundary of its operation. And they should not deter women from collective participation on peacebuilding and violence reduction events (Dayo, 2018; Villellas, 2010).

Again, some policy-making decision on Gender-based violence issue needs to be properly implemented by all the stakeholders involve. These include:

- National Gender Policy of 2006 (centered on women's empowerment and Commitments to eliminate discriminatory practice).
- The Violence against Persons Prohibition Act (VAPP), 2015.
- Gender-Based violence (Prohibition) Law 2007.
- Prevention against Domestic Violence Law 2007.
- National Gender Policy, 2007 (Shadow, 2017).

Women are endowed with skills, wisdom, intelligence and gifts which are natural qualities identified in them. As the resourceful persons, women are essential tools and ingredients necessary for nation building in particular (Ajibade, 2012).

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# **BOKO-HARAM, SMALL ARMS AND LIGHT WEAPONS PROLIFERATION AND ITS POTENTIAL THREAT TO NIGERIA SECURITY; WHICH WAY FORWARD?**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study explores the origin and purpose of Boko-Haram in Nigeria and finds that Small Arms and Light Weapons constitute a serious threat to Nigerian Security, it also finds that there is also a strong connection between Boko-Haram and their Proliferations. This was carried out using expository/descriptive, analytical and critical methods generated from primary and secondary data. The study posits that the existing structures of border control should be enhanced and government should utilize and share intelligence with Interpol and other sub-regional agencies to effectively mitigate the problem of insurgency and other emerging threats. This paper concludes that giving the current security situation caused by Boko-Haram and the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALM), Nigerians should stand and speak with one voice by imploring the Government to make sure that surplus, obsolete and potentially destabilized weapons are removed from circulation and strengthen Anti-terrorism legislature among others, if the impasse must be resolved.

**Keywords:** Boko-haram, Nigeria, Small Arms and Light Weapons, Security, Proliferation



## **INTRODUCTION**

In the words of Lodguard and Fund (1998) “weapons are man-portable or transportable by light vehicles and that do not require much in terms of service, logistical back up training”. Light weapons in its wider category comprise small-Calibre canons, light support weapons, combat grenades, anti-personnel mines, mortars, anti-tank weapons, anti-tank mines, etc.

The proliferation of these weapons has posed a threat to international community, thus the need to curb the menace: the essence of curbing this is to foster conflict-prevention. Conflict prevention guarantees human security. But an environment that ensures human security cannot be flowing with Arms, especially those coming in from conflict regions, thus the need for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. Also, to cut the flow and effects of light weapons there is also need for repatriation and reintegration of refugees and several other measures must be put in place to check this negative development.

The Sierra-Leone and Liberia civil wars was further encouraged by Arm Proliferation. In a survey assessing the distribution of arm in Sierra-Leone, common types of weapons at the time of collection as they were used in the war, were shot guns, locally made rifles, automatic assault rifle. Before the war, illicit trafficking routes were rich, structured and highly regular affairs.

The African Union (AU) has continued to make progress in the fight against illicit trafficking and circulations of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) on the continent. AU’s common passion on the illicit proliferation, circulation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons was adopted in December 2000 by the Council of Ministers of the O.A.U as African’s input to the negotiations on the United Nations Programme of Action (UNPOA) to prevent combat and eradicate the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspect (UNPOA) member States under the declaration agreed to identified seize and destroy illicit weapons. It was also provided in the declaration for the establishment of measures to control the circulation, transfer and use of Small Arm and Light Weapons. Small/light arms are cheap and profitable, and are used by all combatants, state militaries, militias and insurgents. It is the

prevalence – that is the widespread proliferation of the arms combined with their indiscriminate use that renders them responsible for so much of the killings. In addition, small and Light Arms Terrorist act around the world perceived imbalance within the Nigeria political structure contributed fundamentally to the atmosphere of hostility and mutually suspicious among the various components religious, tribal, class etc which make up the federation.

The situation in the Niger Delta is symptomatic of what has been referred to as criminal social neglect and ecological degradation. The end result in the region of the country is responsible for seventy (70) percent of the country's income displays a degree of poverty which stands in sharp contradiction to the wealth it produces. This has led to a militarized youth population with access to Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW).

Ethno-religious animosities have led to the phenomenon of armed ethnic militias in virtually all parts of the country. While ethnic militias did exist under military rule, they were by and large kept under check. However, with the return to civil rule and the consequent expansion of political space, these groups blossomed to the extent of representing and causing threats and alternatives to state security structures (Edomwonyi, 2007).

In addition, corruption within the legal system has meant the criminal often escape justice and this has promoted a mentality “self-help” among the populace, contributing to the acquisition of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) by individuals and groups who have come to view the state as a failure (Edomwonyi, 2007). Armed robbers and other criminals have also contributed to the proliferation of these groups of weapons. In some instances, they capture the weapons belonging to security agencies and these weapons are often put into criminal uses. Local fabricate commonly referred to as blacksmiths ‘ports’ have traditionally been a source of supply for (SALW) for hunters and local security men.

However, with the downturn in the economy of the country, it has become extremely difficult to cushion the proliferation of these weapons. However, the problems of availability of these weapons lay mainly on the manufacturing and its accumulation.

It is observed that over eighty-five (85) percent of States in the world produce various arms and ammunitions. The major source of supply of arms are said to have come directly from the manufacturers to private groups and government (Addo 2006).

### **Historical Background of Boko-Haram in Nigeria**

The Islamic State in West Africa or Islamic State's West Africa Province (abbreviated as ISWA or ISWAP), formerly known as Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād (Group of the People of Sunnah for Preaching and Jihad) and commonly known as Boko Haram is a jihadist terrorist organization based in northeastern Nigeria. It is also active in Chad, Niger and northern Cameroon. The further decline of Boko Haram and the loss of much of the territories it once reportedly controlled. Founded by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002, the group has been led by Abubakar Shekau since 2009. Initially Boko-haram intention was not to be violent. According to them one of their goals was to reform Islam in the Northern Nigeria. It is on record that from 2009 that Boko-Haram has claim Tens of thousands of Lives and display about 2.3million citizens from their homes and was at one time tagged as the world's most Terrorist group according to Global Terrorism Index.

After its founding in 2002, Boko Haram's increasing radicalisation led to the suppression operation by the Nigerian military forces and the summary execution of its leader Mohammed Yusuf in July 2009. Its unexpected resurgence, following a mass prison break in September 2010, was accompanied by increasingly sophisticated attacks, initially against soft targets, but progressing in 2011 to include suicide bombings of police buildings and the United Nations office in Abuja. The government's establishment of a state of emergency at the beginning of 2012, extended in the following year to cover the entire northeast of Nigeria, led to an increase in both security force abuses and militant attacks.

Before colonization and subsequent annexation into the British Empire in 1900 as Colonial Nigeria, the Bornu Empire ruled the territory where Boko Haram is currently active. It was a sovereign sultanate run according to the principles of the Constitution of Medina, with a majority Kanuri Muslim population. In 1903, both the Borno

Emirate and Sokoto Caliphate came under the control of the British. Christian missionaries at this time spread the Christian message in the region and had many converts. British occupation ended with Nigerian independence in 1960. Except for a brief period of civilian rule between 1979 and 1983, Nigeria was governed by a series of military dictatorships from 1966 until the advent of democracy in 1999. Ethnic militancy is thought to have been one of the causes of the 1967–1970 civil war; religious violence reached a new height in 1980 in Kano, the largest city in the north of the country, where the Muslim fundamentalist sect Yan Tatsine ("followers of Maitatsine") instigated riots that resulted in four or five thousand deaths. In the ensuing military crackdown, Maitatsine was killed, fuelling a backlash of increased violence that spread across other northern cities over the next twenty years. Social inequality and poverty contributed both to the Maitatsine and Boko Haram uprisings.

In the decades since the end of British occupation, most or some politicians and academics from the mainly Islamic North have expressed their fundamental opposition to Western education. Political ethno-religious interest groups, whose membership includes influential political, military and religious leaders, have thrived in Nigeria, though they were largely suppressed under military rule. Their paramilitary wings, formed since the country's return to civilian rule, have been implicated in much of the sectarian violence in the years following. The Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) Formed in (2000), is a political and cultural Association of Leaders in Northern Nigerian which has considerable influence in the Political Scene. (Arewa means 'Northerns' in Hausa, the primary Language of the region. The forum is a successor to the Northern People's Congress (NPC), a militant group set up to protect the interests of the Hausa-Fulani people in the North.

### **Combating the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons**

One of the dominant features of the global community in the 1990s has been the violent breakdown of civil society in dozens of countries throughout the world. From the specialist states of formal bloc to Africa and Asia, we have witnessed the outbreak of ethnic, religious, racial, linguistic and other forms communal strife and the melting away of social norms and

government structures would otherwise contain the violence (Alex, 2011). Another defining characteristic of such conflict is that fact that widespread death and suffering result not only from the major conventional weapons traditionally associated with war-tanks, aircraft and warship, for example – but from small arms and light weapons. The global proliferation of assault rifles, machine guns, mortars, rocket – propelled grenades and other “man – portable” weapons has increased both the frequency and intensity of modern conflict and greatly complicated that task of restoring peace. Such weapons are readily obtainable on international markets both legal and illicit, and are easily mastered by untrained and unprofessional soldiers, even children. Of the 49 major conflict that have broken out since 1990, light weapons were the only arms used in 46, only one conflict (the 1909 Gulf war) was dominated by heavy weapons.

The proliferation of small arms has been the trouble of most national, regional and international organizations even the United Nations. The proliferation of arms particularly the small arms have tripled since the end of the Cold War. They have become more accessible than ever. Virtually all conflicts in recent times that were dealt with by regional or international organizations have small arms as the primary or sole tool of violence. Dhanapala (1998) points out that most of the countries where these weapons were used in recent times to wreak havoc do not manufacture them. He adds that in most cases neither the manufacturer, nor the exporter nor even the buyer knows the purposes for which the weapons will ultimately be used because unlike the trade in any other category of weapons will ultimately be used because unlike the trade in any other category of weapons, nearly 40% of the trade in small arms is carried out through illicit means. Included in these accumulations of arms especially in Africa and its sub-regions are those supplied during the Cold War. These massive quantities of weapons are part of those that still go around.

Dhanapala (1998) asserts that about 2 million small arms and light weapons are still circulating in Central America, 7 million in West Africa and an estimated 10 million in Afghanistan. It must be added that several of these weapons have been used in places far

removed from their original places of regular supply. The illicit means of transfer of arms at the international level are believed to involve multi-party deals involving false documentation, concealment, and smuggling and coded bank accounts. War has proved to be profitable for some in recent times. The increasing spate of conflicts around the world has multiplied small arms as they are more readily available. There are several campaigns in theory to restrict the trade of small arms that is simply defined as light, portable weapon.

Most governments claim to oppose the illicit trade of small arms which is responsible “for arming criminals and insurgent groups, and many governments also favour a code of conduct regulating which countries are deemed responsible enough to buy weapons on the open market. On the other hand, the United Nation has already implemented a number of measures designed to restrict the flow of arms, but these has merely illustrated the difficulty of monitoring such flows (Rupesinghe, 1998). The provision of monitor and control of arms in reality seem to be only a theory. For instance, a 1955 ordinance on the import and export of arms and ammunition except under import license...shall be guilty of arm offence. The same ordinance also provided that “any person who possesses any small arm unless he is a holder of a current license...shall be guilty of an offence” (Bayraytay, 2006).

Bayraytay (2006) argues that these provisions were fairly applied during the 1960s and 1970s. He quickly added that in Sierra Leone gun contract largely disappeared. Thus, the one-party constitution of Sierra Leone was silent over the availability, possession and use of small arms. Under normal circumstances, this will lead to proliferation of arms, especially small arms as their usage would become overt among citizens especially privatization of security. In Sierra Leone, the regular military and paramilitary forces found themselves faced with parallel privately owned forces (Bayraytay, 2006). At this period in Sierra Leone, several arms trafficking took place, sometimes with the connivance of well-placed officers within the state security apparatus.

The need for cutting off the supply of small arms and light weapon (SALW) cannot be overestimated. The proliferation of small arms account for much of the killing around the

world and “their availability ensures that society is plagued by violence” long after conflicts have ended in conflict areas. Women and children have always been the victims of small arms especially in conflict times. The case in Sierra Leone was not different as women were the main victims of wanton violence. However, women also became aggressors. Binta Mansaray (2006) points out, “the hidden truth is that in many instances, women played a significant, “active” role in violence.” Mansaray adds that the easy use of small arms and light weapons facilitated women’s role as aggressors. It has been noted that small arms require very little training and operation. Mansaray also lists three key reasons why women during the conflict in Sierra Leone became actors in the offensive.

The reasons are:

1. Some women voluntarily joined the movement sometimes to escape from daily life as second-class citizens and to demonstrate in a violent way that they are capable of doing whatever men could do... they wanted to identify with a movement that they thought would liberate them and fulfil their fundamental human need for recognition...
2. Some of those who were adopted, according to testimonies of some aggressors, subsequently chose to stay in the movement and they were trained as combatants.
3. Other women became perpetrators of violence because they were trapped in the movement and just could not get out.

### **Measures taken by the Government of Nigeria to tackle Boko-Haram**

From the analysis of the root causes of the insurgency, it emerges that finding a durable solution requires a comprehensive, coherent, and well-coordinated response from both local and international actors. Meanwhile, the complex nature of the causes further reveals several challenges that need to be overcome in order to deal with the crisis successfully. In addressing the crisis and finding a durable solution the response of the government is key. From this perspective, it is clear that the time is ripe for the government to adopt policy changes to alleviate the grievances advanced by the group as their driving force. This would bring

significant issues to the negotiating table which is critical in the quest for a sustainable solution. The introduction of curfews and crackdowns has had no real impact as they previously had, in that the group appears to be gaining the upper hand. After the killing of over 200 people in January 2015, the government's response appeared to be succeeding, as the number of attacks decreased, became less complex and less deadly. However, by relying solely on force, the government is in all likelihood making a mistake (albeit an understandable one) – its heavy-handed reactions of the past have exacerbated the situation and may even have pushed Boko Haram to intensify its actions.

Further, as we saw above, the sympathies of the local populations tend to shift to the insurgents when the government reacts harshly. This is critical as sympathy may translate into additional manpower and resources. In opposing this view, Campbell argues that the government should rather go the route of amnesty and negotiation as it did in the past when it co-opted the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta by agreeing to an amnesty deal and equitable distribution of resources for the people in the region. In the meantime, the government's attempts at negotiation appear somewhat half-hearted and without agreement on a middle-ground essential to agreement between the parties, and cannot be regarded as propitious. This impasse may be attributed to the vast 'gap' between the demands of Boko Haram that the entire country be brought under Shari'a law – and what the government is willing to offer.

As a former US ambassador to Nigeria, Campbell (2006) forcefully advances that whether the government likes it or not, it may be forced to consider some review of the basic political and economic issues at stake and pursue significant changes in policy and approach. Against this backdrop, the continued decline in the quality of life in northern Nigeria weakens the state's legitimacy in the eyes of the citizenry. The literature shows that the 'Islamisation' agenda aside, poverty and corruption play key roles in the crisis. Furthermore, the fact that the security and law enforcement agencies have committed atrocious human rights abuses in their effort to tackle the crisis, have led some civilians to sympathize with the insurgents –



especially among the local Muslim population. All of this poses a major challenge to the government's response to the crisis.

The American officials are wary of the corruption and human rights violations by the Nigerian military which makes them hesitant to share intelligence with the Nigerian military with the notion that it has been infiltrated by Boko Haram. Amnesty International has reported that many civilians affected by the church bombing in Kano in 2012 were quick to blame the security forces rather than Boko Haram and described the Federal Government as a shared enemy. An incident like this is a major stumbling block as it fuels mistrust and makes the civilians uncooperative in the fight against the insurgents.

Finally, according to Clifford Ndujihe (2017), Deputy Political Editor of vanguard Newspaper said that the Nigerian government spends some US\$6 billion of its annual budget on security within an economy of approximately half a trillion dollars. Also, the military is made up of 90 000 active duty, and 25 000 reserve components, for a country of 180 million people. This is woefully inadequate in light of the complex security threats and challenges facing the country. It has been argued that the budget deficits are as a result of chronic corruption on the part of Nigerian commanders. This inadequate budgetary allocation to the security sector at a time of challenging and sophisticated security threats has led many experts to accuse the Nigerian government of lacking the goodwill to tackle this menace. These events broaden the implications for the fight against a complicated insurgency system such as that of Boko Haram and also deter other international partners who might wish to join the fight.

## **CONCLUSION**

From the discussion so far, it could be inferred that the inability of the law enforcement agencies to check the supply factors of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) worsened security situation in Nigeria. That the inability of law enforcement agencies to check the supply factors of SALW worsened security situation in Nigeria.

That the inability of the Nigeria borders to deal with the demand factors heightened the proliferation of SALW. Small arms and light weapon have never been subject to any

systematic and traceable transfer regime or even considered to be strategic in ensuring Global Security. This was the case until the end of the cold war, then asymmetric warfare in the world's weaker states, terrorism, drug trafficking, and banditry threatened to tear states apart.

There is no doubt that the accumulation of small arms and their diffusion into society are both causal and symptomatic of the governance. The opportunity cost of arms accumulation is the promotion of sustainable security, based on the provision of basic needs and rights. Finding a common solution to the SALW pandemic, however, is not easy, given the specific status of this category of weapons. SALW may facilitate and exacerbate conflicts and promote banditry, but they do not cause them. Quite unlike the successful campaign to anti-personnel landmines, which are also most unanimously acknowledged as inhumane. More so, it is practically impossible to ban the production and transfer of SALW.

They perform legitimate functions in the governance process and widely used by the rural community in hunting to supplement the unusually starch based diet in the sub-region. Besides, discourse about SALW invariably touches on state security and national sovereignty. Consequently, in the end, only governments can make and implement agreement on arms transfers. With this in mind, it is imperative that the growing anti-proliferation campaign adopts strategies would be capable of producing results without alienating government a delicate balancing act. Indeed.

Whatever tactics are adopted; however, the objectives should be two-fold. Firstly, the operators of the SALM pipelines in the subregions, as well as the recyclers and Trans-shippers within the sub-region itself must be exposed as sanctioned in order to diffuse societal tensions caused by Proliferations of Arms and Weapons. Secondly, there is a need to combine weapons elimination from society with effective measures to diffuse societal tensions.

Because of this issue's effect on development, sustainable security and programming need to confront the challenge of small arms proliferation head on. Limiting illicit arms proliferation and removing excess and potentially destabilizing Arms from circulation should be both a security and development priority for the present administration. Small Arms

initiatives should also be built into security assistance and development programs. Programs that focus on security sector and judicial sector reform must address small arms proliferation and misuse. The United Nations should also support programs that address the demand for weapons.

Such reforms would build public confidence in security, reduce the incentive for people to obtain and keep weapons, and would also help governments and international agencies to incorporate weapons collection programs into peace-building strategies – both as post – conflict disarmament programs as well as long – term projects aiming to remove as many surplus and illegal weapons and ammunition from circulation as possible.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the foregoing, the following recommendations appear very necessary:

- Existing structures of border control should be enhanced.
- Government should utilize Interpol sub-regional offices to share information.
- They should improve resources for data gathering and dissemination.
- The law enforcement agencies should be strengthened in order to enable them to check the supply factors of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) that worsen security situation in Nigeria border.
- Government should deploy military operations and civilian vigilantes.
- Government should declare a state of emergency on illegal possession of arms by civilians.
- The security council of the United Nations should sanction any erring nations of state in the proliferations of arms.
- The security architecture should be restructured by the government.

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# **MASS MEDIA EXPOSURE AND ANTENATAL CARE VISITS IN NIGERIA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The Nigeria high maternal mortality ratio of 917 per 100,000 live births despite international and domestic health actions will require identifying the major contributors to maternal mortality and investigating their determinants. Low utilization of antenatal care is considered a major contributor to maternal mortality. In this study, we investigate the role of mass media exposure on the decision of women to have antenatal care visits, frequency of care, and timeliness of care using the 2018 Nigeria demographic health survey data. We discovered that women that are exposed to mass media are more likely to have at least one antenatal care visit. They are also likely to meet the recommended four and eight antenatal care visits recommended by the World Health Organization. We identified other predictors of having at least one, four and eight antenatal care visits to include women health autonomy, education, parity, wealth index and living in rural area. These factors (except for mass media exposure) were identified as predictors of having one visit in the first trimester. The design of any effective antenatal care programme will require adequate publicity and specific targeting of poor women urban women with parity but low education

**Keywords:** Mass Media Exposure, Antenatal Care Visits, Nigeria.

## INTRODUCTION

The reduction in maternal mortality was adopted as an International Development Goal by the United Nations (UN), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank (OECD, 1996; 2000) and endorsed by 149 heads of state at the Millennium Summit in 2000 (The millennium declarations, 2000). The vision ‘no woman should lose her life when giving birth’ reflects the human rights perspective on maternal mortality and would require that 90% of maternal deaths, when diagnosed and treated in a timely manner, be avoided, making maternal mortality a potential target for an elimination strategy (Houston, et al., 2013). More precisely, maternal mortality ratio is expected to be significantly lowered to about 30 per 100,000 by 2030, a level when it ceases to be a public health burden (Gilmore and Gebreyesus, 2012). But Nigeria has a high maternal mortality ratio of 917 to 100,000 live births according to the WHO (2019). The potential of care during the antenatal period in improving maternal and child health was recognized by the World Summit for Children in 1990 where antenatal care was adopted as a specific goal stated as “Access by all pregnant women to prenatal care, trained attendants during childbirth and referral facilities for high-risk pregnancies and obstetric emergencies”.

Subsequently, similar aims have been mentioned in major international conferences including the International Conference on Population and Development in 1994, the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, and the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Children in 2002 (United Nations General Assembly, 2002). Perhaps the emphasis on antenatal care is supported by findings on its effectiveness in reducing maternal mortality. For instance, some studies indicate that antenatal care can reduce maternal mortality by 20% given good quality and regular attendance (Prual, et al. 2000; Testa, et al., 2002).

Women die from complications during and following pregnancy and childbirth. Other complications may exist before pregnancy but are worsened during pregnancy, especially if unattended to as part of maternal care. These complications which include severe bleeding, infections, high blood pressure during pregnancy, complications from delivery, and unsafe

abortion (Say, et al, 2014) are preventable if women have access to quality care in pregnancy, and during and after childbirth. For instance, information on good hygiene practice and how to prevent unwanted pregnancies can reduce infection after childbirth and maternal deaths in general. Further, eclampsia-related deaths can be averted if women are encouraged to measure their blood pressure in order to identify women at risk of eclamptic convulsions, so that measures can be taken to reduce blood pressure whenever possible. The mass media can be a useful channel to disseminate such health information aim at influencing behaviour of females towards adopting healthy lifestyle and taking-up interventions meant to improve maternal health.

The mass media can be used to disseminate health messages aim at influencing the behaviour of health professionals and individuals/patients by health stakeholders (Freemantle, 1994). The objective of this study is to investigate the role of mass media in promoting the utilization of health care services by pregnant women. The mass media may play several important functions in the society, including providing information, entertainment, articulating and creating meaning, setting agendas for individual and societal discourse, and influencing behaviour. Health information, which can be convey through the radio, television, newspapers, magazines, leaflets, posters and pamphlets, may influence the use of health services such as screening for high blood pressure, cancer, HIV and sexually transmitted infections and uptake of family planning interventions by women. Effectively, the mass media may influence individual health seeking behaviour, health care practices, health policy, and health care utilization (Flay, 1987; Warner, 1987).

Investing in maternal health has both cost and health benefits. Healthy women can work more productively and apply the skills they have learned through training (Victora et al. 2008). This makes it possible for them to improve their own lives and contribute positively to the economy. Conversely, poor maternal health can influence economic growth adversely. It is estimated that maternal and new-born mortality leads to US\$15 billion in lost potential productivity globally every year (USAID, 2001). Politically, improvement in maternal and

child health has been associated with peace and social stability— perhaps because it indicates how well a society treats its most vulnerable members. It is also an indicator of the performance of the health system of a country. A robust health system with good emergency care for women will produce lower maternal mortality. Importantly, there is the need for the timely dissemination of information about existing health services to the target population. More precisely, information on the availability of health interventions can influence uptake. Thus, utilization of health services can be undermined where information on availability is limited.

There are studies on the effectiveness of mass media campaign on immunization coverage (Macdonald and Roder, 1985; Paunio, et al., 1991; Hornik, et al. 2002), smoking cessation (Flay, 1987; Warner, 1987; Bala, Strzeszynski, and Cahill, 2008)), alcohol drinking (Moreira, Smith, and Foxcroft, 2009; Anderson, Chisholm, and Fuhr, 2009), HIV testing (Turner and Mutton, 1987; Joshi, et al., 1988), nutrition (Pomerleau, et al., 2005), birth rate reduction (Hornik, and McAnany, 2001), and timely initiation of breastfeeding (McDivitt, et al., 1993). However, there appear to be a paucity of information on whether health messages through mass media influences health behaviour among pregnant women in Nigeria.

This study differs from Khanal and Singh et al in three ways. First, we use a nationally representative sample from a demographic health survey dataset to investigate the role of mass media exposure in antenatal visits. We draw on the representative nature of the dataset to make conclusions with implied external validity since countries in Sub-Saharan Africa share similar health profile. Second, we measure mass media exposure differently from Khanal and Singh et al where the effects of different types of mass media were assessed. We construct a composite index that considers the exposure to all forms of mass media by the respondents. We consider such an index to be more informative especially in a setting where people are more likely to move between different type of mass media. Finally, we test the hypothesis that women health autonomy impacts on the decision to go on antenatal visits.



Nigeria is considered an ideal case for this study for several reasons. Of the 295, 000 women that died during and following pregnancy and childbirth in 2017, 94% occurred in low-income countries with SSA accounting for about two-third (196,000) (WHO, 2019). These deaths are higher in countries classified as “very high alert” or “high alert” by the fragile state index and have inequalities in access to quality health services. Nigeria fits the above description and will provide rich external validity for SSA countries. Further, women in Nigeria have, on average, more pregnancies than women in SSA countries given the fertility rate in Nigeria, and their lifetime risk of death from pregnancy is higher.

## **Methods**

### **Data**

The Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) dataset is used for this study. Specifically, the NDHS 2018, which is the sixth in the series of demographic and health surveys conducted so far in Nigeria with previous surveys conducted in 1990, 1999, 2003, 2008, and 2013 is used to assess the impact of mass media in influencing prenatal visits amongst pregnant women. At present, it is the current dataset available. The NDHS is a national sample survey that provides information on fertility levels, marriage, fertility preferences, awareness and the use of family planning methods, child feeding practices, nutritional status of women and children, adult and childhood mortality, awareness and attitudes regarding HIV/AIDS, female genital mutilation, and domestic violence. We use the women file which is a sample of 41,821 women that are between the ages of 15-49 years. The survey was conducted in conjunction with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID) (through the Partnership for Transforming Health Systems Phase II [PATHS2]), and the government of Nigeria (through the National Population Commission).

## Variables

The outcome variable, antenatal visits (anc\_1), is considered a count variable since it has a spike at zero counts which is indicative of zero-inflation in the histogram in Figure 1. In other words, about 6000 women had zero visits with a few having above 10 visits. In the NDHS, women respondents of reproductive age (15-49 years) who had their last birth in the last five years were asked whether and from whom they received antenatal care, the number of visits, and the content of the visits. In this study, we considered the questions of “whether they saw anyone for antenatal care during the pregnancy” and for those who respond “yes” the woman is then asked about many visits she had in total during the pregnancy. In effect, we create a variable which comprises a simple count of the number of antenatal care visits. In effect, the antenatal care visit variable is recorded as a minimum of at least one visit in the first instance. In line with the literature, this was varied to 4 visits (Villar, et al., 2001; Villar, Bergsjö, Carroli, and Gulmezoglu, 2003), and subsequently, 8 visits (WHO, 2016).

The main independent variable, mass media exposure(emm), is constructed as a three-level categorical variable (no media exposure=0, irregular media exposure=1, and regular media exposure=2) indicating the extent of exposure to mass media by women. Formally, while a woman is considered as irregularly exposed to mass media if she watches television or listen to radio or read the newspaper at least once a week, she is regularly exposed to at least two of any of the media outfits within a week. The inclusion of other predictors of a woman’s decision to seek antenatal care is guided by the WHO (2003). As outlined by the WHO, urban or rural residence, age, number of births, level of education, and household wealth. Wealth Index (wealth) which is derived from a principal components’ analysis of the flooring material toilet facilities, cooking fuel, water source, electricity, ownership of radio, television, and bicycle adjusted by the number of household members, categorizes households into five groups-poorest, poorer, middle, richer and richest-each representing 20% of the total population. Education (Edu. Women), measured as the highest educational level attained, is categorized as (a) No education (b) Primary (c) Secondary (d) Higher; (iii) Locality of

residence (residence) is measured as: (a) Urban (b) Rural; (iv) Age (age at birth) is measured in relation to age at first birth of a woman and is categorized as: (a) less than 20 years (b) 20-34 years (c) 35 years and above. Finally, number of births (parity) is measured as the number of children ever born by the woman. For women that have ever given birth, the range of number of children varies from 1 to 17. We recoded the variable into: (a) No child (b) parity 1 (c) parity 2. In this study, We tested the hypothesis that women autonomy impacts on antenatal visit using an index (wha) that measures three decisions making rights in relation to women health: person who usually decides on respondent's health care, decision maker for using contraception, and person who usually decides how to spend respondent's earnings. we control for the religion (religion) of the woman which is measured as a categorical variable:(a) Christian (b) Islam (c) Others. Also, we constructed a geopolitical zone variable (region) for split analysis. Nigeria can be divided into six geopolitical zones expressed as (a) North Central (b) North East (c) North West (d) South East (e) South-South (f) South West. We include the health insurance status (insure) of woman as a predictor of her use of antenatal care.

In Table 1, we present summary statistics of the data using both univariate and bivariate methods. A univariate method (using frequency distribution), is used to describe the characteristics of the sample respondents across a set of socio-demographic characteristics. The basic intuition is to compare data of women who report at least four visits and women reporting no visit at all. In bivariate analysis, percentages of the variables are obtained for each category of the predictors and use to examine the unadjusted but statistically significant relationship between women with, and women with no antenatal visits by socio-demographic factors. The statistical significance is tested using a z-test (two-sample test of proportions). A 5% alpha level is considered statistically significant.

From Table 1, at the time of birth of the child, most women (99.4%) were age 35 and below, of which 57% are less than 20years. Also, most of the women (97.7) are without any form of health insurance cover, are in male headed households (89.6%), reside in rural areas (64.98%), had parity 2 (82.97) but have at least basic education (55%), are exposed to

mass media (59%), with health autonomy (68%) and husbands having basic education (62%). However, this varies significantly amongst women who did not attend antenatal care and those with at least one visit. More precisely, there are statistically significant differences between women with no antenatal visits and those with at least one visit amongst the categories of women: aged 35 years and above (86.23% vs 13.77%), with health insurance (92.5% vs 7.42%), with regular mass media exposure (88.05% vs 11.95%), and health autonomy (82.13% vs 17.87%). Further, a wealth pattern in the use of antenatal care is apparent from Table 1. The proportion of women with at least one antenatal visit increases with their wealth quintiles. For instance, while about half (52%) of the women within the poorest quintile attended at least an antenatal clinic, almost every woman within the richest quintile (96%) had at least one visit. Similar pattern exists in relation to locality of residence. Urban women are more likely to embark on antenatal visits than rural women (89.18% vs 67.37%).

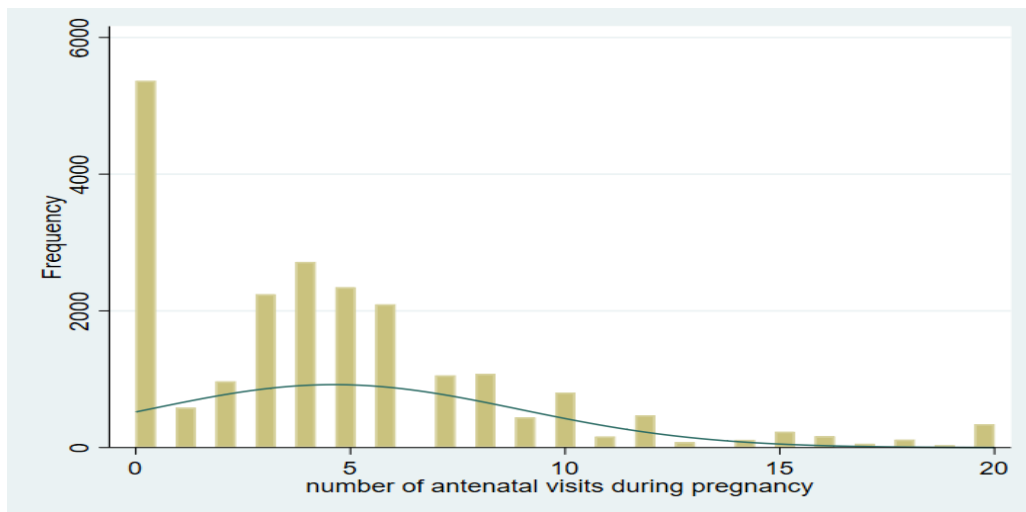


Figure 1. Histogram of the number of antenatal visits during pregnancy.

### Statistical Analysis

We estimate a negative binomial regression model that expresses antenatal care visits as a function of mass media exposure, health insurance, health autonomy, education, wealth index, parity, and age at first birth. The choice of a negative binomial regression model is based on

the assumption of the zeros in the data (Bhaktha, 2018). In Figure 1, we can see that most women do not attend any prenatal visit during their last pregnancy as indicated by a spike at zero counts in the histogram-zero inflation. We assume that the zeros observed in the data due to a count distribution (negative binomial) are sampling zeros. In other words, the number of visits is zero for some respondents because they did not attend antenatal care during their last pregnancies and not that they might not attend antenatal care at all-structural zeros. That is, since we are interested in modelling the total number of antenatal care visit reported by women within reproductive age during their last pregnancies, it is possible to argue that the only source of zero counts from the data could be sampling zeros where all zero visits are due to none visits to antenatal care clinics. Said differently, we assume that the response variable is over-dispersed –over dispersion in the data takes no identifiable shape-and does not have an excess number of zeros, hence we use the negative binomial model.

Effectively, we perform the negative binomial model to obtain estimated regression coefficients for the model. The conditional mean,  $E(Y|X)$ , is modelled as:

$$\log(E(Y_i|X_i)) = \log(\mu_i) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * emm_{1i} + \beta_p * X_{pi}$$

Where  $Y_i$  is the outcome variable (anc\_1),  $emm_{1i}$  is the exposure to mass media and  $X_{pi}$  is a vector of predictor variables associated with Y. We interpret  $\beta_1$  as: using no exposure as the reference category, if  $\beta_1 > 0$ -the coefficient for the irregular mass media exposure category-, the difference in the logs of expected counts is considered to be positive and higher for women with irregular exposure to mass media holding other variables constant in the model. Finally, we calculate the risk ratios (RRs) and the corresponding 95% confidence interval for each category of the predictors. The Stata/MP 16.0 statistical package was used for the analysis.

**Table 1. Summary Statistics**

Variable	Antenatal care visits			z-score
	Total	No visit	At least one visit	
<i>Age at Birth</i>				
Less than 20years	12,261(57.12)	3,872(31.58)	8,389(68.42)	0.0000
20-34years	9,066(42.23)	1,474(16.24)	7,592(83.74)	0.0000
35 year Above	138(0.6)	19(13.77)	119(86.23)	0.0000
<i>Insurance Coverage</i>				
Not insured	20,980(97.74)	5,329(25.40)	15,651(74.60)	0.0000
Insured	485(2.26)	36(7.42)	449(92.58)	0.0002
<i>Mass media Exposure</i>				
No Exposure	8,468(39.45)	3,399(40.14)	5,069(59.86)	0.0000
Irregular	4,864(22.66)	994(20.44)	3870(79.56)	0.0000
Regular	8,133(37.89)	972(11.95)	7,161(88.05)	0.0000
<i>Sex of HH Head</i>				
Male	19,238(89.6)	4,975(25.86)	14,263(74.14)	0.0000
Female	2,227(10.37)	390(17.51)	1,837(82.49)	0.0000
<i>Religion</i>				
Islam	12,606(59.00)	4,130(32.76)	8,476(67.24)	0.0000
Other	8,758(40.99)	1,187(13.55)	7,571(86.45)	0.0000
<i>Health Autonomy</i>				
No Autonomy	6,396(32)	2,621(40.98)	3,775(59.02)	0.0000
Autonomy	13,653(68)	2,440(17.87)	11,213(82.13)	0.0000
<i>Education (Woman)</i>				
No education	9,491(44.21)	4,091(43.10)	5,400(56.90)	0.0000

<i>Contd...</i>				
Primary	3,340(15.56)	576(17.25)	2,764(82.75)	0.0000
Secondary	6,894(32.11)	678(9.83)	6,216(90.17)	0.0000
Higher	1,740(8.1)	20(1.15)	1,720(98.85)	0.0000
<i>Education (Husband)</i>				
No Education	7,120(35.87)	3,421(48.05)	3,699(51.95)	0.0010
Primary	2,853(14.37)	525(18.4)	2,328(81.6)	0.0000
Secondary	6,907(34.80)	904(13.09)	6,003(86.91)	0.0000
Higher	2,965(14.94)	140(4.72)	2,825(95.28)	0.0000
<i>Parity</i>				
Parity1	3,655(17.03)	714(19.53)	2,941(80.47)	0.0000
Parity2	17,810(82.97)	4,651(26.11)	13,159(73.89)	0.0000
<i>Wealth Index</i>				
Poorest	5,011(23.34)	2,396(47.81)	2,615(52.19)	0.0020
Poorer	4,871(22.69)	1,599(32.83)	3,272(67.17)	0.0000
Middle	4,518(21.04)	825(18.26)	3,693(81.74)	0.0000
Richer	3,946(18.38)	421(10.67)	3,525(89.33)	0.0000
Richest	3,119(14.53)	124(3.98)	2,995(96.02)	0.0000
<i>Residence</i>				
Urban	7,516(35.02)	813(10.82)	6,703(89.18)	0.0000
Rural	13,949(64.98)	4,552(32.63)	9,397(67.37)	0.0000

## Results

In this section, we present the empirical results of the negative binomial modelling of antenatal visits as a function of mass media exposure and other covariates. First, we estimate the total effect of mass media exposure, test the hypothesis that women autonomy impacts on antenatal care visits, and check for the robustness of the effect of mass media exposure by controlling for other confounding factors. Second, we use different measure of antenatal care visit in line

with the WHO recommendations. The WHO, based on a randomised WHO Antenatal Care Trial (WHOACT) in 2001, recommended that pregnant women with uncomplicated pregnancies should receive minimum of four antenatal care visits, with the first visit occurring before 14 weeks of gestation (Villar, Bergsjö, Carroli, and Gulmezoglu, 2003). This was later revised to at least eight contacts: one contact in the first trimester, two contacts in the second trimester, five contacts in the third trimester (WHO, 2016). In effect, we investigate whether the slope of the relationship between antenatal care visits and mass media exposure differ by number of visits. Third, we investigate the determinants of the quality of antenatal care visits using the probit model. We measure the quality of antenatal visit using a variable that indicates whether a woman was receiving assistance from a medically trained provider which includes doctor, nurse, midwife/auxiliary midwife, and community/health extension worker. Finally, we investigate within the predictors of quality of antenatal care visit, the drivers of the place of delivery for women.

### **Mass Media exposure, Women autonomy, and antenatal visits**

Table 2 answers the questions whether women with media exposure are more likely to have at least one antenatal care visit than women with no media exposure, and whether women health autonomy influences the decision to have at least one antenatal care visit. We discover that mass media exposure increases the chances of women having at least one antenatal visit and the effect is greater if women are regularly exposed to mass media. Also, we discover that women autonomy influences the decision of women to have at least one antenatal visit. In general, our model identifies mass media exposure, women autonomy, mothers' and fathers' educational level, wealth quintile, locality of residence, parity and religion as statistically significant predictors of frequency of antenatal care visits among women in Nigeria.

In column 1, we use the specification that regress only mass media exposure on antenatal visit to assess the total effect of mass media on having at least one antenatal care visit amongst 21,145 women. In other words, we estimate the negative binomial regression coefficients comparing the different levels of exposure to mass media. We discover that, while



women with irregular mass media exposure compared to women without mass media exposure, have 28% more chances of having at least one antenatal care visits, women with regular mass media exposure compared to irregular mass media exposure, have higher chances (38%) of having at least one antenatal care visits. In column 2, we investigate whether women autonomy impacts on antenatal visits. We discover that women with health autonomy have 24% higher chances of having at least one antenatal care unit compared to women without health autonomy.

We control for socio-demographic factors in column 3. We discover that the effects of mass media exposure and women autonomy were robust (though with reduced effect sizes) to the inclusion of other factors. To be clear, the relationship between mass media exposure and having at least one visit is strong and positive but the chances are only 7% higher for women with irregular mass media exposure compared to women with no mass media exposure. For women with irregular media exposure compared to those with regular exposure, the chances for having an antenatal visit are 8% higher. Similarly, women with health autonomy have 15% higher chances of having at least one antenatal visit compare to women without health autonomy controlling for other factors in column 3. Also, we discover that women education is positively associated with having at least one antenatal visit. Women with primary education compare to those without any form of education are 14% more likely to have at least one antenatal visit and this is comparable for women with secondary and tertiary education. Similar positive but stronger relationship exists for women having at least one antenatal visits and husband education. For instance, the chances that a woman will have at least one antenatal visit if the husband has primary education compare to husbands without any form of education is 25%. Wealth status of women appear to matter in the decision to have antenatal visit in the study area. Indeed, while women within the poorest quintile compared to poorer women are 14% more likely to have at least one antenatal visit, women in the richest group compared to those in the poorest group are 19% more likely to have at least one visit. Further, a negative statistically significant relationship exists between having antenatal visits

and parity. Women with higher parity have 3% lower chances of having at least one antenatal visit compare to women with lower parity. Finally, we discover that the place of residence of women can influence their decision on whether the visit an antenatal care clinic or not. More precisely, rural women have 5% lower chances of visiting an antenatal care clinic, at least once, compare to urban women.

Further, we investigate among women with the WHO recommended number of antenatal visits, the factors that determine their extent of compliance. In Table 3, we present results of the predictors of having at least, 4 and 8 antenatal visits. We discover that exposure to mass media, women health autonomy, education, wealth index, locality of residence, religion and parity are statistically significant predictors of the extent of compliance with WHO number of recommended visits. However, health insurance appears not to matter in determining the level of compliance with respect to 4 visits and 8 visits respectively. Similarly, older women (35 years and above) compared to women within the age bracket of 20-34 years, are likely not to comply with the WHO recommendations. Also, while parity is statistically significant in predicting whether women will have at least 4 visits, it is associated with having at least 8 visits in a statistically insignificant relationship.

### **Mass Media, Women Health Autonomy and Timing of Antenatal visits**

Maternal health care programmes are designed to ensure that women present themselves for antenatal care early in pregnancy-at least a visit within the first trimester (WHO, 2016). This is to allow sufficient time for essential diagnosis and treatment regimens such as treatment of sexually transmitted infections and management of anaemia. Basically, we investigate whether exposure to mass media and women health autonomy predict early initiation of antenatal care using logistic regression. Our result in Table 4 fails to reject the hypothesis that mass media exposure does not matter in influencing timely antenatal care in Nigeria. This is in contrast with findings from Uganda where lack of awareness about antenatal care was associated with late initiation of antenatal care visits (Kisuule, et al., 2013). Women autonomy was found to be positively associated with timely antenatal care initiation. More precisely, women with

health autonomy were discovered to be 1.14 times more likely to present for antenatal care visit in their first trimester than women without health autonomy (OR=1.14, (95% CI: 1.01-1.29)).

Further, findings from Table 4 suggest that women are likely to present for antenatal care visit in the first trimester if they are: educated, reside in rural areas, older and having lower parity. In effect, we found that higher levels of education are positive associated with increased number of times women are more likely to present for antenatal care visit in their trimester. For instance, women with higher education compared to women without formal education are 2.30 times more likely present for antenatal care visit in their first trimester (OR=2.30, (95% CI: 1.85-2.86)). In addition, women that are 35 years and above are 2.11 times more likely to present for antenatal care visit in their first trimester than women that are below 20 years (OR=2.11, (95% CI:1.19-3.74)). Two interesting findings were made from the regression results in Table 4. First, rural women are more likely to present for antenatal care visit in their trimester compared to urban women (OR=1.15, (95% CI: 1.00-1.33)). While the reason for the seemingly counterintuitive result is unclear, it is plausible to suggest that women residing in urban areas are likely to be more confident in managing early pregnancies given their exposure to health education. Second, exposure to mass media and husbands' education appear not to matter in influencing the decision for early antenatal care visit. Though mass media exposure impacts on the chances of having at least one antenatal care visits (see Table 2), it is unclear why it does not matter in determining whether women present for early antenatal care visit. The relationship between wealth index and the early presentation for antenatal care visit appear to be mix. While poorer women compared to women in the poorest quintile are 1.19 times more likely to present for early antenatal visit, the relationship is not statistically significant with respect to middle and richer quintiles (OR=1.19, (95% CI: 1.00-1.43)). It is, however, significant when the poorest quintile is compared with the richest quintile (OR=1.53, (95% CI:1.00-1.33)).

## **Discussion**

Findings from this study suggest that mass media exposure is strongly associated with women decision to have antenatal care visits and the extent of their compliance with WHO recommendations of antenatal visits in Nigeria. Similar findings have been reported in Bangladesh (Shahjahan, et al., 2013), India (Nimbalkar, 2008) and Uganda (Edward, 2011). It is possible that women that are exposed to mass media are more likely to receive health information from messages through the television, radio or the newspaper. Such messages encourage women to attend antenatal clinics where they are educated on their wellbeing as well as that of their foetuses and how to detect any pregnancy complications (danger signs and symptoms) and necessary measures to take. In effect, the media can influence women's health behaviour in respect of having antenatal care visit. We discover that the mass media is important in determining the extent of compliance with the WHO recommended number of antenatal care visits for women. It was statistically significant in influencing the decision of women to have the recommended 4 or 8 antenatal care visits. Specifically, the mass media is identified as a predictor of achieving compliance with the minimum level of recommended antenatal visits contained in the WHO Antenatal Care Trial (WHOACT) of 2001 or the revised 2016 WHO Antenatal care guidance. An implication of our finding is that to increase ANC attendance, reaching women using the mass media is essential and translating health information into local languages may be a useful way to increase readership of newspapers or television/radio audience.

Women with health autonomy were discovered to have higher chances of having at least one antenatal care visit. Also, we discovered that women with health autonomy used antenatal care for their last birth to a greater extent than women without health autonomy. We describe health autonomy in terms of the ability of women to participate in decision making over health care, the use of contraceptives, and finances. Women with autonomy are more likely to initiate the decision to have antenatal visit and decide on its frequency as well. This

finding has support in the literature (e.g., Bloom, Wypij, & Das Gupta, 2001; Rahman, Mostofa, & Hoque, 2014; Upadhyay & Hindin, 2005)

Among other factors identified as determinants of having at least one antenatal care visits and having the recommended standards of frequency, women levels of educational attainment were found to have positive association with having at least one antenatal care visits as well as the frequency of antenatal care visits in Nigeria. Similar findings were made in Bangladesh (Islam and Masud, 2018) and china (Nwaru, Wu, & Hemminki, 2012). This is because, educated women are more likely to have knowledge about maternal health care and will be less willing to take risk with their pregnancies. Hence, the extent of utilization of health care services and consequently, the frequency of antenatal care visits, is expected to be high amongst educated women. It is also possible that income earning ability of educated women and their increased likelihood to have autonomy will interact to influence their maternal health seeking behaviour. Additionally, we discover that husbands' education is positively associated with having at least one antenatal care visit as well as with the greater use of four or eight antenatal care visits. A policy implication of these findings is that improving maternal health through increase use of antenatal care visits can be achieve with robust interventions that encourage school enrolment and completion especially of females. Also, findings from this study showed that household wealth quintiles of women are positively associated with both having at least one antenatal care visit and the frequency of antenatal care visits. In other words, household wealth status could impact on the maternal health seeking behaviour of women. Thus, economic empowerment programme targeting women within the reproductive age could be a viable way of improving maternal health. Women living in rural areas were found to be less likely to have antenatal care visit compared to their urban counterparts. Rural women are more likely to be faced with issues of poor accessibility to health facility and are likely to have lower socio-economic conditions which can interact and impact on their decision to use antenatal care. Finally, we discover that higher parity reduces the chances of having antenatal care visits as well as the recommended frequency of antenatal care visits.

Said differently, women are less likely to have antenatal visits with increased number of children. The increased use of antenatal care associated with lower parity has been attributed to anxiety from possible complications especially with the first or second pregnancy. With higher parity, such anxiety is likely to wane (Bloom, Lippeveld, and Wypij, 1999).

However, women autonomy was found to be significant and positively associated with early initiation of antenatal visits. Cultural factors, gender roles and expectations are likely to constraint decision making power of women on seeking early antenatal care. Such barriers and how they influence health seeking behaviour of women is documented in the literature (e.g., Reta and Reta, 2015). Also, we discover the woman educational level, wealth index, and whether she resides in rural area will positively impact her decision to initiate early antenatal care visit. Further, we identify the age of women at first birth and the number of children she has deliver to be associated with the decision to seek antenatal care in her first trimester.

## **CONCLUSION**

The high maternal mortality of Nigeria (917 per 100,000 live births) can be reduced to meet the international target of 30 per 100,000 live births by 2030 through effective interventions. Findings from this study show that exposing women to mass media has the potential to influence their maternal health seeking behaviour in Nigeria. It is effective in determining whether women will have antenatal visit and the frequency of antenatal care. Health messages conveyed through the mass media can alter the pattern of health behaviour of women. Effectively, information about existing or new antenatal care programmes by government and non-government organization as well as awareness campaigns can be achieved using the mass media. In designing effective antenatal care programmes, identification of drivers of the decisions to use antenatal care, the frequency, and the timeliness of care use will be crucial. This study identified health autonomy, education, wealth status, low parity, and living in rural area to be associated with the decision whether to have antenatal care, having recommended number of antenatal care visits and timeliness of antenatal care visits. The findings of having health autonomy, and the decision to have antenatal visit, its frequency and timeliness suggest

that policies to enhance the bargaining power of women is needed and this can be achieved through economic empowerment. Micro-credit programmes have shown to be important in enhancing the socio-economic status of women and this can interact with multiple predictors of antenatal care. Similarly, achieving the recommended number of antenatal care visits will require policies that target poor urban women with high parity but low education.

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# **THE IMPERATIVE OF ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION (ADR) IN RESOLVING CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Alternative Dispute Resolution as a non-judicial mechanism for the settlement of various disputes of different kind in the society through using out of the court process in resolving crisis. However, disputes whether political, economic, social and environmental or otherwise are resolved through court processes, but due to delays, costs, publicity and technicality associated with conventional litigation, Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms is a kind of process that was highly on demand to address individual and groups misunderstanding. There are several bitter complaints from the peoples of lower status in Nigeria citing that the courts, conventionally the last hope of the common man, have not lived up to expectations in either political or socio-economic litigations thereby justifying their recourse to ADR as a better option. A significant number of cases were lost on flimsy reasons. The paper has uses secondary sources of data to analyze relevant data on ADR in resolving conflicts in Nigeria. The paper has concluded that Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) processes have been fully developed in other jurisdictions as a means of resolving various kinds of disputes. Finally, the paper observed that ADR can be effectively used to enhance public confidence in various national, communities and individuals' grievances that can also help in facilitating technical inquiries and information exchanges, and to identify creative solutions to daunting problems. The paper suggested that ADR procedures should be considered imperative means of resolving conflicts in Nigeria through using various tools for overcoming both political and socio-economic crisis, as a better way of improving the efficiency of difficult negotiations, and achieving durable settlements. It can take different forms as arbitration, mediation, conciliation, negotiation, among others.

**Keywords:** ADR, Arbitration, Conciliation, Negotiation and Mediation

## INTRODUCTION

ADR is not new to Nigeria but a kind of norm that has been deeply rooted in our culture. In fact, the ADR processes were in practice in Africa even prior to the colonial era (Ngo-Pondi, 2007). Our traditional societies settled disputes by referring them to the elders and other respected members of the society. The pre-colonial Nigeria era was constituted by settlements, communities, families, villages, hamlets, and most especially kingdoms and empires such as the Oyo empire, the Borno empire, and the Igbo communities. These kingdoms and communities were not without conflicts; rather their disputes and challenges were adequately settled without litigation. In most cases, the disputes were referred to elders or other bodies set up for that purpose (Mazrui, 1986) maintained that:

Public participation and mediation are not alien to Nigeria. Empirical evidence has clearly shown that a thorough understanding of local knowledge systems, institutions and social organizations is a prerequisite for supporting existing sustainable practices and for enhancing social and technological change. Negotiation and mediation have been integral parts of the traditional African decision-making process. Traditionally, the elders play special roles such as managing public affairs, keeping the peace, serving as judges and looking after community welfare (Mazrui, 1986).

The invasion of Nigeria by the British authority witnessed the introduction of the English type of courts for dispute settlement. The introduction of these courts notwithstanding, the existing traditional means of disputes settlement were not jettisoned but co-existed with the court adjudicative processes. Today, cases are still settled outside the courts through the local system of dispute settlement (Clark, 1995). These systems are recognized by the courts provided the cases are civil.

The introduction of the modern ADR process in the administration of justice in Nigeria is geared towards addressing the challenges associated with court litigations. Today, there is a growing trend to formalize and popularize the use of these mechanisms as viable alternatives to litigation. There is no doubt that recourse to this mechanism in view of the economic and political conditions of the masses in this country will enhance peoples' access

to justice’’ because the process give a room for the disputing parties views critically analyses and integrate in to problem solution mechanism.

### **Meaning of ADR**

ADR is an acronym for Alternative Dispute Resolution. It is a broad range of mechanisms and processes designed to supplement the traditional courts litigations by providing more effective and faster resolution process. It is a procedure for the settlement of disputes by means other than confrontational and relationship destroying litigation. Today, amicable settlement of disputes is preferred to litigation. Alternative dispute resolution (ADR) is a term generally used to refer to informal dispute resolution processes in which the parties meet with a professional third party who helps them resolve their dispute in a way that is less formal and often more consensual than is done in the courts. While the most common forms of ADR are mediation and arbitration, there are many other forms: judicial settlement conferences, fact-finding, ombudsmen, special masters, etc. Though often voluntary, ADR is sometimes mandated by the courts, which require that disputants try mediation before they take their case to court.

The ADR mechanism was introduced into the Nigerian Legal System in the quest for speedy dispensation of justice. Its processes are not only less formal but also less expensive and more expeditious than the court processes. By this method, a mere apology is enough to bring about settlement. Court processes are bedevilled with inordinate delays, technicalities, strict adherence to the rules of evidence and pre-trial preparations which are not only time consuming and frustrating but also costly. While complex cases are preserved for the courts, other cases can be resolved through the ADR processes, thereby relieving the courts the time that would have been spent on such cases (Akomolode, 2005). Congestion of cases in the courts results in pressure on the judges and poor dispensation of justice. According to (Kabir, 2011):

Litigation has also been criticized as responsible for the high cost of justice delivery, delay and the spilling of bad blood often associated with court cases

which is similar to ordinary battle field where there is always a victor and a vanquished (Kabir, 2011).

The growing popularity of ADR worldwide attests to the wide acceptance that litigation is no longer the exclusive process of decision making in our civil justice system (Mahmud, 2005).

Today, ADR is generally perceived as a potential route to civil justice. In Australia, USA and Canada, it has gained prominence in preference to litigation (Macfarlane, 1997). English courts in *Dunnett v. Railtrack* considered it imperative to penalize successful defendants on appeal by not granting them costs because they refused mediation. The court reemphasized that to flatly turn down ADR without just cause could place the party doing so at risk of adverse consequence in costs. The decision was taken in conformity with the English Civil Procedure Rules (CPR) 1.4 which provides that the court should encourage the parties to use ADR, while the parties are required to help the courts in furthering that objective.

The encouragement and facilitating of ADR by the court is an aspect of active case management which in turn is an aspect of achieving the objectives of the courts. The court added that parties should bear in mind the overriding objective and purpose of ADR and should be careful before rejecting it especially when recommended by the court (Macfarlane, 1997). Even the legal advisers to parties have a duty to advise them to consider seriously the possibility of ADR procedures being utilized for the purpose of resolving their claims before proceeding with court actions, especially when suggested by the court itself. In *Cowl Plymouth City Council*, the court stated that where such advice has been given and turned down by a party, perhaps on the ground that it is inappropriate, it should be on record. Such record may be needed to demonstrate to the court that ADR has been considered but not suitable to the case.

In Nigeria, those engaged in ADR processes are trained and certified by the Institute of Chartered Mediators and Conciliators which is a body established in 1999 for the purpose of training persons aspiring to be professional negotiators, mediators, conciliators and peace builders across Nigeria (Greg, 2005, 1997) in his article entitled “Arbitrate, Avoid the Courts, Do Not Litigate” enjoined parties to disputes, lawyers and non-lawyers alike, to seek amicable

settlement of their disputes rather than litigation. Though, one may not completely avoid the courts, but before you sue, try settlement which saves relationship. The erudite Professor contended that ADR is not intended to oust the jurisdiction of the courts as misconceived by the early judges but to supplement it (Greg, 2005). No doubts, the courts are indispensable in the administration of justice. In some cases, the courts on their own refer disputes to arbitrators for consideration though subject to the agreement of the parties. In his own words:

In the Arbitration and Conciliation Act... the courts have different functions assigned to them by the Act. In fact, arbitration practice will be a mere fruitless and hopeless exercise without the courts. This is because arbitral tribunal has limited legal force to affect certain duties implicit in every arbitration practice. By section 3 of the Act, the courts... have the right to revoke arbitration agreement. Sections 4 and 5 of the Act confer on the court the discretion to stay proceedings in court for reason of arbitration agreement (Greg, 2005).

No doubt, the attenuating impact and effectiveness of the ADR has become vital tool to the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria where frustrations of litigation have led the victims of oil spillage to take laws into their hands by resorting to violence, taking arms and other illegal and unorthodox means of redressing grievances. Therefore, institutionalizing ADR processes in this region will reverse the trend.

### **Forms of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)**

#### **Arbitration**

Arbitration in Nigeria is governed by the Arbitration and Conciliation Act which is modelled after the UN Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) on International Commercial Arbitration 1985 with minor modifications (Funke, 2004). It is a process by which parties to a dispute submit their cases to a neutral third party for settlement. This involves the reference of a dispute or difference between not less than two parties for determination in a judicial manner by a person or persons other than a court of competent jurisdiction. Its distinguishing characteristics is that the parties not only entered into such processes voluntarily but also have a great say in designing the process and the manner in which its outcome will be formalized. The arbitrator is either appointed by the parties or the

court (Greg, 1997) of which the decision may be binding or non-binding (advisory). It binds the parties when they have pre-agreed that the arbitrator's decision is final. The Court of Appeal in *Stabilini Visinoni Ltd. v. Mallinson and Partners Ltd.* further explained arbitration as:

... a method of dispute resolution involving one or more neutral third parties who are agreed to by the disputing parties, and whose decision is binding. In effect, arbitration is the resolution of a dispute between the parties by a person(s) other than a court of law. It is the reference of a dispute by parties thereto for settlement by a person or tribunal of their choice, rather than a court. The basis for the arbitration is consent of the parties to submit or refer their disputes to arbitration (Moore, 2008: 15).

As the parties to a dispute decide on their own to settle by arbitration, the law requires them to obey the rules, proceedings and awards of the arbitration panel for better or worse. Therefore, appeal does not lay against such decisions neither can a party withdraw from the arbitral process. In *Igwego v. Ezeugo*, the Court held that when parties have agreed to be bound by the decision of the arbitrator as final, they cannot thereafter resile from it if found unfavourable. Oguntade JCA in his dissenting judgment in the case of *Okpuruwu v. Okpokam* maintained that "...if parties to a dispute voluntarily submit their dispute to a third party as arbitrator and agree to be bound by the decision of such arbitrator, then the court must clothe such decision with the garb of *estoppel per rem judicatam*." (Greg, 2005). However, parties may seek judicial relief if the arbitrator, in the course of the arbitral process, exceeded the authority conferred on him or he was in breach of the rules of natural justice, or made an obvious mistake (Kehinde, 2005).

In non-binding arbitration, the decision (award) of the arbitrator is not intended to be final and bind the parties but is advisory and persuasive in nature intended to provide guidance to the parties (Kehinde, 2005). Arbitration processes are less formal than the traditional court litigation and so may permit a waiver of certain formalities such as strict adherence to rules of evidence. Some scholars are opposed to the non-binding arbitration in the sense that „non-

binding” represents mediation while arbitration is best used for a binding process (Craig and John, 2015).

Arbitration has been very useful in the settlement of environmental disputes in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. An instance is the Funiwa-5 oil well blow-out in Rivers State in January 1980. The community claimed N60m as compensation from the oil company. The later agreed to pay only N6m. The federal government of Nigeria intervened and acted as arbitrator in the matter by instructing the company to pay N12m as compensation which it did through the federal government (Omobolaji, 1989). Again, from time to time, the state Ministry of Lands has intervened between the oil companies and the host communities in this region when negotiations break down, and in those cases, the parties were impressed not only with the mode but also the outcome (Omobolaji, 1989). Even when the administrative agencies serve as arbitrators, the parties have the opportunity to participate in the agencies” decisions. The arbitration forum makes it easier for the villagers to air their views. They feel at home unlike in the courts. It is interesting to note that there is a proliferation of arbitration bodies and ADR centres in Nigeria. Today, we have;

- (1) The Nigerian Branch of the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators (UK)
- (2) The Chartered Institute of Arbitrators (Nigeria)
- (3) The Institute of Dispute Resolution, Ekpan in Delta State, Nigeria
- (4) Negotiation and Conflict Management Group (NCMG), and
- (5) Abuja Arbitration Forum (Gadzima, 2015).

### **Mediation**

Mediation is a type of ADR methods of which purpose is to facilitate negotiation between the disputants so as to enable them resolves their disputes. It is a voluntary, non-binding private dispute resolution process in which a neutral person helps the parties to reach amicable settlement of their disputes (Joseph, 2017).

From the above citation of the scholar we can under standard that the process requires the direct participation of the third party mainly to encourage the disputants resolve their



differences themselves. Usually, the parties voluntarily enter into mediation and choose the mediator who proposes solution for the parties“ consideration and acceptance. The opinion expressed by the mediator, no matter how well and fair it may be, does not bind the parties until they agree to accept it.

The duty of the mediator is not to determine rights and wrongs but to control the process leaving the outcome to the parties since he cannot impose any decision on the parties (Bercovitch et al., 1991). Prof. M.A. Ajomo sees the mediator as “a facilitating intermediary-providing a non-binding adjudicatory decision” (Ajomo, 1996). Distinguishing the role of the mediator from that of the arbitrator, (Kehinde, 2005) maintained that;

While the latter decides the dispute for the parties, the role of the skilled neutral mediator is to act as a catalyst by helping the parties in identifying and crystallizing each side’s underlying interests and concerns, carry subtle messages and information between the parties, explore bases for agreement and develop co-operative and problem-solving approach. The common denominator to all these efforts by the mediator is the enhancement of communication between the parties in conflict. (Kehinde, 2005).

Though, legal rules may be relevant to mediation but not mandatory. It is just one of the factors to be considered in the process but more importance is accorded to the subsisting relationship and interest of the parties. That is why mediation is suitably adopted in the resolution of conflicts of a sensitive and confidential nature where the disputants would wish to settle them in private rather than in public as required in litigation. An instance is a dispute that involves a paltry sum unworthy of expenses of litigation (Ogungbe, 2003: 319).

### **Negotiation**

Negotiation is the most common and familiar form of Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanism. It is a dialogue or a consensual discussion with a view to reaching a compromise without the aid of third parties. Negotiation has become an indispensable part of our daily lives as it happens in almost every transaction between two or more persons. It is a means to an end and not an end in itself, the end being a mutually beneficial dispute settlement. (Joseph, 2017) The Black’s Law Dictionary defined it as;

A consensual bargaining process in which the parties attempt to reach agreement on a disputed or potentially disputed matter. Negotiation usually involves complete autonomy for the parties involved without the intervention of third parties. (Akande, 1999).

Therefore, unlike in arbitration and mediation, the parties in negotiation are in full control of both the process and the outcome either in persons or by proxy (Kehinde, 2005). Where decisions are reached through this process, the parties are bound since they are the architects of both the process and the solution. However, we have professional negotiators who are skilled in specific areas and can from time to time be called upon to lead ignorant or inexperienced parties in their negotiations. O.G. Amokaye maintained that in order to achieve a successful negotiation, it is important for the parties to seek the services of a legal practitioner especially in the assessment and preparations of pre-negotiation terms, and if necessary, for an expert to be part of any negotiation team (Kehinde, 2005).

From the above definitions we can understand that the concept of negotiations was aimed at a process where third party guide the disputant parties to reach an agreement in resolving their differences in an amicable situation agreed by the parties.

### **Conciliation**

Joseph, N (2017) has cited in one of his works reviewing conciliation as a ‘type of ADR is another process of settling disputes in a friendly manner outside the court. It is a practice of bringing together the parties in a dispute to an independent third party, a conciliator, who meets with the parties so as to resolve their differences.’

In Nigeria, conciliation is recognized by the Arbitration and Conciliation Act as a method of conflict resolution. Section 37 of the Act provides that the parties to any agreement may seek amicable settlement of any dispute in relation to the agreement by conciliation. The process involves a neutral and disinterested person meeting with the disputants both separately and together and exploring how the dispute can be resolved. It involves an appointed councillor who does not intervene directly in the dispute, rather he does it indirectly by

exploring the available possible avenues for settlement thereby allowing the parties do the settlement themselves (Kabir, 2011). It is advisory in nature.

The importance of conciliation it is kind of process that seek the will and interest of parties to engage in to resolving differences the conciliator has no power or authority to seek evidence or call witness where rather his major roles is to help to established communication network, clarify misunderstanding and design a model for building a solid mechanism of trust between parties as gate way for understanding to reach an agreement.

### **Multi-door court house**

The concept, also known as multi-option ADR, refers to a court that provides an array of dispute resolution options and then directs the parties to choose the option most suitable to their disputes. It connotes the idea of a single courthouse with multiple doors such as mediation, conciliation, and arbitration conducted under the strict supervision of the court (Joseph, 2017).

From the name implies above we can understand that Multi-door court house is a kind of process of resolving conflict or misunderstanding between parties which is not conventional courts structure rather a kind of platform that was ideally established a case to be treated out the court.

Today, some state judiciaries in Nigeria have established their respective court annexed ADR centers. An example is the Abuja Multi-Door Courthouse which has, no doubt, proved effective means of dispute settlement within the Federal Capital Territory. Many states in the country and the Capital Territory Abuja have created an arm office to treat cases outside the conventional court's structures.

Nigeria is comprised of 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory, less than 10 states have established a formal and functional MDC. This means that disputants in other states that have not established MDC have no access to court-connected ADR processes for resolution of their disputes. This is rather disgusting in view of the advantages of ADR over litigation and relative successes achieved by the MDC in Nigeria. For example, the Principal Registrar

of the Lagos LMDC said that the LMDC handled over 250 cases every year and about 90% of the cases were settled between 7-90 days without recourse to litigation (Joseph, 2017).

### **Why Resolving Issues through ADR strategy?**

Civil and criminal Justice dispensation is rapidly changing on a global and national scale, perhaps on account of the abuse of the both political and socio-economic rights of individuals and groups with impunity and especially the injustices of natural resources exploitation. ADR today is considered a more potent tool in environmental cases than the confrontational and adversarial-based system of adjudication. In South Africa, for instance, the South African Environmental Protection Agency published a policy in 1978 to use ADR methods in the resolution of disputes arising from the enforcement of environmental laws (Joseph, 2017).

It has become an important issues or method of resolving conflict or differences through ADR because of its value and importance of the following aspect:

### **Speediness of the Cases**

Many cases in Nigeria has been resolved with an expeditious speed because of the nature of ADR component which is very difficult to be obtained in the conventional courts system determination of cases remains one of the attributes of ADR which is unlikely to be available in the courtroom.

Some cases have been pending in our courts for more than ten years as a result of certain constraints like retirement or transfer of judges handling the cases which have been opened and evidence had been taken. Such cases have to start de novo. The devastation, frustration, and economic stress which litigants undergo are better imagined than experienced (Joseph, 2017).

On the other hand, in the quest to decongest the courts, re-invent the judicial system and ease disputes settlement, the government of Nigeria has opened doors and encouraged the use of ADR. The idea of ADR is that it offers a quicker resolution of conflicts by speeding up the dispute resolution process with a minimum disruption. For example, the Principal Registrar of the Lagos Multi-Door Courthouse (LMDC) stated that the LMDC handled over 250 cases every year and about 90% of the cases were settled between 7-90 days without recourse to litigation (Kabir, 2011)..

Again, the longer the period a case lingers in the courts, the more the relationship between the parties' sours. With the ADR, the presence of a skilled third party can change the dynamics and facilitate the process unlike in litigation that judges unskilled in environmental law handle environmental disputes. ADR gives the parties a unique opportunity to craft the process and solution which are tailored to their own needs. The parties can decide on whom to meet and at which period which will be convenient for the parties. With this, they can identify those ADR professionals with enforcement and regulatory experience and expertise. Again, Congestion of cases which bores the judges and remoteness of venue common with our traditional courts are not attributes of ADR. The dwindling popularity of the courts in comparison with ADR in Nigeria was underscored by the Chief Justice of Nigeria, (Joseph, 2017)

### **Cost effective of the Process**

The ADR is a mechanism that was less expensive than litigation. This is a characteristic that has an advantage which has no much of higher cost implication where cases been treat with little budget unlike the conventional courts system.

Many poor people cannot access the formal legal system because they cannot afford to pay the registration and representation fees necessary to prosecute cases in the courts. This is because payment of legal fees is probably the largest barrier to formal dispute resolutions for many people in developing countries and in particular by the poor in Nigeria (Jeffery, 2000).

In contrast, ADR promotes the settlement of disputes in a manner that avoids many of the transactional costs associated with litigation. In fact, the monetary savings achieved through ADR processes and the results have been acknowledged in a lot of jurisdictions. In some cases, the cost may be borne either by the government or the multinational companies desirous of sustaining its relationship with the host communities, and not the poor victims of pollution as in litigation.

Nigeria is not an island unto itself. For instance, the Office of the Attorney General of the US, in an address to the Steering Committee of the Federal Government's interagency ADR working group reported that the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission's use of

mediation in electricity and natural gas disputes saved the parties an average of \$100,000 in avoided costs (Edward, 1988). A study of 19 environmental cases in Florida settled through mediation including dredge and fill, air pollution, domestic waste, hazardous waste, groundwater contamination, and solid waste revealed that at the end, all the parties were happy with the process with a savings of \$75,000 per party (Joseph, 2017). In his own words;

The office of Dispute Resolution of the United States Department of Justice conducted a study involving 828 civil cases in which Assistant United States Attorneys participated in ADR over a five-year period. The results demonstrated that ADR added value in four-fifths of the cases. The litigation cost savings averaged over \$10,000. A broad study of 5000 cases by the Oregon Department of Justice of the relative benefits of mediation, unassisted negotiations, arbitration, trial, dispositive motions and other dispute resolution processes found that the costs of mediation were lower than cases resolved through any other means (Joseph, 2007; Jeffrey, 2000).

### **Equality in the bargaining power in the Process**

The equality of bargaining power in the ADR, this was built on the basis of treating disputing parties equally in the process of reaching understandable ground where all parties are to express their feelings expel out to ensure that all parties has equal power in the process of resolving crisis.

Today, the ADR has become the weapon for not only enhancing the equality effects of bargaining but also assuaging the feelings of these indigent victims of pollution. This involves equalizing the power imbalances inherent in a dispute between an oil company and the victims of pollution by the greater participant and more consensual modes of conflict resolution. This may include;

- Granting the parties to the ADR independent choice of representation, not strictly lawyers;
- Ensuring that the adopted procedures are targeted at achieving fairness and equity rather than strict adherence to an unduly burdensome or technical procedure, and

- Continuing its role through the process of supervising implementation of any outcomes (Joseph, 2017).

With the ADR, an independent third party acceptable to both parties is engaged. This may involve pecuniary cost but offers the greatest assurance that the third party is impartial, skilled and best fit for that purpose. The ADR mechanisms are unique that they may be tailored to suit individual preferences. For the process to be successful, it has to involve all the principal stakeholders and not solely institutions that are established and controlled by the government. With this approach, it is certain that there should be more to be gained by these parties thereby making it the best alternative to litigation.

## **CONCLUSION**

Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) processes have been fully developed in other jurisdictions as a means of resolving conflict that was developed to effectively use to enhance public confidence in crisis management, facilitate technical inquiries and information exchanges, and to identify creative solutions to daunting problems. As earlier stated, ADR comprises, inter alia, arbitration, conciliation, mediation, negotiation, including the court-connected ADR mechanism. This work was developed as model to advocate how any form of ADR method can help in addressing conflict at various levels without taken much of disputant's time, least cost and equality among the disputant parties.

The paper assesses the pros and cons of ADR as a peaceful means of settling dispute vis-à-vis the judiciary. No doubt, the merits of the ADR outweigh the judicial process especially in view of the latter's adversarial and confrontational nature. The beauty of ADR the parties to conflict have a stake in accepting or rejecting the third party in resolving the dispute.

Based on the history of Nigeria state and the nature of our ethnic complexity, it can be of great relevance to address various ethnic, religious, environmental and business crises through adopting an appropriate method of ADR in addressing solution to the emerging problems.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper has suggested the following recommendation as an advantage of adopting ADR in solving various conflicts in Nigeria:

- a. Government institutions at all level need to establish more Community Centres as ADR facilities to address various conflicting differences.
- b. There is need to pilot training and retraining of more experts in the area of ADR facilitators and to be redeployed to various centres at community levels for advocacy and enlightenment of resolving cases using ADR strategy.
- c. Community leaders, religious leaders, women and youth leaders need to be engaged in the process of ADR to have an inclusive structure.
- d. The activities of ADR need to respect the norms and values of groups, communities and state with template of standard peculiarities.

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# **HERDSMEN – FARMERS’ CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA: EMERGING ISSUES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This paper examines current trends of the herdsmen-farmers’ conflicts in Nigeria, which has heated up academic debate in recent times. It identifies the causes and examined the socio-economic implications to national development which the civil conflicts had wrought. It however finds relevance in the theories of multiculturalism for its theoretical framework. Multiculturalism theories x-rayed the causes of inter-groups conflicts and adduce those between herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria to differences in groups’ affiliation to culture, ethnicity and religion to be instrumental to the rivalry, competition and contentions or struggles for available limited resources especially land resource for animal grazing and crop cultivation. While linking this to structural violence as leaders’ failure to equitably appropriate or allocate nation’s scarce land resources to the benefit of the different groups- a characteristic of a failed state, as responsible to the aggrieved groups’ rise in anger and violence against the presumed favoured groups. The current situation of induced wanton killings and destruction are taken unbearable dimensions that are negatively affecting the socio-economic development of the nation and Nigerian people. This study recommends among others that the government as a matter of policy decision should resolve to prohibit open grazing in order to transform the primordial system to a modern system of ranching as applies in civilized climes; a special agency be vested with the responsibility of enforcing peace-keeping agreements with the warring groups and to collaborate with international interventionists group, who should maintain neutrality in their operations to stop the current conflicts and to reduce the chances of recurrence of violence; while integration programmes be put in place for the victims of wars and for the combatants.

**KEY WORDS:** conflicts, herdsmen, farmers, diversities and multiculturalism.

## INTRODUCTION

The emergence of incessant genocide killings in recent times across Nigeria has attracted scholars' attention and elicited debates in order to proffer possible solution. This paper therefore contributes its quota by way of examining the causes and consequences of conflicts between herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria. However, throughout history, Society has had a tendency to use physical force by all means when desiring an unattainable objective. The use of such physical force, especially killing, has been constrained and forbidden by the laws of society stemming from religion, legislation and behavioural norms adopted by communities. The exception according to Segell (2009) being where man acts collectively for the objective of a clan, tribe, nation or, in modern times, the nation-state. Such collective killing is considered permissible and hence provides the definition that war is an act of collective violence arising out of a conflict between two or more groups. This definition also encompasses the period of such conflict and the techniques and procedures of war.

The causes of conflict have remained constituent over centuries. These include societal environment in which man resides. Groupings of people have become institutionalized collectively with the advent of city states in Greek times, empires in Roman times, feudal fiefdoms in the Middle Ages, and cultural and ideological nation-states in a fashion known as the Westphalian system that persist into the twenty-first century. The shape and texture of the collective society and the nature of governance over society have altered the number of people involved in violent conflicts and the manner in which decisions have been taken by those in governance.

The worries of this paper is that having co-existed through colonial era in the face of diversities, it was the expectation of the nationalists who fought assiduously for the independence of our country that self-governance would smoothen relationship and ensure peaceful co-existence to enhance unity in diversity. However, the dimension Herdsmen-Farmers conflict is tolling in recent time, if not checked may bring the labour of our Heroes past to futility.

This paper therefore aims at identifying the causes of Herdsmen-Farmers' conflicts and to examine its implications to the socio-economic development of Nigeria.

### **A Brief Historical Background of Land Conflicts in Nigeria**

The country now called Nigeria was heterogeneous before creation. This is characterized by its diversity in ethnic, religion, culture and indigenous beliefs (Ikhayere and Osawe, 2013). It has a population of about 175 million people, estimates of the number of ethnic groups are generally around 250 to 300; with the main groups of Hausa-Fulani made up of about 29%; Yoruba about 21%; Igbo about 18%; Ijaw about 10%; Kanuri about 4%; Ibibio about 3.5% and Tiv about 2.5% (CIA Fact Book, 2012). Religion wise, the breakdown is about 50% Muslim, 40% Christian and 10% Indigenous beliefs.

Nigeria has been at the throws of centrifugal pressure following series of amalgamation of the diverse peoples and religion starting from the annexation of Lagos in 1861. Although some of the modern land conflicts have their roots in pre-colonization struggles between the various groups for land, most modern issues stem from the establishment of a British protectorate in 1901 and the creation of administrative boundaries that did not reflect cultural and ethnic divisions was significant.

The creation as a country under the name 'Nigeria' was by the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates, and the Lagos Colony on January 1, 1914 thereby unified the two distinct protectorates into a single British Colony under the administration of a Governor General, the first of which was Sir Frederick Lord Lugard (British Colonial Report Annual, 1916; Falola and Heaton, 2008). This development led to the experience by the dominant ethnic groups in each region being confronted with influx of people from other areas within the newly formed country. Migration increased noticeably. Blench (2003) in view of the pluralism describes Nigeria as 'the third most ethnically and linguistically diverse country in the World after New Guinea and Indonesia'. With ethnic groups and distinct linguistic units numbering between 248 (Coleman, 1958) and 440 (Crozier and Blench, 1992), scholars argue

that Nigeria is a country in which ethno-linguistic diversity has a very significant effect in almost every area of intergroup relations, national integration and the economy.

In an effort to discourage ethnic clashes in Northern cities, the British and the traditional rulers (Emirs) persuaded the Igbo and Yoruba people to live in separate parts of the city in the North known as *Sabon-gari*, or “stranger quarters”. Similarly, in the South-West and South-East there are Strangers’ Settlement areas like Hausa quarters, Yoruba or Igbo quarters respectively. By cobbling different Nigerian groups into a culturally artificial political entity, the British stimulated intergroup competition and mobilization for power and resources in the new state. The ethnic and political structures imposed by the British set the stage for decades of conflicts in Nigeria (Conroy, 2017).

Conflicts between farmers and herdsmen in Nigeria over operational spaces have been an age long struggle for limited land resource. It is worthy of note here that before the amalgamation in 1914, access to land resources by farmers and herdsmen had been a major issue leading to conflicts in Nigeria (British Colonial Report Annual, 1916; Falola and Heaton, 2008). Access to land has been shown to be important to poverty reduction, economic growth and empowerment of the poor and guarantee of food security. Most prominent of this land resource is for crop production and livestock grazing for domestic consumption and for commercial purposes; clothing, housing and other uses and for seasonal or permanent wage labour.

It is a statement of fact that management of natural resources ensures that livelihoods are secure and sustainable in the long term. Farmers whether subsistence or commercial and pastoralists depend on the use of available land for crops cultivation and pasture for their livestock (Rennie and Singh, 1996). It is unfortunate that weak understanding of the nature of livelihoods in Africa has resulted to many aspects of the rural livelihoods continued conflicts with each other and with the natural ecosystem. Ownership and the right of access to natural resources have become more critical in the densely settled rural landscapes where livelihoods and food security are substantially tied to these resources.

In the face of current emerging issues, existing resource governance and frameworks should be seen critical to the effective management of resources in order to prevent worsening the conflicts or increasing human insecurity. Many factors have been observed according to Ikhayere (2016), to have exerted influences on the land resource thereby making it of scarce supply for socio-economic purposes by the peoples of Nigeria including the farmers and herdsmen.

This paper is particular about the causes of herdsmen – farmers’ conflicts in Nigeria and the effects of these conflicts on the Nigerian peoples.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Various theories abound by which this topic could be discussed. However, theories of Multiculturalism are of particular relevance to the theoretical framework of this paper. The term multiculturalism has gained wide currency in both academic and popular debate and its application transcends social sciences to humanities and even natural sciences. Hoffman and Graham (2009) perceive the imperativeness to demarcate the concept of multiculturalism with some distinctions:

- a. ***Multiculturalism as an attitude:*** This refers to either a positive or open attitude to different cultures or at least, respect for people, where such respect means recognizing their rights to make choices about how they live their lives.
- b. ***Multiculturalism as a tool of public policy:*** This relates to policies focused particularly on social inclusion and identifying the special needs of particular cultural groups.
- c. ***Multiculturalism as an aspect of institutional design:*** This concept attempts to answer policy questions as to what kind of institutions that is desirable. The institutional design that makes explicit the concern with cultural diversity including power-sharing.
- d. ***Multiculturalism and moral justification:*** This dimension is mostly concerned with how political institutions are justified. ‘Justificatory multiculturalism’ is concerned with reasons that all reasonable people can accept (Hoffman and Graham, 2009).

Theories of Multiculturalism place emphasis on culture, race, ethnicity and religion.

*Culture:* While opening lines of his book ‘Multicultural Citizenship’ Kymlicka (1995) makes following claim:

Most countries are culturally diverse. According to recent estimates, the world’s 184 independent states contain over 600 living language groups and 5,000 ethnic groups. In very few countries can the citizens be said to share the same language, or belong to the same ethno-national group (Kymlicka, 1995).

Culture equates to a language group, an ethnic group and an ethno-national group. Culture as an intergenerational community, occupying a given state territory, sharing a distinct language and history (Kymlicka, 1995) and provides meaningful ways of life across the full range of human activities. Ruth in Tully (1995) maintained that a culture is an integrated pattern of intelligent, albeit often unconscious behaviour. Culture is a complexity of signs, whose meaning is dependent upon perspective, not in the sense that an ‘outsider’ cannot understand the signs, but rather that such understanding – interpretation – must make reference to the context of the participants. Culture, a shorthand of multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another which are at once strange, irregular and inexplicit (Geertz, 1993).

Structural violence has its largest proponents from intelligentsia proponents amongst them are Galtung (1969) and Burton (1997), who posit that some violence is avoidable but becomes inevitable due to deprivation of some basic human needs in the areas of political, socio-economic and cultural structures. Structural violence may occur as a result of lack of human agencies which may make an action of a person to result to unequal distribution of resources. This form of violence exists when some groups, classes, genders and nationalities are assumed to have and in fact do have, more access to goods, resources and opportunities than other groups, classes, genders and nationalities. These unequal advantages are built into the very social, political and economic systems that govern societies, states and the world (Galtung, 1969).

The conflict between traditional liberalism and identity politics would be less severe were it not for the fact that the demand for equal recognition extends beyond an

acknowledgement of equal value of all humans potentially, and comes to include the equal value of what they have made of this potential (Taylor, 1994). What is interesting about this presentation of multiculturalism is that culture is conceptualised not as an imposition or constraint, but as something we identify with, and in the process, it becomes our identity. Ironically, the inability of government to meet up with its responsibilities makes societies to be susceptible to violence such as that of the farmers' and pastoralists. One of the schools of thought which blame socio-economic conditions for the violent activities such as those of farmers' and pastoralists experienced in recent times in Nigeria is premised on the increasing human needs in relation to structural violence. This theory argues that human beings have some basic needs to achieve and when the failure to do this is caused by somebody or a system, it then leads to violent activities and in turn leads to poor socio-economic activities especially agricultural production (Rosati, Manacrorda, Kovrova, Koseleci and Lyon, 2010).

### **Causes of Herdsmen-Farmers' Conflicts in Nigeria**

The causes of herdsmen-farmers' conflicts in Nigeria can be classified into a number of factors. One is according to levels of analysis (Levy and Becker, 2001), that is, whether the causes relate to the characteristics of individuals, groups, country as a whole, or the entire world. Another is according to disciplinary focus; that is whether they focus on psychological, social, political, geographical, environmental, economic or other factors. Although causes related to different levels of analysis interact with each other, and disciplinary boundaries are rather blurred (Dutt, 2009), these can form the basis of classification of the causes of conflicts in this discourse.

### **Social and Political Factors**

Sociological approaches focus on groups with shared ethnic, linguistic or religious identities and causes of crisis have been located in the characteristics of these groups as well as the propensity of individuals to identify with them (Dutt, 2009). Examples of conflicts in which group identities have been important include those arising from ethnic divisions in Rwanda, Burundi, the Darfur region of Sudan and Zimbabwe; clan divisions of Somalia and



Afghanistan; religious divisions in Northern Ireland, Sri Lanka, Nigeria and Sudan. Since 1945 the proportion of conflicts involving ethnic violence has increased steadily (Stewart and Brown, 2008). However, it is often the social characteristics of countries rather than of groups which are the major determinants of conflicts. It has been found that the probability of civil wars first rises and then falls with the degree of ethno-linguistic fractionalization. Moreover, international factors such as globalization can also reduce national cohesiveness as groups find closer culture and ethnic ties with those across their borders, thereby creating conditions for eruption of conflicts (Dutt, 2009).

Political explanations of civil wars can lie in the propensity of groups to monopolize political power. As other groups feel left out from political process and access to government resources, they become aggrieved, and such grievances can lead to crisis or conflicts. They can also relate to characteristics of countries, that is, of 'failed states' which lack legitimacy because are unable to govern effectively and are too weak to contain opposition (Ayooob, 2001).

### **Environmental Factor**

A geographical characteristic of a country that is often argued to make it susceptible to conflicts is the existence of natural resources (Klare, 2001). Natural resources can provide funding for rebel groups, especially if they are 'loot able' in the sense that they can be appropriated or cultivated by small groups of unskilled workers and fund government efforts if they are non-lootable. Land resource though non-lootable has been the major resource in Nigeria, captured by some groups that lead to secessionist struggles by local groups.

Environmental problems have been identified to cause conflicts (Homer-Dixon, 1999) especially in Nigeria. Environmental scarcities which manifest in the inadequate available land for pastoralism and farming have been exacerbated by the effects of climate change, resulting in desertification, land degradation, air and water pollution, water scarcity (Ikhayere, 2017) and decline in animal stocks as well as crop production. In a related vein, over grazing of land, population explosion, effects of migration and improper planning by statutory agencies reduce

the overall amount of land resources available thereby intensifying competition over them. The powerful groups recognizing such scarcity use their power and influence desperately to maximize the use of the scarce land resource to the detriment of the vulnerable. A culture of selfishness according to Dutt (2009) often emerges as groups try to compete for their share of the diminished resources rather than try to conserve the total, exacerbating the scarcity. The competitive contentions for the said diminished available land resources breed conflicts which have aggravated to killings of lives in thousands by the day, as currently experienced in Nigeria.

### **Economic Factor**

The neoclassical individual optimizing approach has gained patronage in economics in relation to individuals' choice between violence and other activities in order to maximize utility (Becker, 1968). Optimizing individuals according to Becker (1968), are less likely to participate in civil wars if they obtain higher income from normal economic activities like employment, and more likely to be involved in war if they can make more money out of it. The emphasis here is that armed conflicts are mostly driven by greed and lootings which make rebel leaders, their followers and others feel doing well even when they do not emerge victorious, which is why they start and continue wars and do not wish to end them. The general absence of law and order in an environment of crises makes it possible for leaders and sponsors of armed conflicts to make money by producing and selling small arms; smuggling activities; stealing and pillaging cattle, land and other assets; obtaining ransom money by kidnapping and extortion; and by getting access to force labour, including child labour. Moreover, others who are not directly involved with the rebellion can also engage in these activities, and they are also helped by the disruption of markets which result in scarcities and inflation. These ideas have often led to the notion that armed conflicts are largely caused by greed.

Another economic factor that could influence the herdsmen farmers' conflicts in Nigeria is poverty and illiteracy. This assertion agrees with Maleckova and Kruger (2003) findings in their work on Palestinians and the Israeli dissident, that there is a significant relationship

between poverty and lack of education on one hand, and engagement in, or tendency to supportive of terrorist activities. Some economic characteristics like low per capita income, low levels of education and high levels inequality have significant role to play inducing conflicts in a country. Since average incomes are low and levels of education are also low, these can be fertile ground for recruiting militants. Low levels of income are likely to generate more real and perceived grievances. Poor countries are also likely to have poor government and other institutions, and insufficient resources to strengthen these institutions; the sense of a break in the social contract and the inability of the government to control discontent, can result in violence.

Other factors that are of most peculiarity with the herdsmen and farmers' conflicts in Nigeria include long-standing disagreements and disrespect of traditional authorities. Burton (2016) observed that many recent attacks perpetrated by the Fulani herdsmen have stemmed from long-standing disagreement with various communities. A Fulani leader alleged that the massacre of Agatu people by their men was a reprisal attack against the killing of their prominent son by the people of Aguta in April 2013 who stole his cows (Mayah, Tukur and Adebayo, 2016). In a more specific term, within the middle-belt region, there has been a history of long feud over farm lands and herding, which pre-existence communal conflicts sustains the violence as herdsmen turned militant in vengeance. In a related vein, the herdsmen had been observed to exhibit deviant behaviours towards the norms and communal services of their areas of operation. These include among others are social works, levies, security or vigilance. This however, is viewed by indigenous communities as a total disrespect and insult to their traditional authorities (Ofem and Inyang, 2014). Similarly, Ofuoku and Isife, (2009) noted that disregard for host traditional authority by the herdsmen is the main cause of the conflict in Delta State communities.

The inability of political leaders and government to provide basic necessities of life to the citizens is another major factor that could instigate crises. Acemoglu and Robinson (2013) posit that when the state fails to achieve almost any political centralization, society sooner or

later descends into chaos, as did Somalia. In Africa, particularly Nigeria, we have problems of hunger, unemployment, diseases, illiteracy, insecurity etc, that result in mass frustration, alienation disorientation of the citizens, repression and exploitation perpetrated by decadent ruling class. Citizens' reaction to such obnoxious conditions of government insensitivity could trigger anger and aggression that any alternative suggestion that may appease their minds may lead to armed conflicts.

### **Implications of Herdsmen-Farmers' Conflicts in Nigeria**

Cattle herdsman and crop farmers' clashes have been a major cause of incessant violence threatening the peace and security of Nigeria. These havens been noted, it is pertinent to state emphatically that the socio-economic consequences of civil armed conflict and violence depend on its duration and severity, the tactics used and whether it is localized or spread over the country. For the purpose of this study, the socio-economic implications of herdsmen-farmers' conflicts in Nigeria will be viewed from the perspectives of social effects and economic effects on the people and as legacy effects - that is effects during and after the conflicts.

#### **i. Social Effect**

(a) ***Loss of Human Lives:*** There have been adverse social implications as prevalent wanton killings and mass destruction of property as Aliyu (2015) avers that most of the encounters culminate in human and animal lives regularly lost. For instance, in the work of Oli, Ibekwe and Nwankwo, (2018), the Tiv people in Guma, Gwer-West Makurdi and other towns at the border with Taraba State have recorded about 458 deaths and over 350 communities have been sacked and now living in IDP camps. Table 1 represents the total number of death tolls based on the secondary data analysed the death casualties per month and year:

**Table 1: Death Casualties due to Conflicts between Fulani Herders and Tiv Farmers from January 2016 to June 2018**

Month	Year			
	2016	2017	2018	Total
January	101	37	98	<b>2,272</b>
February	569	29	78	
March	37	96	92	
April	132	10	83	
May	64	37	5	
June	19		234	
July	102	33		
August	21			
September	8	19		
October	40	107		
November	8	53		
December	20	140		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,121</b>	<b>561</b>	<b>590</b>	

**Source:** Author's compilation from reportages of various online weekly Surveys of Nigerian and International media, 2021 & Okoro, J.P., 2018

It can be deduced from Table 1 that herdsmen-Farmers conflict brought about the death of one thousand, one hundred and twenty one (1,121) persons in 2016, five hundred and sixty one (561) persons in 2017 and five hundred and ninety (590) persons in 2018, which gives the

total of two thousand, two hundred and seventy two (2,272) deaths in less than three years (thirty months to be precise).

As flames of violence and other forms of lives guzzling insecurity flicker in many parts of the country, Nigeria has literally become a killing field. The herdsmen crisis is one of the reasons the country is boiling now following prevailing incidents in many southern states especially Oyo, Ondo and Ogun. In the first six weeks of 2021, lives of no fewer than One thousand, five hundred and twenty-five (1,525) persons have been wasted across the country (Ndujihe, C., 2021). Table 2 presents number of deaths in the 36 States of the country including the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja within the first six weeks of 2021.

**Table 2:** *Nigerians killed in six weeks of 2021 (Jan. 1 to Feb. 16) by States*

S/N	State	No. Of Death	Ratings/Remarks
1	Kaduna	409	The deadliest State and the hotbed of banditry ravaging the North-West zone.
2	Zamfara	267	The deadliest State and the hotbed of banditry ravaging the North-West zone.
3	Borno	257	The deadliest State and the epicentre of the Boko Haram insurgency.
4	Yobe	76	High deaths
5	Niger	73	High deaths
6	Delta	46	High deaths
7	Ebonyi	43	High deaths
8	Kastina	41	High deaths
9	Oyo	37	High deaths
10	Plateau	31	High deaths
11	Lagos	26	High deaths
12	Rivers	24	High deaths
13	Imo	23	High deaths
14	Ogun	20	High deaths
15	Ondo	20	High deaths
16	Nasarawa	16	High deaths
17	Cross River	15	High deaths
18	Benue	12	High deaths
19	Anambra	11	High deaths
20	Akwa Ibom	11	High deaths

	<i>Contd...</i>		
21	Kogi	11	High deaths
22	Kwara	8	Low deaths
23	Taraba	8	Low deaths
24	Osun	8	Low deaths
25	Abia	7	Low deaths
26	Edo	7	Low deaths
27	Sokoto	5	Low deaths
28	Adamawa	4	Low deaths
29	FCT, Abuja	3	Low deaths
30	Kano	2	Low deaths
31	Gombe	1	Low deaths
32	Enugu	1	Low deaths
33	Jigawa	1	Low deaths
34	Bayelsa	0	Zero reported death
35	Bauchi	0	Zero reported death
36	Kebbi	0	Zero reported death

**Source:** *Vanguard's Investigation and Nigeria Security Tracker, NST, 2021*

The emerging issues as exemplified by the current trends of killings in less than two months (January 1 to February 16, 2021), the 1,525 deaths figure, which is conservative, covers only reported cases arising from the Fulani herdsman crisis, Boko Haram insurgency, banditry, kidnapping and robbery which activities have been perceived to be same and towards terrorising innocent citizens. Many security breaches are not reported and it is also difficult to tell the number of abducted victims who die in captivity as unconfirmed reports put the number of those in various kidnap dens across the country at over 5,000 (Nigeria Security Tracker, NST, 2021). The 1,525 deaths are about half of the 3,188 lives lost between January and December 2019, according to a report by Global Rights. It is also four times the 348 people killed in the violent attacks across Nigeria in December 2020, as reported by a non-governmental organisation, Nigeria Mourns. Currently, Nigeria is the third country most impacted by terrorism, going by the Global Terrorism Index 2020 after Afghanistan and Libya. The 2020 terrorism index report said though total deaths from terrorism in Nigeria fell to 1,245 in 2019, a 39% decrease from the prior year. Terror –related incidents also fell by 27%, marking the lowest level of terrorist violence in Nigeria since 2011. However, Boko Haram,

Nigeria's deadliest terrorist group recorded an increase in terrorist activities mainly targeted at civilians by 25% from the prior year. Altruistically, Fulani extremists were responsible for 26% of terror-related deaths in Nigeria at 325 fatalities (Ndujihe, 2021). Table 3 presents how Nigerians were killed in the zones:

Table 3: *Nigerians killed in six weeks of 2021 (Jan. 1 to Feb. 16) by Zones*

Zone	No. Of Deaths	Total	Percentage
South-East	85	300	18.19% of 1,525 total deaths
South-South	103		
South-West	112		
North-Central	155	1,225	81.91% of 1,525 total deaths
North-East	346		
North-West	724		
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,525</b>	<b>1,525</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** Author's computation from reportages of *Vanguard's Investigation and Nigeria Security Tracker, NST, 2021*

The above data presents the South-East zone as the most peaceful zone with 85 reported deaths followed by the South-South, which had 103 deaths, and South-West, which had 112 deaths. Conversely, the North-West as the deadliest zone with 724 deaths, followed by its flanking North-East, which witnessed no fewer than 346 deaths and North-Central that had 155 deaths. However, the three southern zones accounted for 300 or 18.19% of the 1,525 deaths for the first six weeks of 2021. The northern zones recorded 1,225 or 81.91% of the tallied deaths for the same period. This educated innocent Nigerians to decry the rising waves of insecurity in the country on tasked presidency on urgent action.



**(b) Threat to National Security:** The fact that herdsmen now carry sophisticated ammunition with which they kill and maim perceived opponents at will constitute grave danger to national security. This is because security personnel including the police have not been able to withstand weapon-wielding herdsmen's boldness and firepower. The herdsmen have sacked whole communities, abducted elder statesmen, burnt Churches, killed Church Priests and other worshipers, killed Police officers, raped, looted and perpetrated heinous crimes while the government has done less to arrest the situation, which is a serious threat to national security.

**(c) Displacement of Citizens:** Displacement of persons and animals is yet another implication of herdsmen-farmers' conflicts in Nigeria. Oli, Ibekwe and Nwankwo (2018) noted that farmers and herdsmen are displaced alike. In the host communities, nomadic herdsmen relocate as a result of conflict, while host farmers especially women who stay behind are forbidden from distant farms for fear of being raped or killed by nomads (Ofuoku and Isife, 2009). This also implies that such displaced farmers have become a source of liability to other farmers whom have to beg for food for themselves and their families, thereby creating a vicious cycle of poverty in the society (Ofem and Inyang, 2014).

**(d) Restriction of Movement or Declaration of State of Emergency:** Most times when there is an attack, people's movements are restricted. In some cases, the government may decide to declare hours of curfew or a dawn to dusk curfew. This is an infringement on the statutory freedom of movement of the citizen. In a personal communication on 05 April 2017, Damian Odo and Dr Elias Ngwu stressed the fact that whenever there is any serious attack on citizens by any grieved group, whether it is a religious sect, Fulani herdsmen, an ethnic group or political group, the government usually declares a state of emergency or curfew. When this happens, people's movements are restricted.

**(e) Religious Effects:** The herdsmen's conflict, like other conflicts in Nigeria, such as the Maitatsine religious conflict, OIC conflict, Sharia conflict and Boko-Haram terroristic activity, have adversely affected religious activities such as night vigils, midweek services, Sunday services and open-field crusade, particularly night vigils, which Ugwuobute believed

was one of the most powerful means of attacking Satan, evil spirits, witches and wizards and occult men and women (personal communication with Caleb Ugwuobute, 29 March 2017).

**(f) *Other Effects on Individuals:*** There is no doubting the fact that effects of herdsmen – farmers’ conflicts wrought detrimental omens to the people of Nigeria as can be seen in death, injuries and dislocation, which obviously undermine their ability to live and lead normal lives. Using entitlements approach in relation to implication of civil conflicts as pioneered by Sen (1981), which refers to the sources from all forms of income and the direct availability of resources from work, assets and transfers that enable people to have command over goods and services of use to them. It is worthy of note that during civil conflicts market entitlements decline because of destruction of labour and other resources like livestock; a decline in the price and marketability of these resources due to labour market disruptions, higher prices and reduced availability of food as well as other essential commodities. Direct entitlements also decline due to destruction of private resources such as infrastructure, so do public entitlements fall especially for the poor. The resultant cuts in government expenditure, the failure of the government to reach remote areas during conflicts and shifts in government entitlements away from the poor to elites who have more power to influence government policies all come to bear. Moreover, civic entitlements which are provided by the community and extra-legal entitlements which are acquired or lost by theft or the use of force all derail (Stewart and Fitzgerald, 2001).

## **ii. Economic effect**

Fulani herdsmen activities against the farmers without doubt have brought a huge economic setback in Nigeria. Some of these setbacks are discussed below:

(a) ***Loss of Farmlands:*** The nefarious activities of Fulani herdsmen in the Nigerian forests and farmlands include killing or maiming of innocent farmers, raping farmers’ wives and daughters, kidnapping for ransom, that as this continue unabated farmers have been forced to abandoned their farmland for fear of being victims.

(b) ***Destruction of Farm Crops:*** Destruction of crops is another effect of herdsmen farmers' conflict. As observed by Ofuoku and Isife (2009), more than Forty Million Naira worth of crops are lost annually due to invasion of cattle in the South-South region of Nigeria, especially Edo and Delta States, yet those of Middle belt area of Benue, Plateau and Jos to mention a few, are worse-off. This however, leads to scarcity of staple food and makes the available few attract too much cost which the ordinary citizens find difficult to procure.

(c) ***Creation of artificial scarcity:*** From what we know, anytime farmers are attacked they will run away from their farmlands and find it difficult to return for fear of being attacked again. This sometimes lasts for a long time, thereby hindering sowing and reaping. This undoubtedly creates an artificial scarcity of goods and services. The Zaki-biam Yam Market attack in Benue State that happened on 20 March 2017, in which over 50 people were killed, and out of fear the traders refused to come back to the market for a long time; created a man-made scarcity, which ordinarily would have been avoided if the Fulani herdsmen's attack on the farmers and villagers had not happened.

(d) ***Occupational change:*** The inhuman activities of Fulani herdsmen on farmers has not only created an impediment to the survival of the host communities but has forced many crop-farmers to abandon their farms while others changed their line of profession from farming to lesser paid occupation like Okada riding (commercial motorcycling). Aliyu (2015) noted that conflicts have continued to lead to destruction or loss of property and crops in Katsina State, leaving an already endangered populace even poorer without alternative source of income.

(e) ***Inflation and devaluation of the naira:*** Inflation, simply put, is a persistent increase in the prices of goods and services over a period of time. Anyanwuocha in Ibenwa (2018) defines it as a persistent rise in the general price level. The artificial scarcity created by the frequent attacks of the herdsmen on citizens as stated earlier leads to inflation, which in turn leads to devaluation of the naira. The implication here is that food security of urban dwellers has been negatively affected to the extent that the cost of food supply has skyrocketed; as presently experienced by the residents of Calabar that depend on farmers in Yakurr community

for food supply (Ofem and Inyang, 2014). Ebele N. Ibenwa and Emmanuel C. Anizoba, in a personal communication with the researcher on 05 March 2017, with this viewpoint, argued that the money is devalued because much money is now chasing few goods and services. The money cannot buy as much quantity as it could before.

(f) ***Discouragement of foreign investment:*** The incessant attacks by the Fulani herdsmen scare away foreigners who have come to Nigeria to do business. In the course of the attacks, lives and property, public companies, film-producing houses and industries are destroyed. When foreigners see these things happen, they get discouraged and withdraw their businesses and go back to their countries (Ibenwa, 2018).

(g) There is a decrease in output per capita, because of restrictions on people's movements as a result of curfews. Moreover, the daily output in goods and services is seriously affected. People can no longer move to their farms, shops and business centres freely as they wish. Lending credence to this view Ebele N. Ibenwa and Emmanuel C. Anizoba, in a personal communication on 05 March 2017, averred that the overall output of the people was decreased because of the check placed on the people.

(h) ***Creation of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs):*** Anytime there is any serious attack on the citizens, houses are burnt down and people are rendered homeless. Consequently, some of them who are not well-to-do cannot easily find themselves a home and, therefore, they are quartered in public buildings as IDPs. Okoli and Eze noted that war creates refugees and large numbers of people are displaced, which are popularly known as IDPs. People are displaced from their houses as a result of arson by the Fulani herdsmen and they camp in public buildings (oral interview with Anuli B. Okoli and Eze Ekene, 07 March 2017).

## CONCLUSION

The study has revealed that civil conflicts between the pastoralists and farmers in Nigeria are caused beyond age-long ethnic divisions and their effects are felt also beyond those who are engaged in wars. It is however expedient to argue that instead of taking a docile or lopsided

position, much can be done to ameliorate conflicts and there may be the need to involve external interventionist group(s) where the nation lacks the capacity to do so. Moreover, the extent that conflict is caused by potentially changeable factors and consequently having adverse effects on innocent bystanders in the country where civil conflicts wreak havoc on, the need for efforts to preventing them and if possible, bringing an end to existing ones, becomes obvious.

### **Recommendations**

Special actions are required to discourage and if possible, put an end to the herdsmen-farmers' conflict in Nigeria seeing that many factors have been responsible for instigating the crisis standing on the undue advantage of the nation's weak point of its diversity of culture, ethnicity and religion which, if not properly handled can tear it apart.

One of such actions is the enforcement of peaceful agreement between the warring groups. A special agency should be put in place that will be vested with responsibility to enforcing peaceful agreement, while foreign military intervention may be necessary to put an end to the incessant conflict and to facilitate the enforcement of the peaceful agreements. Such forces should be given legitimacy as they put on the appearance of neutrality in their conduct and work in collaboration with the local agency to have a better understanding of local conditions.

Special programmes such as micro-finance, entrepreneurship scheme and other forms human capacity building are necessary; to integrate victims and combatants into economic activities, while demobilization has to be done simultaneously for different protagonists so that the said programmes will be successful and to reduce the chances of recurrence of violence.

The need for government enabling laws to regulate private entrepreneurship on farming and pastoral activities are inevitable. The legislation that enhances a political will to holistically confront the issue to a logistic conclusion rather than foist one-sided support that may further widen the gap of distrust between the different regions and cultures in Nigeria.

There is also the need to transform livestock production system in Nigeria from the current traditional nomadic system to modern system of ranching like what obtains in the civilized climes. The government should not only be interested in creating fields for cattle business for herdsmen if she cannot also indicate relative interest in crop cultivation fields for farmers. As farming activities are considered as individual farmers' business so, cattle rearing activities should also be seen as private business to the herders. Yet the enabling laws to regulate the operations of both farmers and herdsmen should be the role of government and such regulations should not be lopsided. The issue of country's porous borders should be addressed in order to curb influx of small arms and illegal migration which hitherto, are prevalent.

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# **A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE CAUSES AND MANAGEMENT OF MARITAL CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

As haughty and blissful as the Marriage institution might seem to have been presented, it has also in some cases been seen to be a tool of societal disorder and instrument of untimely death of some of its parties due to arising operational conflicts. Marital conflict has become a thing of concern in this contemporary society because of its attending negative implications. Though Conflict has been presented as a concept which should not always be perceived as a negative phenomenon, the attitude and responses of conflicting parties often determine or such will be presented most especially within a marriage relationship. Marital conflict is not just a difference of opinion. Rather, it is a series of events that have been poorly handled so as to deeply damage the marriage relationship. This work examines the practical causes of marital conflicts and its overriding effects on the society general. It further postulates possible practical contemporary solutions which may help in dealing with such marital conflicts in any given situation. The study employs both the survey and analytical method of research using qualitative and quantitative system of data analysis. This work recommends that organization of regular seminars and workshops may be necessary in helping couples to acquire skills on issues that have to do with conflict resolution and thereby ensuring marital harmony even in the presence of imminent challenges. The research asserts that the overriding negative effects of marital conflict even if not totally eliminated can be reduced to the barest minimum where parties are ready to maintain a positive attitude in their marriage relationship.

**Keywords: Conflicts, Marriage, Management, Settlement**

## **INTRODUCTION**

Marriage is the state of being united with a person of the opposite sex as husband or wife for the purpose companionship, procreation maintaining a family. Marital conflict has become a thing of concern in this contemporary society and this is associated with separation, divorce, and widowhood. Separation and divorce are social phenomena created by either husband or the wife or both, but widowhood is beyond the control of human being, it is related to death and thus universal. It is imperative to note that when marriage is dissolved in the court of law, it is called divorce, but when it is dissolved by death is called widowhood (Amina, 2008). Marital instability is used to refer to the process whereby marriages breakdown through separation, desertion or divorce.

Marriage is considered to represent a lifelong commitment by two people to teach other and it is signified by a contract sanctioned by the state. It thus involves legal rights, responsibilities, and duties that are enforced by both secular and sacred laws. As a legal contract ratified by the state, marriage can only be dissolved with state permission. Marital conflict has been described as a situation whereby the couples deliberately decided to separate for one reason or the other.

According to Dunkins 2000 posited that there are numbers of factors that are seriously threatening instability of marriage in Nigeria and most of these factors are traceable to some inherited behaviour and thinking from the ancient African society, and imported ideas from other sources that are beyond the African concept of marriage. These factors are the significant causes of marriage instability in Nigeria society; as a result of their functions and effects within a home. Schandorf, (2000) noted that the conjugal family is weak in residential and economic terms when compared with the matrilineage. Asare (2005) also observed that families nowadays seem not to care about their wards marriages because in most cases the choice of partner is made by the wards themselves contrary to tradition, where a choice was made by parents.

Crises in homes or families do not just go unnoticed because wherever a crisis exists in the family, the atmosphere of such a family is everything but congenial, the atmosphere changes – a once happy, family would become chaotic and characterized further by teenage rebellion, child abuse, spousal violence, alcoholism, extra-marital affairs, gambling, drug addiction and in extreme cases health problems such as hypertension, heart-attack/failure and emotional breakdown follow as consequences. Problems and attitudes regarding material things can divide families in many ways. Divisions may develop when marriage mates work securely and cultivate a “my money-your money” attitude. When a marriage starts to witness resentment, constant arguing, infidelity, bitter speech, hostile reactions to simple questions or minor mistakes, mistrust, bickering to mention a few, that marriage is prone to crisis in no distant time. A sudden loss of interest in normal family activities, a sudden need to leave home early to go to work and keeping of late hours after work, a sudden inability to please one’s spouse, sudden and unexplained trips out of town are all symptomatic of a crisis-prone marital union (Amadi, 2009).

Marital conflicts could originate from different sources some of which could be psychological and/or psychosomatic in nature. Tobin (2004) attesting to the above claim retorts that more and more marriages run into crisis and eventually pack up because one partner has a borderline personality disorder such as narcissist, antisocial, psychopathic personality disorders. These sorts of people are abusers by nature where as some are even unaware or unconscious of their near helpless conditions. Many families have been and some are still seriously at war with themselves simply because of their failure to arrest, manage or resolve conflicting issues between couples or families. The effects on the children, couples themselves and community as well as nation as a whole are devastating, as had been observed by the researcher. The problem therefore is to examine the marital conflict in Nigeria: Causes and management.

## **Theoretic Framework**

This research employs two basic theories which are; the Social Learning Theory and Conflict and Leadership Theory of “the Blender and the Juice Extractor” of Iroye Samuel Opeyemi (2020) as the basis of its study. The Social Learning Theory assumes that modelling influences produce learning principally through their informative functions and observers acquire mainly symbolic representations of modelled activities rather than specific stimulus-response association. A person cannot learn much by observation if he does not attend to, or recognize, the essential features of the model’s behaviour. One of the component functions in learning by example is therefore concerned with intentional processes. Among the numerous factors that determine observational experiences, associational preferences are undoubtedly of major importance. The people with whom one regularly associates delimit the types of behaviour that one will repeatedly observe and hence learn most thoroughly. On the other hand, the “Blender and Juice Extractor” theory attributes the success or failure of an organization to the attitude and acts of the leader who can either apply the blender’s style of all-inclusive or the extractor’s style of elimination of weak values. The Blender sees no waste in the act of processing. It accommodates all and makes them material necessary for the end product while the Juice extractor focuses only on the liquid extracted as its main target while disposing the solid part of the fruit as waste.

The blender theory postulates the principle of modification and assimilation to the effect that no value is a waste even a negative value can be seen as progressive depending on the perception of the people. Thus, the blender theory focuses on the leader’s ability to manage and accommodate the weakness and excesses of an individual will bring about a positive response that will make the individual become a part of the progressive process for a better end result. On the other hand, the extractor’s theory postulates the principle of alienation and elimination in that certain elements believed to be useless to the system are alienated from the whole and afterwards eliminated. While all elements are material to the blender, only a few are found to be material to the extractor. The blender uses all and become thicker and stronger

while the extractor is thinner because it has disposed the thickening materials which it considers as “threat” to the system, and thus invariably incurring more losses. In application to this study, the researcher believes that the success in marital relationship is dependent on value appropriation. That is, the ability of parties in the relationship to identify material value necessary for its success and imbibe them and on the other hand identify negative value likely to be injurious to the relationship and alienate them for elimination.

### **Literature Review**

Marital Conflicts are misunderstandings, disagreements, struggles and contentions that often arises in a marriage relationship which ever type it may be or form it may be presented. Marriage is a legal union of a man and a woman for co-habitation and often for procreation (Della, 1998). The institution of marriage is necessary and important in any giving society as it helps to facilitate the total and overall development of every member of the institution. The institution of marriage aids the logical and proper upbringing of children. According to Gardiner and Kosmitski, 2005, the institution of marriage offers intimacy, commitment, friendship, affect, sexual fulfilment, companionship, and an opportunity for emotional growth, as well as new sources of identity and self-esteem. But all these values might be rendered irrelevant in the face of an imminent conflict not well, properly and adequately halted on time. Certain challenges which often occurs within a marriage present problem that are inevitable and often lead to conflict (Storaasli and Markman, 1990) of any degree or magnitude.

Conflict is disagreement, clashes, discordance in interests or ideas (White and Klein, 2002) and it may often arise or be presented in any form and an unsuspecting marriage may often carelessly fall for its devastating vices and hazardous implications. Such implications may include but not limited to poor health and chronic illness (Impett and Peplau, 2006) and in some cases it can occasion both mental and emotional instability resulting from depression and anxiety. Marital union is expected to be an exciting and beautiful adventure (Tolorunleke, 2008) which if well-handled should get better with every passing of its existence. However, improper attitude and responses to little fracas in this relationship can become a whole lot of

great and serious issues and in accordance to Okafor (2002) such can occasion serious frictions and eventual separation and, in some cases, death of partners have been occasioned.

### **Causes of Marital Conflicts**

Marriage like any other human institution cannot and will never be devoid of conflict, because as long as there are interactions, there are bound to be dissensions and contentions but this is not to say that such must have negative or destructive undertone. It is worthy of note that it is only when Marital conflict is poorly managed that it will present serious risk and may give room for marital dissatisfaction and future divorce. According to Onyia and Aniche, 2002; Nkwocha, 2002; Kumuyi, 2004; Ezech, 2000 highlighted some of the causes of marital instability to include; childlessness, unsatisfactory sexual relationship, non-payment of dowry; polygamy; rumour and faction; lack of commitment towards marriage, sexual incompatibility and infidelity; lack of communication between spouses; abandonment, alcohol addiction, substance abuse; physical abuse, sexual abuse and emotional abuse; inability to manage or resolve conflict; differences in personal and career goals; different expectations about household tasks and financial problems; intellectual incompatibility and inflexibility; mental instability or mental illness; religious beliefs, cultural and lifestyle differences. According to Onyechi (2003) such factors include lack of sexual satisfaction, childlessness communication gap, in-law influence, poverty among other these factors generate crisis and conflicts that are detrimental to marital relationships such as desertion, negligence, malicious beating, child abuse, abscondment, assault, disobedience and several other feature in marital relationship.

Unpreparedness for the institution of marriage which make many young people to enter into it out of desperation is believed to be a major cause of marriage failures and according to Linus, 2012, the female folks are often the major culprits in this regard. Amato, Johnson, Booth, and Rogers (2003) asserts that marital happiness is negatively affected by premarital cohabitation, extramarital affairs, wives' job demands, and wives' longer working hours. It is the opinion of this researcher that though there are a whole lot of factors that may be responsible for marital conflicts but major factors and these includes; Religious dogmatism,

social media impact, role contention, poor communication, irresponsibility, unfaithfulness and negative friendships. These factors are hereby examined as follows:

- a. **Religious Dogmatism:** Dogmatism in religion is often the product of variant sentiments which most often times have no solid basis other than a biased view or perception of the Holy Scriptures. Eric Brahm (2005) States that in virtually every heterogeneous society, religious difference serves as a source of potential conflict. He asserts that religious extremists can contribute to conflict escalation and this researcher believes that such can even affects marital relationship in some dimension. Religious dogma that affects the home includes, health management, attendance of religious outings, different faith denominations, style of child upbringing and finance management. For example, some religious belief holds that couples should maintain joint account while the others disagree and where couples belong to the opposing sides of religious beliefs on money management there are bound to be contentions in such home.
- b. **Social Media Impact:** The access to social media has now become a sort of nightmare to many marriages most particularly as regards how its features negatively affects couple's bonding. The social media commands and demands a whole lot of attention which can make its users prioritize it above any other thing and where this is the case in a marital relationship, couples might be contending for attention which they should automatically enjoy. Apart from the above assertion, the social media gives unguided exposure on certain issues of life which most often time are injurious or detrimental to the existence of a marital relationship. The social media has the potential to contaminate the trust upon which a marital relationship is based and where the couples are not consciously reacting to its influence positively.
- c. **Role Contention:** Role performance is how a person expresses his or her role. To every creature in existence there are God given roles which if properly exhibited and demonstrated aids the sustenance of a peaceful society. Same is the case when it comes to a marriage relationship where each party is expected to function in their God given

role for the sustenance of the family. This assertion agrees with Goffman exposure on the term ‘self’ which is believed has a lot of impact on roles identity. He postulated the identity theory which distinguishes three types of identity in a basic sense that is still valid at the beginning of the twenty-first century: (1) social identity as a person's role set, (2) personal identity as a person's synchronic and diachronic individuality ascribed to him by observers, and (3) ego identity as a person's inner self-reference. Goffman's theory focuses on tiny moments of people's behavior, which they themselves find more or less natural and are unaware of. The implication of this theory to this research is the fact that the distortion of the role performance of an individual can be disrupted by “ego” untamed.

- d. **Lack of Mutual Respect between partners:** Mutual respect for one's spouse is critical for marital union sustenance and lack of it is a crisis factor capable of rocking even the strongest marital foundation of hitherto blissful homes. Respect and love are reciprocal variables in every marital union and as such, a spouse owes it an obligation to respect and love his/her marriage partner.
  - e. **Poor marital communication:** A factor that has occupied central position in all discourse concerning successful marriage is ‘marital communication’. Inability of spouses to communicate effectively with each other is very unhealthy to the union. Effective marital communication entails that couples discuss issues, respond to questions, call for explanations and accept same timely (when given), as any delay may send out a wrong signal which a partner is bound to interpret same way. Effective marital communication can in fact assuage many other marital disquiets before they could degenerate into crisis situations. Poor marital communication has been blamed for some other marital problems that have even culminated into divorce or separation of spouses.
- Irresponsibility:** Negligent behaviour on the part of marital partners is a critical crisis factor. In taking marital vows, a couple normally would promise to oblige the partner of his/her responsibility towards him/her, while avoiding indulgences attitude. But



experience has shown that soon after, some marriages collapsed on the strength of negligence of such avowed obligations.

- f. **Unfaithfulness:** Dishonest behaviour coupled with moral decadence in the family can generate crisis in the home. A situation where a couple cannot tell each other simple truth is not healthy for the union. Once such morality gap is discovered in any of the spouses, mistrust sets in and confidence gradually gets eroded with crisis eventually taking over the home front. Poor morality or decadent moral culture may unwittingly be imbibed by the children of such a family in which case the entire family fabric weakens due largely to an atmosphere of mutual mistrust that eventually envelops it.
- g. **Negative friendships:** Extreme sexual orientation of one of the marriage partners is capable of endangering a marital unit. Such orientations like homosexuality, lesbianism, bestiality, sodomy, oral sex, excessive sexual appetite especially when the other partner is at the other extreme of the scale can generate crisis in the homes. Most of the time, such extreme sexual behaviours or orientations are discovered rather too late or midway into the marriage that it becomes very difficult to pull out of the engagement. And when once a partner cannot get along crisis ensues.

**Factors that aid Marital Harmony:** There however some positive factors such as good communications, marital intimacy among others that tends to strengthen marital relationship. Amato, Johnson, Booth, and Rogers (2003) found marital happiness was positively affected by increased economic resources, equal decision making, non-traditional gender attitudes, and support for the norm of lifelong marriage. According to Undiyaundeye and Ugal (2006) who carried out a study to test the educational levels of couples and their effectiveness in handling marital conflicts and discovered that educational attainment goes a long way in affecting the ability to handle marital conflicts.

### **Effects of Marital Conflicts**

Family conflict is a common occurrence among all races and generations. No family is exempted from contention and controversies at some point in their relationship. Family

conflict can be short lived and can rage longer than expected. However, it is worthy of note that continuous family conflict, such as abuse, poverty, or mental instability can cause problems that ripple through the entire family unit. The term family conflict did not emerge until the 1960's as psychotherapy was emerging as an acceptable treatment option for individuals and families. Many theories such as structural/functional theory emerged, describing families as a social institution and asserting that social order needed to be followed for a cohesive and supportive environment (Rasheed, Rasheed, and Marley, 2011). A family conflict is defined as any conflict that occurs within a family. This could include conflicts between husbands and wives, children, siblings, grandparents, and extended families (Borst, 2015). Family conflict may escalate to physical abuse, physically harming family members. These various family conflicts can cause tremendous stressors such as anxiety, long term health effects such as high blood pressure, suppression of the immune system, premature aging, increase the risks of mental illnesses such as anxiety and depression (Fabricius and Luecken, 2007).

Family conflict is believed to be a major cause of health compromise and risky behaviours such as; excessive drinking, smoking, using illegal drugs, and engaging in risky sexual behaviors, such as having unprotected sex or sex with multiple partners (Fish, Pavkov. Wetchler, and Bercik, 2012). Not only can family conflict cause health compromising and risky behaviors amongst children and adult children, it can lead to interpersonal relationship struggles (Thorson, 2009). Research has shown that children's knowledge of an extra-marital affair causes changes in the way they communicate with others in their relationships and other peers. This may cause poor communication skills and poor boundaries may be developed (Thorson, 2009). Studies indicate that divorce and parental infidelity have caused offspring to develop more insecure attachment styles as compared to individuals who were raised in families with little family conflict (Crowell, Treboux, and Brockmeyer, 2009).

### **Field Study Report:**

A field study was carried out for the purpose of having a factual representation of issues of concern in this research and also for the purpose of justifying the assertions of authours as presented in the literature review and the data are presented and analyzed accordingly as presented in the tables herein.

### **Study Population**

This research carried out a study in three major cities in Nigeria, which are Ikeja in Lagos State, Gwagwalada in Abuja, FCT, and Kano in Kano State. The total population for this study was 150 residents of these selected communities. The main data collection instrument used in this study was both structured and unstructured interview. The results of the analysis are presented in tables with the appropriate interpretations. One Hundred and Fifty (150) copies of questionnaire were duly administered to respondents who are all married, same were returned and well analyzed below.

### **Analysis of the Study Population**

**Table 1 Distribution of Respondents based on their Gender**

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	80	53.3
Female	70	46.6
Total	150	100.0

**Source:** Field Survey Iroye Samuel Opeyemi, 2021

The table presents that 53.3% which accounts for eighty respondents of the total sampled population are male while 46.6% accounting for seventy respondents are female.

### **Causes of Marital Conflicts**

This research using the respondents stated above in Table 1.1 finds out the underlining factors responsible for marital conflicts in Nigeria using both unstructured and structured interview and the answers provided by the Respondents are analyzed as presented in the Table below:

**Table 2: The Causes of Marital Conflicts**

Variable	Number of Respondents	Percent
Communication Barrier	142	94.6%
Variant Sexual Orientation	138	92.0%
Social Media	130	86.6%
Wrong Marriage Orientation	126	84.0%
Financial Problem	126	84.0%
Improper Association	118	78.6%
Bad Upbringing	111	74.0%
Role Contention	110	73.3%
Variant Cultural Values	96	64.0%
<b>Source:</b> Field Research data, Iroye Samuel Opeyemi, 2021		

The above figures present to us in different percentages the opinions of the Respondents as to the factors responsible for marital conflicts in Nigeria. Each of these factors identified by the respondents are highly above average and these implies that the factors are common phenomenon which cuts across the ethnic regions in Nigeria as represented by the respondents. The data as presented above therefore present a factual representation of the causes of marital conflicts in Nigeria and this therefor justifies the assertion of the Researcher herein as stated above.

### **Management of Marital Conflict**

This research tried to find out whether people believes that marital conflict can be effectively managed without resulting to violence or divorce.

**Table 3: Can Marital Conflicts be effectively Managed without resulting to violence or divorce?**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Strongly Agree	92	61.3%
Agree	38	25.3%
Disagree	20	13.3%
Total	150	100%

**Source:** Field Research Date, Iroye Samuel Opeyemi 2021

Table 3 shows that 61.3% of the respondents strongly agree that it is possible to manage marital conflicts without resulting to violence or divorce, 25.3% of the respondents also agree, while 13.3% of the respondents totally disagree. The result shows that the majority of the respondents are of the opinion that marital conflicts can be effectively managed and possible prevent violence or divorce.

### **Factors that can aid and sustain harmony in a marital relationship**

This research using the respondents stated above in Table 1.1 finds out the underlining factors that can help in managing marital conflicts in Nigeria using both unstructured and structured interview and the answers provided by the Respondents are analyzed as presented in the Table below:

**Table 4: Factors that can help in the management of Marital Conflicts**

Variable	Number of Respondents	Percent
Good Communication Skills	149	99.3%
Mutual Respect	122	81.3%
Financial Sustenance	141	94.0%
Good Family Upbringing	120	80.0%
Proper Character and Ethics	126	84.0%
Transparency and Trust	146	97.3%
Positive Friendship	90	60.0%
Training	78	52.0%
God Factor	144	96.0%
<b>Source:</b> Field Research data, Iroye Samuel Opeyemi, 2021		

The above figures present to us in different percentages the opinions of the Respondents as to the factors help in breeding Marital harmony and thus, assist in managing marital conflicts in Nigeria. Each of these factors identified by the respondents are highly above average and these implies that the factors are common phenomenon thus, giving credence to its reliability.

### **Discussion of Findings**

Our discussion focuses on **Table 2, Table 3 and Table 4. Table 4.2.1 presents The Causes of Marital Conflicts** as; Communication Barrier, Variant Sexual Orientation, Social Media, Wrong Marriage Orientation, Financial Problem, Improper Association, Bad Upbringing,

Role Contention and Variant Cultural Values. The data presented in percentage shows the fact that all these factors without any exception are potent enough either as a single factor or joint factors to wreak havoc in a marital relationship. **Table 3** from the data presentation shows that conflict in a marital relationship can be well managed or handled without the involvement of any act of violence whatsoever. On the final analysis, **Table 4** from the data collection presents the fact that a whole lot of elements can aid the management of marital conflicts and these are stated to include; Good Communication Skills, Mutual Respect, Financial Sustenance, Good Family Upbringing, Proper Character and Ethics, Transparency and Trust, Positive Friendship, Training and God Factor. From the data presentation all these factors are considered as potent elements that can aid in breeding peace and harmony in a marital relationship.

## **CONCLUSION**

This study reveals possible consequences of marital conflicts include; loss of spousal confidence, emotional trauma on both couple and children, negative mentoring for children, poor physical, emotional and mental health, escalation of social vices and threats to life of partner. It is believed that the negative implications of these factors are gross and could be very disastrous. This study reveals and discussed the various factors responsible for marital conflict in the Nigeria. It also examines the consequences of marital conflict and make recommendations on strategies that can reduce or manage marital conflicts in general. This study asserts that there is no marriage that is free from certain trouble zones as every marriage relationship has its own challenging times but the way such are handled will determine whether such relationship will be sustained. Marital relationship should not only be built on the weak foundation of attraction and passion but rather on the strong elements of unconditional love, understanding and commitment.

Marital conflicts can be managed when they occur or prevented in resulting to partial or total collapse of homes. Marital success results from a lot of endurance, tolerance, patience and effective management of individual differences. Successful marriages as opined by Nadir

(2003), are not those in which there has never been conflict but those in which conflicts have served useful purposes. The harmony of a marital relationship is only sustainable when both parties are ready to imbibe the right attitude and take the right actions at every material time in that relationship and this will make them one indivisible body just as alluded by the Holy Scripture in Ecclesiastes 4:12 which says; ‘‘Though one may be overpowered, two can defend themselves. A cord of three strands is not quickly broken’’.

This study hereby recommends that for even and positive sustenance of harmony in marital relationship, it will be necessary to embrace the traditional value system of marriage which by all standard and ramification encourages members of the immediate extended family and the immediate community to help in nurturing newly established family until they are fully matured. This work also recommends that our religious houses and settings should give priority to teaching doctrines that promote positive and indivisible family relationship instead of teachings based on prosperity and self-centeredness. On a final note, this study recommends that teachings or subjects bothering on positive marriage values and home building should be introduced into the Nigeria Schools’ curriculum right from the primary to tertiary institutions so as to ensure that young people cultivate the habits of peaceful home relationship as against the violence prone society as it is now being experienced all over the world.

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# **OATH TAKING AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN TRADITIONAL AFRICAN SOCIETIES**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study examined oath taking as an instrument for conflict resolution in traditional African societies. The paper noted that conflict resolution in traditional African societies is made effective by providing opportunity for parties concerned to interact and to come together in agreement with a medium of oath taking. Analytical method of research was employed in getting the facts presented in this study. The paper revealed that the instrumentality of oath taking promotes trust, consensus-building, and enactment of order in the society. The paper submitted further that conflict resolution in traditional Africa societies operate within the context of communal setting rather than that of individuals contrary to the perception of the western world. It concluded that customs and traditions of both parties in the conflict form the basis for the oath.

**Keywords:** Conflict, traditional African Society, oath taking, conflict resolution.

## INTRODUCTION

Conflict is part of human and non-human life. Every society can be engulfed in one form of conflict or the order since it characterizes human interaction at the levels of the individuals, group, community and nation. Expectedly, the traditional Africa society is no exception to this. In the traditional African society, conflict may generally exist whenever or wherever incompatible events occurred and may result in – win – lose character. The resolution, transformation and management of conflict may however produce win-win situation. Conflict is as natural as the concept of peace contrary to the global or universal conception. Africans have particular ways of conceptualizing conflict. Traditional definitions of conflict regard it as – a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals (Onigun Otite and Alber, 2001).

Conflict takes various forms and dimensions in African societies; it is significant to note that conflict is difficult to define from the perspective of the Africans. Consequently, conflicts are in the magnitude of rage, rift, misunderstanding, family and market brawls, skirmishes and wars, public insurrections and assaults. It also includes chieftaincy and boundary disputes. These forms of conflicts are wide spread in Africa (Olaoba, 2005, pp.22 – 37). Conflicts as an element of social interaction have been defined in various dimensions. Some writers argued that, a conflict situation emerges when two or more parties could not agree on an issue. The parties to such conflict may not necessary be the government or nation states. In an incompatible stage among nation – states, every part involved seeks to achieve certain objectives, such as additional or more secured territory, security, access to markets, prestige, alliances and the overthrow of an unfriendly government (Omotosho, 2004). The study of conflict in Africa has not always been mindful of the need to consider the interaction of local and international factors in the evolution of conflicts between African Nations. In Africa, conflict is not susceptible to prediction, although it can be explained. Overt manifestations of conflict are seldom unremitting, even in relations between rival cultures

(Robert, 1981). Conflict is a particular relationship between states or rival factions within a state which implies subjective hostilities or tension manifested in subversive economic or military hostilities (Quincy, 1971). Conflict can be described as a condition in which identifiable group of human beings whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, religious, socio – political, economic, cultural or otherwise are in a conscious opposition to one or more other identifiable human group because these groups are pursuing what to be incompatible goals. Omotosho (2004) argues that conflicts are inevitable wherever severe resources are unequally distributed among competitors and inequity is reflected in cultural and political relationship between groups. With regards to various issues in dealing with conflict, it is important to bear in mind not just overt, physical violence, but also the subtly disguised forms of structural and cultural violence (A dam, 2000).

Conflict management in general and conflict resolution in particular, are almost entirely determined by our understanding of the composition of a conflict and not only by symptoms (Kotze, 2000). In fact, Albert's position on conflict was that there is nothing wrong with conflict, it is a critical mechanism by which goals and aspirations of individuals and groups are articulated; it is a channel for a definition of creative solutions to human problems and a means of creative solutions to human problems and a means to the development of a collective identity (Albert, 2001). Wadinga (2003) describes African conflicts as phenomena which are frequently brushed and dismissed as being chaotic, or worthy of some vague pity or humanitarian concern, but rarely of any in-depth political analysis. Wadinga added that the divide and rule policies of colonial administrators assured the docility of different ethnic groups and this shielded them from the menace of insurrection (Wadama, 2013).

### **Oath – Taking and The African societies**

#### **Igbo tribe of South East, Nigeria**

The Igbo traditional institutions for conflict resolution include: the family, amala (council of elders), Okpara system (eldest male), Umuanna (clan), Unuada (female born in a town but married out), age grades, assembly of the people, Ohanaeze (assembly of the people and the

king), hunters' Association, and agbara (local deities or oracles). These are not different from the one found in other traditional African societies. However, Olurunsola (1992) wrote that prior to European advent, the Ibos consisted of over two hundred independent territorial groups divided into villages. The internal organization of these groups rested upon patrilineal clans and lineages. These groups were autonomous with regards to governmental processes, but social bonds were strong among them. An examination of this is resolution of the Umurebo Umokuzu, and Umuleri-Aguleri land dispute through traditional methods. The piece of land is called ala ihu okpaula or ala mkpotu, located between Umenebo and Umuokuzu clans of Obokwu village in Obinze, which is in the Owerri West local government area of Imo State, Eastern Nigeria. Several peace efforts geared towards resolving this land dispute failed. Even the elders of Obokwu village made several futile third party mediation efforts. The Nwanwa group (men and women whose mothers were born at Obokwu village) also intervened but failed. The autonomous traditional ruler (Obinze) and his cabinet also intervened.

While these efforts were heading for roots too, a warning were received by both clans from the ancestors through the chief priest of Obinze, the messenger of Alanlwn (big Earth deity) saying that they are seeing an impending blood flow, insisting that there must be no bloodshed, and that the dispute over the land must be settled peacefully (Olorunsola, 1972). Since 1933, the pathetic dimension of the conflict is that the Aguleri and Umuleri people have one ancestral origin in Eri, and had been living peacefully side by side in Otuocho for decades before the focus of division and anarchy emerged. The land conflict, before the disastrous war had passed through the court's strategy, political, bureaucratic, and military strategy without solution and peace in sight, before the traditional strategy was applied (Nwolise, 2005). However, the traditional formula which led to the peaceful resolution of the Aguleri-Umuleri Umuoba Annam war involved oath-taking, declaration of "No more war" peace treaty and the performance of a cleansing ritual called Ikomue. The first traditional oath which took place on 25<sup>th</sup> January, 2000 involved only Aguleri and Umuleri, while other communities join in order to avoid further wars and destabilization in the omambala area. All those communities came

with their respective representatives, as well as local deities (oracles) to be sworn to in the presence of gods and all people present. The second oath took place on 6<sup>th</sup> April of the same year, in this second oath, the leaders of Aguleri, Umuleri, and UMUOBA Anam were present.

The oath which is binding on every indigene of the participating communities was taken to the effect that the contracting parties accept peace and there would be no more war and bloodshed amongst and between the five communities. Violators of this oath face the wrath of the deities' present, and the ancestors, who in the presence of god constitute the source of moral sanctions and peace guarantors. It is believed in the experience of the Eri kingdom that the spirit of those killed in the war would go on vengeance against their own people who eat together with their murderers. From that day, peace was restored, true reconciliation began and social harmony was restored among these communities (Nwolise, 2005).

### **The Binis in the South-South and the Ilaje people of Ondo State in South-West Nigeria and (Ayelala) Oath Taking**

Ayelala is a deified goddess whose place of origin can be traced to the area of Ilaje in Ondo state, Nigeria. According to Awolalu (1980), the cult of Ayelala arose out of the vicarious sacrifice compensation of the life of an Ijaw slave woman, killed in substitution for the atonement of the sin of a runaway Ilaje adulterous man. As a scapegoat, the Ijaw woman was made to bear the consequences of the sin of another who has run to take asylum among the Ijaws; an act which caused serious disaffection between the Ijaws and the Ilajes. While being sacrificed, the slave woman, in great pain and anguish, could only mutter the words "Ayelala" meaning "the world is incomprehensible" or "the world is a mystery". From then on, Ayelala became the name by which she was known and called. It is vital to add that before sacrificing her, a covenant of reconciliation and ritual cleansing was made between the Ilajes and Ijaws on the following terms, amongst others: Ayelala was to kill any member of the parties to the covenant who plans evil against one another; Ayelala was to punish with death any member of the group who practices stealing, sorcery and witchcraft against each other; All contractual relationship between the two consenting communities was to be faithfully and honestly

executed under the watchful guidance of Ayelala who was invoked to kill covenant breakers. Before she was finally sacrificed, Ayelala the slave woman made a solemn vow to witness to and punish non-compliance to the terms of the covenant and all future covenants to be reached in her name. Ayelala eventually became deified after her death when it was observed that several deaths occurred in default of the covenant sealed on Ayelala's blood. In consequence of this, Ayelala became popular as a deity which dispenses justice and protects morality.

Her cult started spreading far and near, even to the Benin kingdom. However, unlike the police, the use of Ayelala has proven to be very efficient. A case in point is: sometime in 2005, the Oba Market in Benin City, Nigeria went up on flames. As the fire raged, hoodlums in the area had a filled day looting goods belonging to traders in the market. More disturbing was the fact that many shops not affected by the inferno were found broken into and emptied by looters. The next day, Chief John Osamede Adun, a.k.a. "Born-boy", a prominent citizen in the area, invited the priest of Ayelala, a goddess widely revered and feared in Benin Kingdom. The Chief Priest of Ayelala consequently issued a public warning that as many as have taken away goods which do not belong to them should return same immediately or face the wrath of Ayelala. The following morning, goods earlier carted away resurfaced in the market. The same feat was re-enacted when the popular Uselu Market in Benin City, Nigeria was gutted by fire a few months after. The Ilaje are found along the coast of West – Africa, their traditional territory lies between latitude 60 and 60 30 N and longitude 40 S and 60 E. The Ilaje constitute one of the Yoruba subgroups in the South Eastern part of Yoruba land. They constitute the bulk of the people in Ilaje and Ese Odo Local Government Areas of Ondo State (Ajetunmobi 2012). The most important ritualistic instrument for the maintenance of order and social justice among the Ilaje people is Ayelala. The deity is considered to have an uninterrupted extensive power in the traditional administration of social justice (Ajetunmobi 2012; and Afe 2012).



## **Ghana Communities and Conflict Resolution through Oath Taking**

### **The Bawku Tribe of Ghana and Traditional Conflict Resolution**

There are many actors involved in the conflict resolution process in Ghana. At the state level (regions/towns) the chieftaincy (chief) is the key institution for conflict resolution. Among the Akans, the leader of the traditional state is the paramount chief (omanhene) followed by the divisional chiefs (ohene), and the head of villages (odikro – literally meaning the owner of the village). Villages consist of a number of family groups or clans/lineages. Each family group or clan is headed by an elder of the family (abusua panyin). This is distinct from the head of household (ofiepanyin). Conflicts Resolution have spiritual dimensions in traditional Ghana society, this involves incantations, curses, witchcraft and oath-taking, among others, are brought before the traditional and spiritual leaders including the fetish priests, custodians of deities, herbalists and soothsayers. For example, one party may invoke a curse by using the name of a river or a deity to harm another person for perceived wrong doing. Once the afflicted party realizes through divination that they have been cursed, the accused is requested to reverse or remove that curse by performing the necessary rituals at the appropriate fetish/shrine and going through the necessary cultural processes.

The Bawku tribe in Ghana are known to embrace the spiritual process of Conflict Resolution. Traditional Area covers three districts within the Upper East Region of Ghana. These districts are the Bawku Municipality, Bawku West District and the Garu-Tempane District. The Bawku Traditional Area covers all the areas under the Bawku Skin (paramount) and has over 150 communities. According to the 2010 Population and Housing Census Report, the Bawku Traditional Area has a total population of 441,828 (Bawku Municipality 217,791, Bawku West 94,034 and Garu-Tempane 130,003) (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). The traditional Area is located at the north-eastern part of the Upper East Region and bordered to the north by Ghana's boundary with Burkina Faso, the south by the East Mamprusi District, to the west by the Talensi-Nabdam District and to the east by Ghana's boundary with Togo (Marks Publications and Media Services, 2010). The Bawku conflict is a deep-seated and

longstanding ethno-political conflict between the Kusasis and Mampruis in the Bawku Traditional Area of Ghana. The conflict is identity-based, and revolves around the claim for traditional political power (chieftaincy) between the Kusasis and Mampruis. The contest between the Kusasis and Mampruis over the Bawku chieftaincy has its roots in colonial times. Bawku remains the most important town in the three administrative districts that make up the Traditional Area (Bawku Municipality, Bawku West District and the Garu-Tempane District) because of its commercial location and the paramountcy.

The ethnic conflict between the Kusasis and Mampruis in the Bawku Traditional Area dates back to 1931 with the Kusasis' claim over the Bawku skin (Bombande, 2007). The institution of chieftaincy which is the main source of conflict was introduced by the Mampruis who mounted security posts to safeguard their important trade routes between Gambaga and Tenkudugu around the sixteenth century (Kusimi et al., 2006). Also, the Opoku-Afari Committee (1957) intimated that the Mampruis presence in Bawku was necessitated by the constant raid of traders from Gambaga by Kusais bandits. Among the first Mamprusi settlers in Bawku are Prince Ali, son of Naa Atabia, (the Nayiri of the Mampruis) who was mandated by the Nayiri to establish a 'police post' at Bawku to safeguard their routes (Bombande 2007). From this time, around the sixteenth century, the Bawku skin came directly under the Nayiri who had the authority to install the Bawku Naba 10 and enskin other chiefs at Binduri, Teshie, Tanga, Sinibaga, Warikambo and other places. The Kusasis did not initially resist the various Mamprusi successions to the Bawku skin (Lund, 2003).

According to Bombande (2007), up till the 1930s, the Mamprusi jurisdiction did not extend to all the Kusasi settlement and the whole traditional area. Their authority was, however, consolidated to include all Kusasi areas following consultations with the colonial district commissioner in 1931 which made the Bawku Naba (paramount chief of the Traditional Area) the chief of the Bawku Traditional Area including Bawku, Zebila, Garu, Tempane, Binduri, Warikambo and Teshie. From 1731, only Mampruis had ascended to the Bawku skin. However, in 1957, competing claims between the Mampruis and Kusasis over

the Bawku skin resulted in the installation of two different chiefs for the same skin: Abugrago Azoka for the Kusasis and Mahama Yiremia for the Mamprusis (Opoku-Afari Committee, 1957). This led to some disturbances and intensified the claim over the Bawku skin. The resulting disturbances compelled the Governor General, Lord Listowel, to set up the Opoku-Afari Committee of 1957 to enquire into the causes of the disturbances. The Bawku believes in the traditional mechanisms for resolving conflicts. They mentioned the family system, the clan and the community levels at which conflicts are resolved. The Kusasis mentioned the use of the rites of the earth cult in which there is blood cleansing rites, purification rites, blood collecting and sacrifice of animals as a major way of conflict resolution. The use of the rites of the earth cult is a major method of conflict resolution in Northern Ghana (Kirby, 2006). Respondents also stated the use of chiefs, elders and opinion leaders in resolving conflicts in the area. As to whether these methods have been applied in resolving the current conflict, respondents agreed that some of the methods have been used to help resolve the conflict, but have failed to bring the conflict to an end. Many of the respondents, however, said that the use of the rites of the earth cult have yet to be used in resolving conflict.

### **The Ghana Kusasi process of Traditional Conflict Resolution**

According to Kusasi tradition, conflict is an infringement on the gods and the spirits of the earth. They therefore assert that when conflicts occur and human blood is shed, the gods and spirits of the earth need to be pacified to avoid calamity on human beings. Kusasis, according to traditional actors, are religious and therefore believe that the return of peace after violent conflict involves the rites of the earth cult. As to how this traditional method (the rites of the earth cult) can be applied in resolving conflict, respondents mentioned that the use of the rites of the earth cult among the Kusasis involves three main processes: blood-collecting and blood cleansing, burial of objects and merry making. The first step of the performance of the rites of the earth cult is blood-collecting and blood cleansing. This involves sacrificing animals to pacify the land in areas where human lives were lost during the conflict. Here, a goat and a cock are killed and used with “pito” (a local brewed beer) to pacify the land. According to

respondents, the sacrificed animal is often roasted and eaten by the conflicting parties together. The eating together of the sacrificed animal by the conflicting parties signifies their resolve to work together towards peace. Twenty-three (23) areas, according to the Bawku Naba, have been identified in the traditional area (the Bawku Traditional Area) for the rites of purification. All these areas will be cleansed through traditional rites of sacrifice to plicate the land for the desecration which involved the shedding of human lives. One Kusasis traditional respondent observed that: Tindaanas (chief priests) of the respective areas normally perform these rites with the invocation of incantations calling on the spirit of the earth god to forgive us humans for we have erred against her (the earth-god). This rite (Blood-collecting and blood cleansing) is important since it is the first step to making peace in any conflict situation. Failure to accomplish this rite renders the subsequent rites null and void. The second involves the burying of objects to signify the end to hostilities. This is done immediately after animal sacrifices are performed. An okro stalk is buried into the earth by both factions in the conflict signifying end to fighting and bloodshed. This is very symbolic and the okro stalk becomes sacred to the earth spirit as a promise by the factions to stop. Finally, merry making is organized at a grand ceremony usually in the traditional capital and seat of the paramountcy (in this case Bawku) where all the parties involved in the conflict come together to celebrate and declare their support for peace in the area.

This occasion according to them will involve all the parties, community members and government functionaries. During this occasion, final animal sacrifices are made purposely to prepare for the merry-making. It involves singing, drumming and dancing by factions. These rituals and processes are not new and are consistent with the study of Kirby (2006) of northern tribes in Ghana. His study found that the rituals of the earth cult through sacrifices, prayers and appeasing the spirits in most tribes in Northern Ghana play important roles in conflict resolution because it allows for proper reconciliation to take place.

### **The Ghana Mamprusi process of Traditional Method of Conflict Resolution**

Mamprusi, traditions equally see peace as necessary for the advancement of society. Therefore, violence is abominable to the gods and God. A Mamprusi elder opined that Mamprusis are equally very traditional and follow their traditions very well. He, however, said that majority of Mamprusis today are Muslims and do not believe in animal sacrifices to the gods. On the methods adopted by the Bawku Indigenous Ethnic Peace Committee (BIEPC) at the Kumasi talks, five of the Mamprusis respondents expressed reservations about the use of the methods in resolving the conflict because to them, these methods are not all-encompassing and acceptable to them since they do not believe in them. They claim that the approaches to be used by the BIEPC are biased since they are mainly Kusasi and the methods of conflict with their beliefs (Islam). One of the Mamprusi respondents noted that:

Even if we want to accept this method, the questions I ask are: do these methods conform to our (Mamprusi) own traditions? And is our father (the Nayiri at Nalerigu) part of this whole decision before it was arrived at? Mamprusi traditions require peacemaking to first of all come from following laid-down traditions. The Mamprusis claim that the first step to making peace and reconciliation is to go back to the Nayiri (the overlord of all Mamprusis in Ghana) who is the overseer and owner of Bawku. A Mamprusi respondent maintains that: “traditionally, it is the Nayiri who enskins a chief for Bawku and therefore, we both have to go back to him to decide who can become Bawku Naba.” Thus, the first step is reconciling with the Nayiri by appeasing him and apologizing for his forgiveness through the presentation of an animal (cow), he then takes the ‘chieftaincy back’ (the Bawku Skin) since he is the sole person to enskin a Bawku Naba. According to one of the Mamprusi elders: “when this is done, the Bawku conflict can be resolved since the long-held tradition would have been obeyed.” Besides, Mamprusis believe that the houses of chiefs (the National and Regional Houses of Chiefs) should also be allowed, independent of the influence of government and politicians, to use laid down tradition and history to pronounce the real owners of the Bawku skin. This is

because National and Regional Houses of Chiefs have the backing of Ghana's Constitution to settle chieftaincy disputes. This to them will help resolve the conflict.

### **Analogy between Nigeria and Ghana**

The two traditional processes of conflict resolution from Ghana and Nigeria show the importance of cultural views and processes in promoting peace at all levels of the society. Thus, the processes focus on reconciliation, stability, harmony and safety; and try to reconcile individuals and groups based on cultural norms and practices. In both cases, there is high respect for the traditional authorities and institutions. Generally, the conflict resolution process is transparent, publicly performed, and the evidence, discussions and solutions opened to all. Due process is also emphasized including the right to appeal to the next authority. Conflicts and their resolution at the grassroots are a public matter, and through these, people learn the rules, norms, values, and histories and philosophical discourses necessary for harmonious living. The young are able to learn from the elders' traditional laws, language, and mannerisms, fit for public discourse. The value of dialogue in resolving differences is also espoused throughout the process. Indigenous processes of peacemaking show the importance of public participation; the utility of supporting victims to enable them to forgive; encouraging perpetrators to understand the value of acknowledging guilt and showing remorse; and using unity and interdependence as a means of promoting peace building.

### **CONCLUSION**

The mere application of traditional methods may not necessarily end the Bawku conflict if feuding factions do not agree first of all as to what traditional methods to use; secondly, how each people, race, or identity group has their own ways of doing things especially as they concern conflict resolution. While in Europe, for example, the police are an agency of crime detection, several African societies relied on oath-taking and divination in pre-colonial times. These methods still thrive today in some places on a very limited scale alongside torture and skull breaking in the name of interrogation and confession extraction. Also, while the western world placed emphasis on a judicial system presided over by lawyers and judges; traditional

African uses council of elders, king's court, peoples (open place) assemblies, etc. for dispute settlement and justice dispensation (Nwolise, 2005). Moreover, the essence of dispute settlement and conflict resolution in traditional African States include to:

- i. Eliminate the root-causes of the conflict;
- ii. Reconcile the conflicting parties genuinely;
- iii. Preserve and ensure harmony, and make everybody involved in the resolved conflict happy and be at peace with each other again, and this required getting at the truth;
- iv. Set the right milieu for societal production and development;
- v. Promote good governance, law and order; and
- vi. Provide security of lives and property and to achieve collective well-being and happiness. These are different from what does obtain today where nobody cares about the truth. If Africans have to put the falling apart together, her original values must be revisited.

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# **AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CAUSES OF THE PROTRACTED CONFLICT IN SUDAN**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The Sudanese conflict started before the country's independence from Britain in 1956. Disagreements between the northern and southern parts of the country merely deepened after the country became a sovereign state. A major issue was the failure of the new government to fulfill the agreement reached with the leaders of the southern part of the country following their support for independence based on the premise of southern autonomy. The findings in this paper show that the merged by the colonialists who fused the people who are not compacted led to the protracted conflict in Sudan and this has great effects for the conflict to be resolved. Also, third parties played key roles in ending the conflict. At various times they got the warlords to have roundtable discussions, e.g. in 2002. In 2005, they got the warlords to sign the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which specified an interim period of six years for the stakeholders to decide if the North and the South of Sudan could cohabit. However, the effect of colonialism was not peculiar to Sudan; it can be seen in Africa and beyond. Also, the paper concluded that conflict in Africa can be reduced or minimized to a greater proposition if all the ethnic groups that form the country can be included in governance, and equity is evenly distributed without nepotism and bigotry.

**Keywords:** Arabs, Africans, colonizers, cultural, marginalization

## **INTRODUCTION**

Post-independence Africa has experienced extensive inter- and intrastate conflicts and various approaches have been adopted to resolve such conflicts, with varying degrees of success. The case of Sudan has been significant because, after decades of war, South Sudan was unable to secure independence through the diplomatic approach until 2011. This paper is problematical within the context of the difficulty of third-party intervention in the Sudanese conflict at the initial stage, especially in the light of its impact on conflict resolution in other African states where conventional methods such as mediation, arbitration and reconciliation have prevailed. Despite all that has been done both within and outside Sudan, violent conflicts continue to rage in different parts of the country.

Towards resolving the Sudanese conflict, as was the case with similar conflicts across Africa in the 1970s, various patterns and processes of conflict resolution were employed. For example, in Liberia, Chad, Sierra Leone, and Mali the patterns and processes which led to conflict resolution involved third-party intervention where the United Nations (UN), the Africa Union (AU) and other regional organisations used mediation, reconciliation, negotiation, conciliation, peacekeeping, peacemaking and other means to restore peace and democratic rule in those countries. In Sudan, considerable attention was paid to internal mechanisms in the effort to resolve the protracted conflict which the country experienced from the 1970s to the early 2000s. Clearly, inter- and intrastate wars in Africa have hampered the continent's development, as vast amounts of resources are diverted away from infrastructural and economic development. Interestingly, in the case of Sudan the framework for achieving peace without external intervention had in fact been developed as early as the 1960s. In the end, the internal mechanism for conflict resolution in the Sudan, reinforced by a range of external efforts, helped to build collaboration among communities which had been divided by the protracted conflict. A combination of both processes thus contributed to the peaceful secession of South Sudan in 2011. Therefore, in this paper, we assess the various factors either by nature or created by both internal and external, that necessitated the war in the Sudan.

## **Geography**

Sudan was the largest country in Africa before the secession of South Sudan on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 2011. The larger Sudan was unique in terms of its Arab and African populations; as such, it marked a frontier between Islamic and non-Islamic values in Africa and between Arabic-speaking areas and the non-Arabic languages spoken in East Africa. The country is bordered by nine countries: Egypt in the north, Ethiopia and Eritrea in the east, Uganda, Kenya and Democratic Republic of Congo in the south, and the Central Africa Republic, Chad and Libya in the southwest, west, and north respectively. By virtue of such a geographical location, therefore, Sudan is an interesting case for the politics of identity. (McMichael, 1922 and Hassan, and Ogot, 1992). During the inter-war years, some of these countries aided either the Sudanese government or the Sudanese People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) by providing arms, logistics and sanctuary for the prosecution of the civil war. The countries constituted the regional organisation known as the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), which intervened in the conflict from 1993 to 2005 when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed by some of the war actors. The Agreement ended the second civil war and led to the secession of South Sudan in 2011.

Sudan consists primarily of an extensive plain rising gradually to mountains in the northeast near the Red Sea coast as well as plateau and low mountains near the southern and western borders. The country has three lateral geographical areas. The first comprises the northern zone in the area from the Egyptian border to Khartoum, which is flat and arid land, together with the Nubian Desert, which stretches east to the Red Sea Mountains, as well as the Libya Desert in the west merges, which with the Sahara. The second is the central zone, which is intersected by many rivers and streams; there, the mountains rise to over 10,000 feet and the massive Abyssinian plateau borders the east. The third zone is made up of vast swamps of arable savanna and tropical forests. The impact of topography on the conflict between the north and the south was very minimal except in the northwest, that is, in Darfur, but this is beyond the scope of the present study.

## **People**

Ryle and Willis (2012), argued that based on archaeological evidence, it has been claimed that thousands of years ago groups of human beings emerged in East Africa, from where they gradually spread to other parts of Africa and the rest of the world. Olduvai Gorge, in present-day Tanzania, is known as ‘The Cradle of Mankind,’ where Homo sapiens (human beings) were said to have lived 17,000 years ago. Evidence also indicates that the first group of human beings migrated northwards from the Great Lakes of East Africa to the Nile region between the Ethiopian highlands and the Congo Basin which is presently known as South Sudan. During that era, the land was scantily populated and the people hardly infringed on one another’s rights. However, as population rose sharply, people began to compete fiercely for the few available natural resources, thus leading to conflict.

Following their massacre by the army of Mohammed Alli of the Great Ottoman Empire, surviving Mamluk barons migrated from Egypt and settled in the present region of North Sudan in 1811. Olomola, (1977). Most of the Arabs came to Sudan via the Egyptian Desert into Eastern Sudan, while some came to Sudan across the Red Sea, either through Abyssinia or directly to Sudanese ports such as Badi and Suakin between 641 and 651 AD. Breidlid, (2014) stated that in fact the full meaning of ‘Sudan’ is ‘Bilad al Sudan’, meaning ‘land of the Blacks’. Present-day Sudan is comprised by Arabs in the north and Nilo-Saharan peoples in the south. The migration of Arabs from Egypt into northern Sudan was another landmark in the history of Sudan. As the Arabs migrated, they took along their culture and religion. Always keen on propagating their religion and culture, the Arabs sought to introduce a newlifestyle to the peoples among whom they settled. Consequently, Sudan soon became a cultural and religious melting pot. This imposition of Islam and Arab culture on the southerners before and after independence is viewed as a major source of the protracted conflict between the north and the south. For example, various Khartoum governments imposed Shariah law, thus worsening the situation. According to McMichael, (1922) the

ethnic composition of the southerners was another key reason why it was difficult to resolve the conflict.

As the foregoing shows, for centuries there have been interactions by people of different religions (i.e. Islam, Christianity, and African traditional religions) and races (Westerners, Easterners and Southerners and the invading Arabs from the Middle East) in Sudan. Beshir, (1968), pointed out that as such, Sudan remains a culturally plural entity, being multi-racial, multi-religious and multi-lingual. An individual study of any aspect of this diversity will reveal numerous identities and loyalties. According to the 2000 population census, Sudan had the following ethno-linguistic groupings: sixty-one percent Black Africans; thirty-one percent of Arab stock; eight percent of other races and nationalities made up of principally of Egyptians, Turks, and Yemenis. The population census of April 2008 put the total figure at 39.2 million, with 30.9 million in Northern Sudan and 8.3 million in Southern Sudan. Malok, (2009) These figures differ significantly from those of 1956; in particular, the sharp rise in the northern population is remarkable.

Furthermore, according to Berry, (2015), the ethnic population of Sudan consists of some 600 ethnic groups which are divided into two main groups: Arabs and non-Arabs. Mostly found in the north, forty (40) percent identify themselves as 'Arabs' by language and culture. Others sharing Arab affinities are mostly found in the Northern Nile and in the Kassala areas, with the Beja in the east and the Fur in the west. These peoples are popularly known as Nubians. In addition, 17 percent of the southerners are Christians from the ethnic groups of Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk. These ethnic groups are also further divided into other ethnic groups. The Nuba who are found in the mountainous areas of South Kordofan are quite distinct culturally and linguistically from other ethnic groups in the south of Sudan but still identify them as Southern Sudanese.

As at 2010, the population of Sudan slightly surpassed 41 million with a population growth of 2.143. Approximately, 43 percent of the population resided in urban areas such as Khartoum. The population of the urban areas has been rising steadily due to the regional

conflict that forced people to migrate to the cities in northern Sudan. This could be because of the increasing numbers of residents in Khartoum and other regions.

The three regions of Upper Nile, Bahr al Ghazal and Equatoria constitute the southern regions. According to the 1973 census, the population of the region stood at 19.9 percent of the overall Sudan population. It was 25.5 and 19.9 in 1983 and 1993, respectively. The central regions in the east, south, and Darfur in the west had the highest populations a few decades ago. In terms of population, Khartoum, the federal capital, ranked sixth in 1972 but due to the influx of immigrants to the city, it came to third in 1993. The population has not risen since then. (Prendergast, and Mozersky, 2004).

Darfur was the most populous, with 19.2 percent of the total population, while the central region, in the eastern part, was second with 19 percent. However, when the three southern Sudanese regions combined, they came in the first place with 21.8 percent. The north has mostly been the least populated because of the arid nature of the land; in fact, the population has lately decreased due to desertification. The northern population was 6.5 percent in 1973 and 4.6 percent in 2008. (Sudan in Figures: 2005-2009)

However, it may not be correct to claim that religion runs across only the ethnic lines of Arab-Muslims and non-Arab-non-Muslims. While 75 percent and 25 percent of Sudanese in the north are Muslims and non-Muslims respectively, the south has a preponderant non-Arab, non-Muslim population. There, 65 percent of the population is African traditional worshippers while 17 percent and 19 percent are Christians and Muslims respectively. Most of the non-Arab Muslims are Black Africans living in the western region. It is therefore wrong to claim that South Sudan is a Christian-dominated region. (James, 2012). Adding to the country's ethnic diversity is the large number of refugees from neighbouring countries, such as Chad, Uganda, Kenya, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and the Central African Republic. Studies also reveal that more than half a million Egyptians and tens of thousands of people of other Arab and African nationalities pursue better economic opportunities in the country. Some of these peoples had in fact been in the country before independence. Thus, many questions arise on

the concept of citizenship in relation to religion and ethnic diversity as well as language. It may be argued that the secession of South Sudan was a response to the poor handling of the nation-building process by Khartoum. The study found that Khartoum appeared to have pursued a pro-Arab identity agenda at the expense of other ethnic nationalities.

### **Economic Life**

The first Sudanese settlers in the land practiced a mixed economy thousands of years ago and they were mainly cattle rearers. Those who settled along the banks of the Nile River and the Savanna areas practiced farming and fishing alongside animal rearing. Others specialised in animal husbandry and migrated seasonally with their cattle to areas where they could find green pasture and water to feed their cattle. Also common in Nilo-Saharan households were animals such as pigs, hens, donkeys and goats, cows sheep, horses, .

Breidlid, and Said (2014), explained further that hunting was also one of the earliest occupations of the people. There appears to be very little evidence to show that the Sudanese had large number of sheep and goats, when compare to other animals but they rode and used them to pull chariots. They also used elephants in wartime, but camels were not common along the Nile until the beginning of the Christian era. The Sudanese had a special irrigation system whereby they stored rainwater in large vessels about 50 feet deep and 820 feet wide, from where a system of canals transferred water to the fields. The system allowed them to grow millet, flax, cotton, groundnuts, simsim, sorghum, and cassava.

The earliest Sudanese also engaged in international trade. In the north of the Fifth Cataract, traders crossed the desert to rejoin the Nile above the Second Cataract so that they could avoid the dangerous stretches of the Nile in between. Many routes went eastwards to the Red Sea, where the Romans had developed ports to encourage trade. In this manner, the people exchanged goods with the people of Greece and Rome, near the East, southern Arabia and Abyssinia. It is also believed that the people traded with China and India. The articles of trade included iron tools, pottery, jewelry, bronze, silver artifacts, ivory, leopard skin and ostrich feathers.



Sudan is also endowed with natural mineral resources such as gold in the Red Sea Hills and in Nuba Province. Gypsum can be found in the Darfur area and chrome on Ingessana Hills. Asbestos, marble, manganese, iron ore, limestone, uranium and mica are in abundance in the country and these can create employment if explored. (James, L. 2012). The discovery of crude oil in the 1970s in the Abyei region of the country is another major issue in the prolonged Sudanese conflict. Oil was discovered in western Upper Nile (now Unity State in South Sudan) in the 1970s by Chevron. (James, 2012). Indeed, it has been argued that the discovery of oil hastened the abrogation of the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement, as President Nimeiri wished to ensure that the oil revenue was controlled by the government in Khartoum, without interference from the autonomous southern government in Juba. In any event, the oil fields saw some of the earliest activities of the war, with skirmishes beginning in 1983, leading to the closure of the Chevron operation in 1984 after three expatriate workers were killed and six others injured during a night-time attack on the camp by SPLM/A. Earlier that year, oil workers had been captured and subsequently released by the rebels, but Chevron ignored warnings to shut down its operations and leave the area.

Thereafter, ECOS called upon the oil industry to suspend operations until there was peace, as oil activities had intensified the conflict and were contributing to international crimes. Through its representatives, Dr. Haruun Ruun and Telar Deng of New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC), the church met Jim Buckee, the CEO of Canadian company Talisman, a major player in the Sudanese oil industry. They were accompanied by two senior Canadian churchmen, Rev. Bill Phipps, the Moderator of the United Church of Canada, and Rev. Clint Mooney. Buckee appeared not to take them very seriously and assured them that Talisman would never pull out. (Interview with Mr. Gildo Francis, 2017 by the author).

### **Religion**

In Sudan, religion is a daily affair. It is therefore no surprise that it played a big part in South Sudan's secession in 2011, as governments controlled by the northern elite had sought to Islamise and Arabise Sudan. Predictably, the Christian and animist southerners vigorously

resisted such attempts. To be sure, two-thirds of the Sudan population is Muslims of the Sunni sect, although members of the Sufi brotherhood also exist. In general, Muslims are found in the eastern, western and central parts of Sudan.

Christianity dominates the south, followed by Islam. However, African traditional religious worshippers are also very visible in the region's religious landscape. The South Sudanese were converted to Christianity by the Christian missionaries who came into the country in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. Oral records suggest that Christianity came into Sudan before the advent of Islam in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. There was trading between Egyptian Christians and Nubians at Fara in the 5<sup>th</sup> Century, and the 6<sup>th</sup> Century witnessed the conversion of Nubian kings to Christianity. The missionaries who came from Ethiopia were then known as Abyssinians. From the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Nubian kings were Christians and Christianity was the state religion of the three Sudanese kingdoms before the invasion and conquest in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the Arab Muslims. Oral sources also indicate that before the advent of Christianity and Islam, the Black (Nilotic) Sudanese practiced their indigenous religions without discriminating among themselves. It is thus clear that the foreign religions were responsible for dividing the people and prolonging the conflict. Nowadays few Sudanese continue to practice the religions of their forbears. (Interview with Mr. Joseph Awet, 2017 by the author).

### **Colonial rule**

British colonialism in Sudan severely impacted Sudanese history, as it, ab initio, sought to divide the north and the south. Indeed, the British were known to have favoured the divide-and-rule policy in many parts of Africa. Noticing the divergent personalities of southerners and northerners, the British nevertheless ensured a "forced marriage" between them in 1956. Certainly, Sudan fell to Britain after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. However, before the Anglo-Egyptian condominium rule which ran from 1820 to 1889, South Sudanese had experienced the slavetrade during the Turko-Egyptian and Mahdist periods. The emergence of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium ended the slave trade era in the southern part of Sudan

and another era of imperial dominion began in the country. (Interview with Mr. John Abboud, 2017). This Anglo-Egyptian occupation also affected every aspect of the country's development. From 1899 to 1945, the Anglo-Egyptian rulers practiced dissimilar systems of administration in the South and in the North. With the Closed District Ordinance, the South was effectively separated from the North. This era also witnessed the coming of the Christian missionaries and the introduction of a few mission schools, as well as the connection of the Southern Sudanese economy to the world market. The Christian missionaries did not allow the southerners to form political parties as their counterparts in the north did and the number of available schools was insufficient for the region's population at the time. This situation appeared to have been contrived by the colonial authorities in the hope of slowing down political and economic development in the South. No doubt, this factor also contributed to the prolongation of the Sudanese conflict.

By the 1870s slave trading in southern Sudan had reached unprecedented levels even though it had been outlawed in the United States of America in 1863 and in Britain in 1807. The governors of Equatoria, Sir Samuel Baker and General Charles George, tried to suppress and end the slave trade. In 1882, Britain invaded Egypt in response to Tawfic's request, and Britain then took over control of Egypt and Sudan. Soon after, the Mahdist rebellion grew in strength and eventually resulted in the overthrow of the Turko-Egyptian government in Sudan in 1885. The subsequent killing of Governor-General Charles George Gordon was unexpected and this led to the sacking of the country. Owing to the demand from the Christian missionaries and fraternities at home, Britain was compelled to authorise Lord Kitchener in March 1896 to launch a campaign to retaliate Gordon's death and to conquer the Mahdists in Sudan. Britain provided an army and war materials, while the Egyptians financed the expedition. Therefore, Anglo-Egyptian troops overthrew the Mahdists in April 1889. (Bredlid and Said, 2014).

In its bid to gain a foothold in Sudan during the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Britain contrived to prevent other European powers from competing for the territory. In the end, it was Britain and France which dominated the contest for Africa, although Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and

Germany also had their share of the 'African cake.' The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 had specified the rules for competing over the continent's territories. One of the rules was that each European power was obliged to inform others about their intentions before trying to take over any territory. Another requirement was that the European power had to sign treaties with the local chiefs in order to effectively secure the territory and avoid clashes with other European powers. (Daly, 1991).

As noted already, the Anglo-Egyptian condominium rule (1899-1956) created a gulf between the north and south of Sudan, thus making conflict inevitable after the country's independence in 1956. While some view the British intervention in the southern region (i.e. Bahr El Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria) as humane, others feel otherwise about the isolation of the south via the Closed District Order of 1922. The Order, together with the Southern Policy of 1930, appeared to have led to the uneven pace of sociopolitical and economic development in both regions, as the policies effectively prevented trade between traders from both sides. From the northern perspective, however, this amounted to no more than the cutting of an artery. A distinguished northerner observed that British policy saddled independent Sudan with a heavy baggage which led to the emergence of some form of pervasive ethnic patriotism in the south even though the sentiment was not acceptable to everyone living there.

While the British argued that the Southern Policy was in fact meant to protect the region, not retard its development, it has been observed that the policy was pursued to absurd lengths and that the British government actually dragged its foot on developing the south. It has also been argued that the British governance of southern Sudan was haphazard and caused tribal rivalries. This is also claimed that the departing Rassa discouraged the use of English in the North because the British feared that the use of Arabic in the South would strengthen the sophisticated north against the vulnerable southerners. The British had thought there would be time for the South to build up some kind of administrative structure of its own after independence. Ghaffare, Holt, and Ibrahim (1989).

However, contextual exigencies resulted in the British handover of power to the Sudanese following international pressure for decolonisation of the colonies after the Second World War in 1945. In 1946, the Southern Policy was reversed in a declaration which acknowledged the fact that southern Sudanese were inextricably bound, geographically and economically, to the Middle-Eastern and Arabised northern Sudanese as far as future developments were concerned. The new policy would, therefore, be to ensure that they were equipped to stand up for themselves as social and economic equals of the northerners. The new policy was an early herald of Sudanese independence and was based on British recognition that withdrawal from Sudan was only a matter of time and the South could not be allowed to secede from the North. (Interview with Prof. Anne Itto Leonardo, 2017).

However, there were many other reasons for this decision. Britain had realised that, in the post-world War II years, the Sudanese Defense Force, guarding 1200 miles of frontier with only 4500 men, had many times held off Italian troops from Ethiopia. Subsequently some units from the North which had served with the British Army in North Africa to protect the vast interests of the British in the Suez Canal Zone, became anxious to placate Egypt and were all too conscious and resentful of the fact that they had been very junior partners in the Anglo-Egyptian condominium. There was concession in Egypt, which had become a sovereign power by 1936 and was claiming the whole of Sudan as its southern province. Egypt decided to proclaim Farouk the king of Sudan in 1951. But in 1952, King Farouk was forced to abdicate and the new Republic of Egypt opted to support independence for Sudan.

Meanwhile, southern intellectuals, who had criticised the British for doing too little for the southerners' economic, social and educational development, condemned the reversal of the southern policy as a sellout to the Arabs. Khartoum claimed at the time that the southerners had been fully consulted by the North on the unity of Sudan and that southern representatives had agreed to this policy at a conference held in 1947 in Juba. But the few educated people, the elites and the articulate minority in the South accused southern delegates

of having been bribed, blackmailed and intimidated into saying ‘yes’ to the total unification of Sudan in 1956. Moor-Harell (1999).

The northerners who took over power from the British failed to honour or implement any of the agreements reached between 1955 and 1972 with the southerners on the issues of true federalism and the emergence of a secular state. The South argued that they were no more ready for unification than for ‘Sudanisation’ in 1954, a position which the Southerners resented and rejected. After the attainment of independence in 1956, out of the available official positions of 800 senior government posts only 8 were given to southerners. Moor-Harell (1999).

Before colonisation, different ethnic groups, including the Arabs and non-Arabs, intermingled, intermarried, integrated and generally had some things in common. The divide-and-rule strategy of colonialism succeeded in legally alienating some of the ethnic groups from one another, as it hindered understanding and cooperation among them. It has been noted that the “imperial power prevented the Sudanese from knowing each other, feeling with each other, working with each other and learning from each other.” These artificial barriers were most blatant after the enactment of the ‘Close District Order’. Under this law, movements across certain areas were prohibited to northern and southern Sudanese. Each region was compelled to use strictly its own language and harsh penalties faced those who did not abide by the law. Ibrahim, (2009).

## **CONCLUSION**

The patterns in which the British negotiated the independence of the country only with the Arabs whom they believed were more politically mature and capable of ruling compared to the southerners, can be traced to be the remote causes of the country’s protracted conflict. Consequently, this bred political agitation in the south, east and west although these regions lacked the political movements or parties that could compete favourably with those in the North. Prior to independence, therefore, the British had contrived to hand over economic and political power to the Arabs in the North. In response, the southerners had organised a

conference in Juba in 1947. The conference communiqué condemned the unification with Khartoum, although the delegates had to abide by the British decision.

In 1957 another conference was held in Juba on the southerners' position on relations with Khartoum. The delegates called for the granting of an autonomous status to the South under a federal model or the right to self-determination and total independence from the North. (Interview with Mr. Barnabas Bior, 2017). Although the North agreed to address these demands, the status quo remained. In fact, northerners continued to infiltrate the South to replace British officials as administrators, teachers and senior officers in the army and police force. Consequently, southerners saw the Arabs as another group of colonisers. Earlier in August 1955 there had been a mutiny by southern soldiers under the command of a northern officer. Fearing that they might be disarmed and moved to the North, the soldiers retreated into the bush and neighbouring countries to form the Anya Nya (meaning snake poison) and pursue armed struggle for emancipation. The Anya Nya was the first southern guerrilla movement to challenge Khartoum.

Without doubt, the main task for Khartoum was to decide on the future constitutional status of Sudan and to prepare the country and its people for independence during a three-year transitional period. Two further major issues were left unresolved in the constitution. First, the religious nature of the state was not addressed as to whether Sudan should be secular or Islamic. Second, the constitution did not specify the distribution of power between the different regions and levels of government, Sudan being a federal model. The influx of northerners to the south and failure to implement a decentralised model of governance led to the first Sudanese civil war. Similarly, Khartoum's failure to honour the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 led to the second civil war which lasted from 1983 to 2005. The war only ended after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

Lastly, from the foregoing, it can be seen that Sudan was already well primed for conflict as at independence, considering the divergent political interests in the country and the challenges of its geography.

## RECOMMENDATION

The paper makes the following recommendation:

1. The paper reveals the importance of adopting a multi-track approach to conflict resolution in Africa, with internal mechanisms being fruitfully combined with external ones in the effort to achieve peace and stability on the continent.
2. The paper demonstrates that deprivation, ethnic differences and political exclusion were the primary causes of the protracted conflict in Sudan, hence the need for governments in Africa to be sensitive to these issues in policy formulation and implementation.

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# **A GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE OF RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Most developing countries are endowed with abundant natural resources. Nature provides resources to human beings for their survival, which a resource manager needs to deepen their understanding on the definition of resource and its changing paradigm, dynamism and approaches in a specific social, cultural, and geographical ground. This paper aimed to arrange the fundamental concepts and knowledge about resource management. On the whole, resources were seen as natural gifts and this idea still remain valid till date. This work is based on exploratory review of the available published materials. It contains introduction, it talked of resource allocation and went on to classify resources, in the advancement of the field of resource management, and approaches to resource management. Conceptual arguments, the changing paradigm, evolving definition of resource, natural resource management and resource management, poverty and development linkages, and millennium development goals, the body of the text was concluded and followed by documents consulted.

**Keywords:** Environment, Geography, extraction and exploitation, and resource management

## INTRODUCTION

The environment is the source of human livelihood that is either natural or man-made which takes shape through human skill, mind and power. Human beings through innate intelligence are able to sustain their continued existence through eking out the resources to meet their day-to-day needs. The needs that require to be satisfied are growing on daily basis and the question arises, on how and from where can human being sources and meets their resource needs bearing in mind that certain resource are flow while others are exhaustive in nature. The ever-increasing demand, with corresponding short in supply, relative to demand and the growing scarcity in extraction and exploitation, constitute a daily trend. These are issues which could determine the availability and utilization of resources. The process of living normal human life has continued to pile pressure in the surrounding environment and its carrying capacity. Another important aspect of resource management study is the level of skill and influence existing among the people and stakeholders that are directly involved in proper utilization and management of the resources. There is the issue of the diversity in affluence and welfare between and within countries that has increased. Still inherent in the development process, is that some groups are included and others are excluded. Therefore, processes of social inclusion and exclusion remain in the focus of development studies.

Therefore, the scope of resource management has to carry these issues and challenges for the better understanding and sustainability of future survival of human beings, and at the same time maintain the surrounding environment. According to Krishna Prasad Poudel (2012) there are two schools of thought; “one is oriented towards the people (human) centric contextual ground of discourse of ‘resource’ with a view towards the combination of opportunities provided by the nature as a resource base and the human demand, mind, skill, knowledge, culture, society and rules and regulations; and the second is concentrated on natural resources as a free gifted stocks and its management for regular exploitation”. This paper therefore, aimed to arrange the fundamental concepts and knowledge about resource management. On the whole, resources were seen as natural gifts and this idea still remain valid

in the university curricula. Till date, University level resource management curriculum has been designed within the framework of natural resource management or can we say the management of free gifted stock of resources? In practice, the theoretical thrust of resource management is tilted towards both. It is often mixed with the social and the natural contextual ground. Poudel (2012) observed that the uni-directional natural resource management paradigm provides university graduates as well as resource managers no clear idea and they often are facing problems on identification of management issues and challenges; and are confusing to dig out the solutions. The philosophical maxim and thinking of conservative natural resource management have been changed and the emphases have been given more on the human or people centric viewpoints

### **Methodology**

This work relied on review of widely published documents, reports, books, and website materials along with the experiential field studies and knowledge based on practical ground was used to bring discussion in this form. This work has a geographical perspective on the framework of people centric conceptual basis to explain the resource management to coalesce both nature and society. With this understanding, it will help resource manager to achieve sustainable development goals. The work has the following sub-heads: Introduction, conceptual argument, shifting paradigm, dynamism in the resource definition, natural resource management and resource management, and resource classification, evolution. The field of resource management, approaches, conclusion and followed by references.

### **Conceptual Argument**

Our survival depends essentially on natural resources derived from the environment. These could be split into three main themes. An aspect relates the definitions of natural resources to the physical environment. For instance, they focused on biophysical processes of nature or the finiteness of stocks. A larger group of codes described natural resources as a dynamic concept, or even a social construct, dependent on its value in relation to human needs and wants. This view, namely, that “resources become” instead of that “resources are”, was already elaborately

described in an industrious volume by E. W. Zimmermann in (1951). A more recent example of this view was provided by Cutter and Renwick (2004), when they argued that environmental cognition, “the mental process of making sense out of the environment that surrounds us”, lies at the base of natural resources: “A resource does not exist without someone to use it. Resources are by their very nature human-centred. Different individuals or groups value resources differently”. The largest group of codes described the intersection between these two views of natural resources, acknowledging both its provision by the natural environment and its value in relation to human activities. Andersen (2012), averred, that “natural resources exist independently of humans but are only identified as resources, and thus ascribed value, in relation to human activities”. Our survival depends on lots of them as indispensable while the others are used to meet human wants. Today’s world heavily depends on different natural resources to meet the demands of emergent industries. The common definition of natural resource finds acceptance naturally within environment that exists quite undisturbed by mankind or existing in a natural form. A natural resource is often set apart by amounts of biodiversity and geo-diversity existent in various ecosystems. The variety and quantity of uses of natural resources have increased at present to such an extent that was never found before in the history of mankind.

New requirements for various resources in modern society have increased the demand for them a thousand-fold and have woven them into combinations whose patterns are constantly changing. (Malla and Shrestha, 1983). Osawe (2016) noted that Resource war tries to explain the geopolitical implication of resource scarcity and the unresolved crisis, conflicts and war that the surge and demand for oil will become at this auspicious time of declining yield. Outside the boundary of natural resource definition, the dictionary meaning of resources is a concept employed to denote sources of human satisfaction and wealth or strength. Johnston, Gregory, and Smith (1986) stated that labour entrepreneurial skills, investment funds, fixed capital assets, technology and the cultural and physical attributes of an area may all be referred to as resources of a nation or region, company or household.

Berkes (2010) noted that the conventional notions of ‘natural resources’ and ‘management’ are problematic because of their history, and as such, they need to be reconceptualised. He suggests, that the term ‘resource’ carries a sense of ‘free goods’, with an idea of human centric use and co-m modification of nature. It can be revised to include the protection of ecosystem services for human well-being. Furthermore, he wrote that the conventional concepts of ‘natural resources’ and ‘management’ are problematic, if not obsolete, because of their history or the ‘baggage’ they carry. These two terms can be replaced or, perhaps more reasonably, be redefined in view of new perspectives and changing paradigms. Base on resilience thinking (resilience theory) which provides an entry point into the process of change, and is a recurring theme in the discussion of shifting perspectives in resource management. Hence, resilience can be used as the conceptual basis of such a redefinition.

### **Resource Allocation**

Resource allocation is the spatial and temporal placing use of resource in a pattern that reflects the goals, priorities and aspirations of a community including their future generation in a source friendly approach. In resource management it is projected that such resource allocation pattern does not result in unnecessary detrimental effects in the biophysical and socioeconomic systems. Rather, it should allow resource allocation to be regulated by combination of and compromising in social, cultural, economic, ecological and institutional processes (Omara-Ojungu, 1992).

In the Western societies, George Perkins Marsh in Vermont, USA, has noticed this scenario as early as 1864. He has mentioned that “Man is everywhere a disturbing agent. Wherever he plants his foot, the harmonies of nature are turned to discords. Man has subverted the balance of nature” (Marsh 1864 reprinted 1964). However, in the developing countries, environmental deterioration is the order of the day because the ill management of resources has been realized after the late 1960s. Basically, this situation occurred due to post-colonial development in economic growth (Omara-Ojungu, 1992).

### **General Characteristic of Natural Resources**

According to Osawe (2017) there are two categories of natural resources, namely, renewable and non-renewable. Non-renewable resources include the minerals, and rocks these are stock with a more or less finite initial endowment that are capable of being depleted over time. They can further be divided into four, namely (a) materials from which metal are extracted; (b) materials used for their intrinsic chemical or property value; (c) material of their distinct aggregate physical value such as gemstones or those used for building material and lastly (d) material used for generating energy (Harris and Skinner, 1982). It (a) and (d) is possible subject of depletion and caution must be exercised to achieving sustainable resource use. The second category, 'renewable' are called flow resources because they can be easily recharge within short and possible time. However, this category of resources can further be classified as those capable of being reduced or removed by human activities or action and those that cannot. Examples in the two categories are; biological resources, atmosphere and the second category are tides. Most of these resources are highly mobile and this has rendered the management a difficult task. Natural resources can further be classified on the basis of origin, and may be divided into two namely; Biotic and Abiotic. Biotic resources are obtained from the biosphere, such as plants and their products, animals, birds and their products, fish, other marine organisms and mineral fuels such as coal and petroleum. On the other hand, Abiotic resources include non-living things. Examples include land, water, air and minerals including ores such as gold, iron, copper, silver etc. Considering their stage of development, natural resources may be referred to in the following ways: Potential Resources, Actual Resources, Reserve Resources, Stock Resources. With respect to renewability, natural resources can be categorized as follows; Renewable resources, Non-renewable resources, Inexhaustible natural resources, Exhaustible natural resources, Ubiquitous resources and Localized resources.

### **Approaches Natural Resource Management**

The models and approaches depend upon the contextual basis. At a broad level, resource management studies take the physical environments one basic departure point, the human attribute as the other and the controls on the interaction between the physical and human attributes. The physical attribute is discussed under the ecological approach, the controls under the economic and technological and the human attributes under the ethnological approach (Omara-Ojunga, 1992, Thakur, 2003; Mitchell, 2003). With a view to resource utilization, management and the adaptive practices, management entertained through the understanding of population as a demand side, natural resources as a supply side and physical, bio-physical, social, economic, cultural, rules, regulation and other external influences under the limiting factors. All these factors have to be integrated and follow a holistic approach of resource management (Poudel, 2001, 2003).

### **Changing Paradigm in Resource Management**

Since the dawn of human civilization, resources were used and viewed and considered in broad spectrum of the man environmental interrelationship. In the early days of human history, man perceived nature to control human activities. Human activities were just to use the responses of whatsoever is provided by the environment. Nature's control over human action was strongly accepted. In the same way, extraction and utilization of resources was determined according to the nature's limitation. These are worthwhile and necessary actions that represent real or actual progress towards an ecologically sustainable economy (Freedman, 2018; Fakudu, 2014); They played a significant role in the development of environmental determinism movement.

Hunting, food gathering and early day's farming were the major sources of resource to survive. That was also defined as 'deterministic' or 'determinism' relationship of man and environment. According to this dictum, the nature controls the human activities and (Harden, 2009) in providing a definition of environmental determinism on the relationship between humans and environment. Onal (2018) noted that throughout the history of science of



geography many ideas were generated to explain human-environment relationship. Among this environmental determinism has been one of the much-discussed ideas since its birth. Though some geographers defend the constructive and destructive power of man in human-environment interaction, some others asserted that the environment controls human activities (Tumertekin, 1990). This was the philosophical paradigm. Gradually, with time, man achieved accomplishment over the nature's law and control. Man gained the capability to modify the determinants of the nature. Poudel (2012) noted that early days of industrial revolution have given more emphasis on high yield production system, large quantities of mineral exploration and extraction of resource in a scale of abundance. At another stage, man thought on control over nature. This was the period perceived as 'possibilism' in man's environment relationship. Steadily, forest and its resources degraded and destroyed; similarly, a number of mines have been exhausted. However, the renewable resources were not renewed through period of extraction. The common thinking was that nature gives opportunity to human being but the nature's law to control the resources is still active.

The notion of infinite sources of natural resources has been changed to perceive depletion. A number of renewable resources require managing according to their restock time period. The harmony of man-environment interrelationship is accepted only after the proper management of resources provided by the nature. The interactive interrelationship between man and environment has been perceived for the sustainable future of human being.

Resource economist, Judith Rees (1990) has clarified the term 'resources' on the theoretical recording made available by Zimmermann as 'an aid or means of support to the human species. She went further to state that resources can only be evaluated through the values their users attribute them' (Rees, 1990). Resources are never inert but expand and contract in response to human wants and action. She further opined that the ideas on what constitutes resources have altered dramatically overtime, in response to growing knowledge, technical upgrading and cultural developments which have altered perceived needs' (Rees, 1990). Similarly, Omara-Ojunga (1992) stress on changing nature of material resources with

respect to time and knowledge of the society. He clarifies that a neutral material to one culture at one time may become a resource in the same culture at another time. He further stated that resource cannot be taken as physical object but shoes the functional relationship that exists “between people’s wants, action, knowledge, attitudes, values, aspirations towards the worth of an environment”. Therefore, within this theoretical background, resource and material are two different conditions. Firstly, nature provides material and secondly, that the human action, knowledge, skill, attitudes; values change the material to add value that satisfy human wants that is constantly dynamic. This dynamism in resources is not just in response to increased knowledge, improved arts, expanding science, but also to response to varying individual wants and social objectives. Consequently, resources are defined as means of achieving a given ends, i.e. individual wants and social objectives. That is, they derive their meaning from the ends they serve. This philosophical thread can be linked with the human civilization and changing definition of resources (Poudel 2012).

It can be noted that human civilization altering the phases of hunting, gathering, agriculture and industry and increasingly the definition of resources are equally changing along the social and cultural trend. In as much as human beings continue to ascend to higher culture levels, culture will remain an increasingly important as the dynamic force in the creation of resources. This is certainly because human culture rests physically on reality at all times and it is the physical environment that evaluates both quantitative and qualitative view of the changing relationships of trends and forces not the static conditions.

### **Evolving Definition of Resource**

The meaning of natural resources has continued to evolve over the years. Nevertheless, the nature of this change has been characterised by divergences in disciplinary conceptualizations of the meaning of resources. Different Schools of thought such as ecology, sociology and environmental science define natural resources from each of the disciplinary perspectives. From perspective of sociology and economics, natural resources are viewed from a humanistic and purely economic sense. Such definitions consider natural resources as material sources of

wealth such as timber, mineral deposits, or water that occur in a natural state. Such materialistic definitions also embrace an economic perspective. The history of resource use to date has been one of continuous discoveries, with an ever-widening definition of the resource base as follow:

1. Paleolithic man – perceived few resources –naturally available plants, animals, water, wood and stone.
2. The Neolithic man – primitive food gathering to primitive farming and subsequent introduction to some metal-based technologies.
3. Modern man – has different forms of activities and resources. The definition of resource may vary with time, and space. As repeating the above-mentioned sentence written by Omara-Ojungu (1992) ‘neutral stuff’ to one culture at one time may become a resource in the same culture at some other time.

Natural Resource Management, Resource Management, Poverty and Development Linkages  
Natural resource management has been defined as a systematic, scientific and standard that forms a basis for *sustainable* management (conservation and use) and governance of natural resources such as land, water, soil, plants and animals, with a precise focus on how the management affects *the quality of life* for both present and future generations (also see *Sanginga, Ochola and Bekalo, 2010*). Scholars have widely documented those natural resources contribute significantly to development in variety of ways such as: an economic activity and source of growth; as a livelihood, a source of employment for people; and as a provider of environmental services capable of both good and bad outcomes (NEPAD, 2003; Comim *et al.*, 2009; Khan, 2008; IAASTD, 2009; Chowdhury and Ahmed, 2010).

### **Natural Resource Management and the Millennium Development Goals**

The year 2000, was a landmark for the United Nations (UN) when the eight (8) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were adopted, as the broad comprehensive and specific development goals the UN set for the world to achieve by 2015. They provide a framework for the entire international community to work together towards a common end – making sure

that human development reaches everyone, everywhere in the world. The MDGs were both global and local, that was customized by each country to suit their specific development needs and aspirations. There is a specific MDG focusing on environmental sustainability (MDG7) that advocates for the integration of the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes aimed to reverse the loss of environmental resources. MDG 7 was directly linked and was critical to the attainment of all other goals. It can be succinctly observed that sustainable management of natural resources can contribute to poverty alleviation, helps reduce diseases and child mortality, improves maternal health, and can contribute to gender equality and universal education. Non-sustainable use of natural resources, including land, water, forests and fisheries, can threaten individual livelihoods as well as local, national and international economies. The environment can play a significant role in contributing to development and human well-being. It can as well increase human vulnerability, causing human migration, insecurity and other health effects on the populace. This was what informs UNEP to observe that Environmental scarcity can foster cooperation, but can also contribute to tensions or conflicts (UNEP, 2007).

The natural resource management stress on sustainability and this can be traced back to an early attempt to understand the ecological nature of American rangelands in the late 19th century, and the resource conservation movement of that time. This analysis coalesced in the 20th century with recognition that preservationist conservation strategies had not been effective in halting the decline of natural resources. This resulted in an integrated approach that was implemented recognizing the intertwined social, cultural, economic and political aspects of resource management. This was translated to a holistic, even globally accepted an all-encompassing and culminating in the Brundtland Commission that champion's advocacy of sustainable development. Today, the most active areas of natural resource management are Wildlife management often associated with Eco-tourism and Rangeland (pastures) management.

## **Resource management**

Resource management is concerned with allocation and distribution of resources and biophysical and socioeconomic milieu in which resources are or ought to be developed. Such resource allocation patterns do not result in unnecessary harmful effects in the biophysical and socioeconomic systems. Omara-Ojunga(1992) advocates that resource allocation should therefore influence the production, consumption and distribution of resources in a direction consistent with the local, regional or national development objectives. This, to him would involve controls on the amount, quantity, timing, availability and the general direction of resource development. Resource management strategies are designed to promote exploitation, enhancement and restoration of resources. On the other hand, O’Riordan (1971 cited in Omaro-Ojunga, 1992) resource management ‘may be defined as a process of decision-making whereby resources are allocated over space and time according to the needs, aspirations, and desires of man within the framework of his legal and administrative framework’. When resources are deployed in accordance with the needs, aspiration of the people within the areas of resource location, it impacts positively in their livelihoods.

Resources management examines strategies and technologies for resource development in order to sustain economic growth without hampering the environment. To Mitchell (1989) ‘resource development represents the actual exploitation or use of resource during the transformation of neutral stuff into a commodity or service to serve human needs and aspirations. The issues of management are closely related with the conservation of the existing resource available. However, Omara-Ojunga (1992) observes that resource conservation and resource management have substantial differences. The term conservation retains an implicit streak or undertone of ‘no use’(preservation), thus causing the misunderstanding that conservation advocates no growth. In contrast, resource management is a more comprehensive and positive term. In the latest literature the term conservation is slightly using in liberal tone and is also deviated from the preservation in practice (Berket, 2010). The issues of management are closely related with the conservation of existing

resources. Malla (1998) is of the views that: “it is to be reiterated that conservation relate to the utilization of resources in a way that guarantees their benefit for all. The purpose of conservation has elements of sustainability that is to enable not only ourselves today, but also our grandsons and great-g-grandsons to have same in future. So we should take proper inventory of the resource available and keep them well protected and use them skillfully, judiciously and carefully. Human beings who are born to die after living a short while on this earth does not possess any right whatsoever to destroy ruthlessly the resources which are meant for human welfare forever.”In a resource management context, the term is reserved for substances, organisms and properties of the physical environment i.e. natural resources. Human beings in their respective environment assess natural systems, in terms of resources for those elements to which they have the know-how and technology to make use of and which provide desired goods and services to them. Those natural resources that fail to meet the quality of these set criteria have no accepted value.

## **CONCLUSION**

We can conclude by the assertion that environmental cognition, “the mental process of making sense out of the environment that surrounds us”, lies at the base of natural resources: “A resource does not exist without someone to use it. Resources are by their very nature human-centred. Different individuals or groups value resources differently”. The largest group of codes described the intersection between these two views of natural resources, acknowledging both its provision by the natural environment and its value in relation to human activities. The way and degree of understanding resources by the local people and availability of natural stuffs (stock) over the specific geographical territory are two different aspects to integrate by a resource manager. A resource manager has to carry responsibilities of understanding people, resource and the limiting factors of space within an interactive framework. Efforts to sustainably manage natural resources and increase pliability of livelihoods to threats and crises will contribute to sustainable development in developing countries. All these efforts will rely

on the management capacity of institutions and on co-ordination and governance mechanisms established to develop and implement judicial, legal and regulatory frameworks.

The importance of establishing policies and policy instruments that facilitates the involvement of the social, economic and environmental sectors and institutions in planning development and in preparing an agenda of institutional strengthening and capacity building resident at regional, national and local levels will be effective. Partnerships for building regional and national systems for natural resources management and adapting to climate change: The policy and institutional dimensions of natural resources management should focus on building regional and nationwide systems that are able to equitably sustain and multiply the benefits of good practices of natural resources management and resilience building in the interest of all members.

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# ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY THREATS AND VIOLENT CONFLICT IN NIGERIA; THE FEDERAL CAPITAL TERRITORY IN PERSPECTIVE

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## ABSTRACT

The global concern for environmental protection is on the increase in recent times more than ever. This is partly due to the attribution of some violent conflict between communities, parties within states and between states to environmental insecurity. Consequently, there are concerted efforts globally towards the minimization of anthropogenic threats to the functional integrity of the biosphere. However, it appears that not much is done in practice to protect the environment in the Nigerian Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. Hence, this article aims at examining environmental security threats and violent conflict in FCT, Abuja. Specifically, the objective of this article is to identify the threats to environmental security in FCT and to examine the relationship between environmental security and violent conflict. As a position paper, the concept of environmental security was defined *inter alia* to mean the proper usage of environmental resources to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Urbanization, pollution, deforestation, urban slumps, climate change, etc were identified as environmental security threats in FCT. Based on the numerous research findings on relationships between environmental security and various forms of violent conflict and insecurity, it is submitted that environmental insecurity can ensue violent conflict in FCT if it remains unchecked. Recommendations including the following were made: that there is urgent need for massive education and enlightenment of Abuja inhabitants on environmental protection. There should be strict enforcement of the laws for environmental protection. Environmental protection should be treated as a serious security issue since its violation affects both human health, rights and peaceful coexistence.

**Keywords:** Environmental Security, Environmental Security Threats, Violent Conflict.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Scholars and policy-makers have engaged in a long-running discussion about the relationship between environmental matters and various forms of conflicts and security during the past two decades (Floyd and Matthew, 2013). This discussion has drawn global attention more than ever to issues bordering environmental protection, with a key objective of preventing further damages to the ecosystems. The Nigerian government in many of her policies and legal framework on environment has also shown great concern for the protection of the environment. However, the seeming unabated violation of environmental laws and engagement in practices that destroy the environment by individuals, private and public institutions in the Nigerian Federal Capital Territory Abuja is a matter of great concern as this might lead to violent conflict in the area. This is even more worrisome considering the level of insecurity in Nigeria at the moment partly attributed to environmental devastation in some parts of the country. Indeed, the 2019 edition of Global Peace Index, placed Nigeria among the five least peaceful countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Somalia and South Sudan (Aworinde, 2019). This absence of peace characterized by current violent conflicts and insecurity in Nigeria is partly linked to the struggles for vegetative land between farmers and herders due to desertification which has affected part of the country.

This article shall therefore examine environmental security in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja and how it could engender violent conflict if unchecked. It shall proceed with the clarification of the concept of environmental security, through the identification and discussion of threats to environmental security in FCT, examination of the link between environmental security and violent conflict, recommendations and conclusion.

### **Environmental Security**

Environmental security is one of the new non-traditional security issues that have served to deepen and broaden the concept of security as it does not only consider the security of individual states but also the security of the global environment. It refers to the relative public

safety from environmental dangers caused by natural or human processes due to ignorance, accident, mismanagement or design and originating within or across national borders. Environmental security is the proactive minimization of anthropogenic threats to the functional integrity of the biosphere and thus to its interdependent human component. Ensuring environmental security means guarding against environmental degradation and depletion in order to preserve or protect human, material, and natural resources at scales ranging from global to local (Zurlini, and Muller 2008) Environmental security involves the attempts to assess the extent to which environmental changes causes violent conflict within and between countries, explain ways in which environmental changes may undermine national security, investigate ways in which wars and their preparations affect the environment and also investigates the linkages between environmental security and development issues such as poverty and human security (Ugwuanyi, 2014). Environmental security also entails the proper usages of environmental resources to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Environmental security enhances economic sustainability by promoting the maximization of society's well-being through the optimal and efficient use of natural and environmental resources. The security of the environment can only be guaranteed when the laws and policies for the protection of the environment is enforced and kept but an unprotective environment may lead to violent conflict. The question is, is Abuja environment like any other part of Nigeria adequately protected?

Nigeria has a total land area of 983,213 km<sup>2</sup> occupied by about 200 million people: The interaction of these millions of people with their environment has left indelible mark on the landscape. Urbanization, deforestation, desertification, over population and all kinds of pollution are some of the resultant effects of man's interaction with his environment. These changes occur as the people attempt to acquire their seemingly endless desire for food, shelter, recreation and infrastructural facilities. Though these wants and desires contribute to the development of the country, the unwise use of the land and its resources produce negative

impacts on the environment. Federal Environmental Protection Agency (FEPA) was established to control the Nigerian Environment, its resources exploitation and management. But field observation revealed that environmental degradation is growing at a rate worse than the pre-FEPA period (Omofonmwan and Osa-Edoh, (2017). However, the core environmental security threats vary by region in Nigeria. In the Niger-Delta region, oil spillage had rendered thousands of people homeless and had triggered violent conflict in demonstration of solidarity. Lagos, Delta and Edo states continue to battle with over flooding in their homes, intense draught continue to wreaked havoc on agriculture in the northern part of the country (Omofonmwan and Osa-Edoh, 2017). In the federal capital territory of Nigeria, Abuja like many other parts of Nigerian the environment is under severe threats due to human activities and in activities. The next section takes a look at the various environmental security threats in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria Abuja.:

### **Environmental security threats in Federal Capital Territory**

The following has been identified as some of the key environmental security threats in FCT, Abuja.

**1. Urbanisation.** The physical growth of urban areas as a result of rural migration and suburban concentration into cities as been identified as a common experience of developing countries largely due to industrialization and changes in the global economy (Cohen, 2006). Urbanization is a serious environmental threat to the Federal Capital Territory of Nigerian as it is characterized by the overstretching of the environment. The increasing demand of social services and infrastructure to cope with the rate of growth worsens the condition of the environment already threatened by global warming. Urbanization in Abuja is mainly due to the unceasing movement of people from villages and other cities into the territory, changes from agricultural occupation of its original inhabitants to business, trade and services which has altered severely the natural setting of the environment. Urbanization in Abuja is also characterized by the growth of slums in the suburb with the overcrowding of people in dirty housing conditions, construction of houses on water channels, poor sanitation, sewage and

indiscriminate refuse deposal, dumping of non-biodegradable materials such as plastics into drainage lines which often increase cases of flooding. Ejaro and Abubaka (2013) observed that urbanization and the rapid population rise in Abuja within a short period is overstressing the environment already and might lead to crises in the nearest future. The study of Ade and Afolabi (2013) also show that the abuse of urban use act in Abuja due to urbanization has negative impacts on both the city and on the surrounding areas of the city and that if the growth rate is unchecked there will be shortage of resource in the city and consequential crises.

**2. Pollution.** Pollution is a serious environmental security threat in Abuja. Generally classified either as air pollution, water pollution, land pollution, food pollution, noise pollution or radio-active pollution, man's activities on the surface of the earth have continuously degraded the quality of the atmosphere and the entire environment. Presently in the FCT, several places that had in the past enjoyed fresh and dry air are experiencing air pollution due to urbanization, constructions and expansion in human activities. This pollution is also due to other anthropogenic activities like industries and farming activities. These activities release pollutants like carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide, oxides of nitrogen, oxides of sulphur, hydrocarbons, vapours of organic compounds, particulates, toxic metals etc which are capable of inducing a number of health hazards. It is not uncommon to see waste products often scattered on land area in some parts of Abuja partly as a result of high-rate consumption of processed food supplies gotten from shopping malls. Construction of houses on water channels. The study of Ezeamaka, Sadiq Daful, Ogbole and Anjide (2017) on some water bodies in Abuja shows high concentration of some heavy metals (Cd, Cu, Ni, Mn, Zn, and Fe) in the water and these are above the permissible limits of the NIS and WHO guidelines, which indicates serious pollution of water in the area. It was recommended that proactive measures be taken on environmental laws in FCT and that environmental/health worker and non-governmental bodies be active in enlightenment campaigns that will alert members of the public the harm being caused to this important ecosystem.

**3. Deforestation.** In a place like Abuja, where, temperature stays at high degrees for the most part of the year, trees play a significant role in reducing heat for the inhabitants. Today, these trees had been felled and replaced with houses, road construction or other structures and facilities. An implication this has is the increase in heat conditions which is further exacerbated by over-crowding. Intense heat is known to pose deadly health conditions, such as, miscarriages among pregnant women, fever, fatigue, and measles among children, to mention a few. Appannagari (2017) insists that forests are main component of the biotic element of the natural environmental system and the stability of the environment and ecological balance largely depend on the status of the forests of the region concerned. It is therefore a matter of serious concern that the present economic man including Abuja inhabitants have forgotten the environment and ecological significance of natural vegetations mainly forests and grasslands and has destroyed the forests so rapidly and alarmingly that the forest areas have so significantly decreased that several serious environmental problems such as accelerated rate of soil loss through rain splash, sheet wash, rill and gully erosion, increase in the frequency and dimension of floods. The major cause of deforestation in Abuja includes conversion of forest land into agricultural land, transformation of forests into pastures, overgrazing, forest fires, lumbering, road and other infrastructures. According to Okobia and Hassan (2017), between 2008 and 2016, trees removed from the Kuje Area Council Federal Capital Territory (FCT) resulted in an arithmetic difference of 0.0283 km<sup>2</sup> (40.67%) and that this translates to an equivalent of over 9.6 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> that was not sequestered due to deforestation. For him this post serious challenge since an increase in tree cover provides more resistance to extreme weather and improves photosynthesis while, a decrease in trees presents a challenge. Hence, if trend remains unchecked, the adverse effect of deforestation may be devastating in Abuja.

**4. Rapid increase of Slums.** The alarming increase in slum development due to the influx of rural peoples into Abuja and high cost of residential houses in the city areas is constituting a threat to the environment in the Federal Capital Territory. The Oxford Business Group

(2021) noted that rapid population growth leads to a rising proliferation of informal settlements which strained infrastructure systems. The September 2018 report of Satellite Town Development Department of the Federal Capital Territory Agency showed that just 20% of the Federal Capital Territory's population lives in Abuja city centre, while the remaining 80% reside in peripheral urban areas such as Jikoyi, Gwagwalada, Karu and Dutse Alhaji. The Abuja Master Plan of 1979 which laid out the long-term urban design of the city, was guided by the vision of equal access to the city's public services and an organized distribution of residential and green spaces. However, the high rates of rural people influx into the territory has far outstripped those envisioned by the planners, with the authorities struggling to cope with expanding informal settlements as a result of inaccessible and insufficient housing supply. Indeed, Abuja's affordable housing shortfall was an estimated 600,000 units as of March 2017, with most real estate projects under development remaining unaffordable for significant sections of the population. The areas of slum have become centres of a number of environmental problems including air and water pollution due to reckless and unplanned disposal of waste. The reckless and unplanned disposal of waste results in contamination of water which causes diseases like typhoid, cholera, enteric fever and gastroenteritis. The unplanned waste dumping places and open defecation become the sites of the growth of a number of disease carriers like flies, mosquitoes etc. These causes health hazards not only in slum areas but also in other nearby places. Slums development with its attendant problems also has severe negative impact on the environment such as environmental pollution, and deforestation.

**5. Municipal Solid Waste.** One of the consequences of population growth and globalization is increase waste generation (Zamorano et al., 2009) and this waste generation according to Achankeng, 2003 varies between cities and city part in Africa. Olufayo & Omotosh, 2007; Gomez et al., 2009; Ogwueleka, 2009 and Zamorano et al., 2009 maintained that the issue of municipal solid waste is a matter of great concern for developing countries as it constitutes one of the greatest challenges facing environmental protection agencies in developing



countries. Solid wastes are the useless and unwanted products in the solid state derived from the activities of, and discarded by society. According to Tchobanoglous (1993), municipal solid waste sources include residential, commercial, institutional, construction and demolition, municipal services excluding treatment facilities, treatment plant sites and municipal incinerators. Indeed, solid waste is one of the three major environmental problems in Nigeria, and many other developing and even the developed countries are threatened by this (Ogu, 2000; Latifah et al., 2008; Jalil, 2010). In Abuja bulk waste mainly consist of plastics, paper, glass, metal and other recyclable components. The degradable portions of the waste consist of food waste and yard waste. Proper disposal of solid waste is become environmental problem in Abuja and this according to Kadafa (2016) poses the greatest health risk facing Nigerians. The everyday person on the street of Nigeria including Abuja seems unaffected by the waste piles on the streets, around residential and nonresidential dwellings especially in the suburb. Improperly disposed solid waste has become an environmental and health hazard in areas like the suburbs of Abuja, the Federal Capital of Nigeria. It seems an issue far from the everyday person on the street, but in reality, it's a ticking time bomb just waiting to explode. The study of Kafada showed that municipal solid waste is generated daily with an average of 0.5-1.5 kg/daily per household and that it has become a health hazard which is yet to be tackled properly by the government and local authority. It is quite common to see waste in water ways, streets, storm drains, and gutters and around public places. She highlighted lack of awareness and low perception of the populace as contributing factors to municipal solid waste management issues as well as unavailability of solid waste collection services.

**6. Rapid Population Growth** Uncontrolled Population Growth is a major environmental security threat in the FCT. The continued growth of urbanization, rural-urban migration as well as poor child birth control results to over concentration of people in the FCT, consequently leading to overcrowding and overburden of provided infrastructure. The high rate of the city's population growth is already contributing significantly to the degradation of the ecology. Land fragmentation, over-farming and over-grazing, have led to soil erosion and

desertification. Indeed, the large migration of rural peoples in search of job to the urban areas cause serious traffic problem and environmental pollution of all kinds. According to Oxford Business Group (2021), a 2017 study undertaken by the Federal School of Surveying and the Federal Capital Development Agency, Abuja population growth was estimated at 8.32% per annum, while satellite city populations were found to be rising even more quickly, at an estimated 20% each year. The Rapid population growth can be attributed to a range of factors including better economic opportunities on offer in the territory, underinvestment in smaller towns and villages surrounding the Federal Capital Territory, and the relative safety of the area in a region affected by pockets of conflict.

7. **Poverty.** It is true that poverty cause damage to environment. Due to poverty the people exploit excessively the natural resources of the country for meeting their basic needs (food, fuel, shelter, employment fodder for their cattle). Poverty and need are regarded as the greatest polluters. The proponent of Sustainable Growth theory on environment, believe that when the poor of the developing countries become richer, then it will reduce pressure on the environment. For example, they will be more able and willing to pay the costs of keeping air and water clean. However, a report by The World Poverty Clock shows that Nigeria has overtaken India as the country with the most extreme poor people in the world. Nigeria is now rated as having the largest extreme poverty population (Adebayo, 2018)). This alarming increase in number persons living in extreme poverty in Nigerian Federal Capital Territory constitute a great threat to environmental security as this has necessitated excessive exploitation of the environmental resources for meeting basic needs of food, fuel, shelter etc.

8. **Violation of urban planning rules.** Violation of urban planning specifications and poor enforcement of environmental laws and sanctions constitute environmental security Threats in Federal Capital Territory. Whereas there are extant environmental laws and regulations meant to protect the environment from degradation, indiscriminate constructions and buildings, adherence to the laws and its enforcement by the statutory agencies is abysmal. There seems to be little or no sanctions to violators of environmental laws and this post great

danger to the environment. It is not uncommon to see buildings constructed without compliance to prescribed floor space index or floor area ratio. Sometimes people build on water way which may lead to flooding. Due to high population density and expensive life style, the rate of consumption of natural resources (e.g. water, energy, fossil fuel, forest products etc.) is very high in urban areas. There is also misuse of natural resources whose immediate compensation becomes difficult. The unabated violation of urban planning rules and over exploitation of natural resources constitute a serious threat to the environment in Abuja.

**9. Climatic change.** Climate change poses a severe threat to international peace and security. According to Nafiu, Taherul and Aboh (2018), the concept of climate change denotes the alteration of the environment which results from human activities, such as improper disposal of wastes, combustion of fuels, the inadequacy of forested areas, and other influential factors that increase the amount of Green House Gases (GHG) in the atmosphere. It is the alteration of the world environment as a result of direct or indirect human practices as well as the natural climate variability witnessed over comparable years; it ultimately changes the composition of the global atmosphere (Dow and Downing 2016). The leading cause of climate change is the accumulation of Green House Gases in the atmosphere (Steffen et al. 2015). These gases affect the earth's radiative balance, the population of various animal and plant species, and the influx of the ultraviolet rays to the earth's surface (Singh 2017). Overly, when these gases are emitted to the atmosphere, they accumulate forming a blanket layer that absorbs the infrared rays from the sun as well as shield the earth from irradiating its heat. The result of all these is an increase in the earth's temperatures, which is a condition referred to as global warming and has vastly been experienced in many parts of the world. Reports on climate changes all over the world present a worrying trend on the rate of this change and the resultant effects. As a result of climate change, about 3,852 natural catastrophes have claimed the lives of more than 780,000 persons while affecting more than two billion people as property of more than \$960 billion has been lost in the process (Duran, Ergun, Keskinocak & Swann 2013). These

disasters are predicted to double up in the next 10 to 15 years compounding to the risks that the world is to suffer if the high rate of climate change is not controlled. The unplanned constructions of large buildings in urban areas absorb solar radiation and, in the afternoon, these emit heat radiations increasing the climatic temperature. Climate change is already a serious environmental security threats in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria. The next section examines the link between environmental security and violence.

### **The Link Between Environmental Security and Violent Conflict**

Violent conflict simply refers to the struggle over values or claims to status, power, and scarce resources, in which the aims of the groups or individuals involved are to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals (Coser, 1956). It involves two or more parties with incompatible interests who express hostile attitudes or pursue their interests through actions that damage the other(s), using physical force to resolve competing claims or interests. Interests can diverge in many ways, such as over access to and distribution of resources e.g., territory, money, energy sources, food; control of power and participation in political decision making; identity e.g cultural, social and political communities; status or values particularly those embodied in systems of government, religion, or ideology. (Creative Associates International 1998). Violent conflict can ensue due to environmental insecurity. Urbanization and overpopulation for instance basically leads to the overstressing of the environment and scrambling for the limited resources which may result in conflict. Indeed, violent conflicts due to natural resources struggles and the environmental changes are included among the greatest challenges in 21<sup>st</sup>-century geopolitics.

The argument that environmental insecurity may lead to violent conflict has received much attention in the environmental security literature. The study findings of Homer-Dixon (1994) showed that when scarcity of renewable resources (such as cropland and river water) interacts with harsh social effects (for example, population displacement or economic decline) it can lead to conflict. A key concept in Homer-Dixon's work on scarcity-induced environmental conflict is that of "resource capture", the idea that "environmental scarcity

encourages powerful groups to capture valuable environmental resources and prompts marginal groups to migrate to ecologically sensitive areas. For him, these two processes in turn reinforce environmental scarcity and raise the potential for social instability. Similarly, Hauge and Ellingsen (2001) examine the effects of land degradation, freshwater scarcity, population density and deforestation on conflict in 1980–1992. They find that all these factors have direct and positive effects on the incidence of conflict. For Theisen (2008) a very high level of land degradation increases the risk of civil war. For him, the ‘scarcity of natural resources has limited explanatory power in terms of civil violence’. The study of Raleigh and Urdal (2007) and Hendrix and Glaser (2007) showed how factors related to climate change, such as land degradation and freshwater availability, affect the likelihood of civil conflict in Africa. They find out that water scarcity significantly increases the likelihood of conflict. Hendrix and Glaser (2007) also examine the impact of short-term climatic changes (inter-annual variability in rainfall) on civil conflict onset in sub-Saharan Africa. They report that positive changes in rainfall significantly decrease the conflict risk in the following year.

Furthermore, whereas a protected environment can facilitate and enhance peace, violent conflicts due to natural resources struggles and the environmental changes as earlier stated, are included among the greatest challenges in 21<sup>st</sup>-century geopolitics. Westing (1998) maintained that environmental degradation is a severe threat to human security and all life on earth. For him, air and water pollution, deforestation, desertification, soil erosion, etc., resulting from human activities can and do cause changes in our living conditions. He explained that environmental degradation or change can be both the cause and consequence of violent conflict. Environmental degradation and poor respect for environmental resource management, may lead to disputes within countries and between countries. And when environmental degradation is a consequence of intentional acts of warfare, it often escalates the conflict. Environmental degradation may also exacerbate a conflict that originated from other causes such as ethnic, religious tension and socio-economic inequalities. Under certain circumstances, irreparable environmental degradation or changes in the ecological systems

may increase the likelihood of violent conflict eruption. For Scott (2009), environmental problems are portrayed as a security threat because they act as a catalyst for violence and war. For example, the problem of desertification can lead to fighting over access to inadequate supplies of water. This could be from local skirmishes to an internal breakdown of law and order, to terrorism or interstate conflict. Environmental problems could either be the primary cause of the conflict or may exacerbate existing socioeconomic tensions.

Again, the study of Thomas Homer-Dixon in Mexico, Pakistan, Gaza, Rwanda and South Africa showed that scarcity of renewable resources such as cropland and river water interact with harsh social effects like population displacement or economic decline to cause intrastate conflict (Homer-Dixon, 1994). He also maintained that “resource capture” the idea that “environmental scarcity encourages powerful groups to capture valuable environmental resources and prompts marginal groups to migrate to ecologically sensitive areas. These two processes in turn reinforce environmental scarcity and raise potential for social instability. Finally, the idea of climate change instigating violent conflict and insecurity is also held by many other scholars. Burke, Miguel, Satyanath, & Dykema (2009) conducted a study that established a strong historical connection between civil war incidents and temperature changes in Africa. Bushy (2007) highlighted environmental changes as a environmental security threat because it impacts directly on human life and well-being. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in Murphy (1998) identified environment change as a security threat and a threat to peace. The study of Raleigh and Urdal (2007) and Hendrix and Glaser (2007) showed that water scarcity significantly increases the likelihood of conflict. They also examine the impact of short-term climatic changes (inter-annual variability in rainfall) on civil conflict onset in sub-Saharan Africa. They report that positive changes in rainfall significantly decrease the conflict risk in the following year.

## **CONCLUSION**

Environmental security in the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja is under severe threats. The factors constituting threat to environmental security in FCT include urbanization, pollution, deforestation, poor waste management, urban slumps, climatic change and warming. These problems, if unchecked may result in shortage of resources and the pressure on the scarce resources might degenerate into violent conflict. Hence, the growing environmental insecurity in Federal Capital Territory needs to be addressed to avert an impending violent conflict and to enhance peacefulness in the territory. It is therefore inevitable for the Federal Capital Territory administration and its agencies on environmental protection to embark on enlightenment campaign on environmental protection and strict enforcement of extant laws on environmental protection in the Federal Capital Territory as well as engaging in other environmentally friendly activities in all the sectors of life in the Federal Capital Territory.

## **Recommendations**

1. Massive education and enlightenment of Abuja inhabitant on environmental protection is recommended. The apparent increase in unabated human activities and inactivities which constitute threats to the environment point to a low level of awareness of environmental protection measures by the inhabitant of FCT, Abuja, hence there is urgent need for massive education and enlightenment campaign for the protection of the environment in FCT. Both in schools, in religious institutions, radio and television campaign, use of social media etc.
2. There should be strict enforcement of environmental protection laws and sanction to erring individuals or institutions as well as formulation of new policies and laws to meet the novel environmental challenges like global warming. Honest effort must be made by the statutory agencies to ensure total compliance with Abuja urban master plan

3. Rural/urban migration to the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja could be checked through provision of the basic amenities in rural areas as well as the activation of population control measures in FCT. The Satellite Towns Development Agency should as a matter of urgency wake up to its mandate to maintain a qualitative built urban environment with adequate resources and facilities to support a sustainable healthy living and economic progress of the residents of FCT.
4. Non-governmental organizations and religious institutions could be incorporated and encouraged to play active role both in the education of their followers on environmental protection and for voluntary services for the preservation of nature.
5. The provision of social amenities like light, water supply, drainage, toilet etc in all settlement including the slum areas could help reduced environmental degradation and depletion like cutting down of trees for firewood and open space defecation,
6. Environmental protection should be treated as a serious security issues since its violation affect both human health, rights and peaceful coexistence.
7. Beyond environmental impact assessment (EIA), periodic environmental due diligence assessment should be undertaken to critically examine patterns of resource extraction in-line with extant laws and global best practices. Harmonized approach to environmental insecurity mitigation with an all-inclusive, participatory bottom-top approach is suggested.
8. . The Federal Capital Development Authority (FCDA) should explore the option of commissioning private waste management companies to handle the waste management of FCT.
9. The Ministry of FCT should develop and sustain an ingenious land policy that will encourage private property developers to build affordable housing for the lower income earners to address the issue of housing for the lower income earners. This policy could be implemented, using incentives. When implemented it will not only solve the housing issue of FCT suburb but also provide much needed revenue for the Federal capital Territory.



10. The government must go beyond the strategies and objectives of establishing Federal Environmental Protection Agencies to ensuring that environmental protection techniques are indigenized.

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# **PEACE EDUCATION AS A PANACEA FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY AND ACCESS TO QUALITY EDUCATION IN NORTHERN NIGERIA: SOKOTO STATE IN PERSPECTIVE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Until recently Peace Education has not been given adequate attention in our tertiary institutions of learning as part of the curriculum for greater enhancement towards achieving core educational objective. The pivotal role which Peace Education play in the overall survival of mankind cannot be over emphasized. Considering the fragile situation in the country which is poses threat by the emerging Conflicts, Violence, Cattle-Rustling, kidnapping, secessionism and Insurgency that engulfed socio-economic and political settings as a united Nigeria in particular. Likewise, economic growth cannot be developed rapidly if the atmosphere is not conducive. Without peace there will be food insecurity, business insecurity and above all the cardinal principles objectives of education will be held to ransom if security is found absent in that environment. The objectives of this paper are to review the conceptual aspect of Peace Education as well as the relevance of peace education towards economic security and educational development in general. The consolidation for economic security and educational development in Sokoto State due to the reign of peace which lasted for many decades if not for century without record of persistence conflict or violence is part of the paper discussion. The Paper concludes that with all relevant stakeholders in steering both socio-economy stability and educational development in the Sokoto state.

**Key Words:** Peace Education, Economic Security, Quality Education, Tertiary Institution

## **INTRODUCTION**

Most people desire peace even the animals do so. Peace is precious thing and very expensive to get back if it is lost. But the issue here is that when conflict exist within communities' interaction a considerable agreement is reaching about how to achieve viable peace. But despite parties' interest and grievances every individual is capable of making a contribution towards a more peaceful future. Another common issue related to peaceful coexistence among society is that, there is lack of feeling directly involve in what is going on in the world or lack of people's interest or simply because of ignorance of how they can become involve directly or indirectly on those things that are happening around their environs. At whatever level and circumstances people need to be made aware that they can work towards the creation of a more peaceful world as well. People need to be reminded that an individual who acts with clear conscience can make a profound difference and can influence events that are important to the continuing existence of mankind (Mary Christine, 2017).

In contemporary Nigerian situation, the threat to peace stems from a multitude of causes such as, bad governance, lack of policy direction and sustainability, abject poverty, environmental deterioration either by war-torn, terrorism, ethnic cleansing, religious bigotry, flood impact or by man-made or natural disasters; as well as social injustice. The situation calls for urgent rescue for the betterment of the future.

### **The Conceptual aspect of Peace**

Peace is not just about absence of war, conflict, violence and state of harmony but the significance aspect of its nature is about bringing a long-term co-existence, developing viable project that seek to bring lasting and constructive changes in institutions that maintain societal hood in general. Ironically, peace is seen as the distribution of social justice, equity and equality in the existence of human philosophy. The conceptual aspect of peace is under discourse even though some scholars are of the view that peace is eminent because it creates the state of calmness, with well-being of daily experience as co-operate entity. The believe

here is that peace is seen as a mechanism of protection and provision of security, self-assurance for one freedom from fear and undue restraint (Kaitholi, 2009).

To enshrine peace among larger communities' other instances, need to put forward under consideration that people have to educate themselves on the need to promote cordial relationship, viable interaction with the view to knowing each other feelings, differences, working together to establish a joint identity for peace to reign everlasting. In normal interaction, conflict is bound to occur either positively or negatively to the interacting people. What do we mean by the positive peace? Positive peace is characterized by a situation where individuals or groups can live in a manner that facilitates the development of their full potentials per their needs and wishes. With regards to positive peace, social institutions do not allow or promote economic exploitation, state of poverty and political repression. What is negative peace? Negative peace connotes the absence of war or other associated forms of directly organised violence such as physical harm. In view of that, negative peace, therefore has to do with the destructive of state of atmosphere.

### **Education in Perspective**

Education is vital for the security of the world. Education is the light of darkness, a pillar of all development. Scholars in various disciplines dwell on conceptualization of what education is all about. In the contemporary definition, education encompasses certain development of the whole man; soul; body; intellectual emotion and physical well-being. This definition attributes the significance of education to overall existence of mankind which without it, remain in darkness (Musaazi, 2010). It is believed that education is paramount an obligation to everyone to transmit from one generation to the next for the essence of accumulation of wisdom, imparting knowledge, acquire skills, acceptable values and attitudes, knowledge of the society, to prepare the young one for the future challenges ahead and to become useful member of the society together with active participation of overall development. Education is an instrumental resource and a means of achieving the wider objectives of human and national development in particular (Musaazi, 2010).

## **Peace Education an Overview**

Education plays a pivotal role in the attainment of solid peace. This is because without peace there will be no concrete transmission of meaningful and fruitful knowledge. There are some assumptions and a number of approaches to peace education which put toward by leading authority in regards to this field. These approaches examined peace education as a process of knowledge-based subject that can be directly taught in the school curriculum or a set of skills and attitudes that can be explicitly taught or more subtly infused in a variety of educational contexts. In this regard the assumption is that peace education combines knowledge, skills and attitudes, or a process that prepares young ones for optimal global challenges, responsibility, enables them to understand the nature and implications of global interdependence. It helps them to accept responsibility to work for a just, peaceful and viable global community at large. The point of argument here is that peace education is perceived as stewardship, citizenship education, awareness for inter-group harmonious relationships and a means to an end or addressing both overt and structural violence in the society (Reaedon, 2017).

Peace education is the process of equipping learners with tools for developing knowledge, resourceful skills, acceptable values and worthy character and attitudes needed for resolving interpersonal differences and conflicts in non-violent ways and in living peacefully with oneself, others and the environment (Oluwatoyin, 2016). Peace education has to do with planning strategy of eliminating the conflicts and violence caused by in justice, inequality and human rights, violations, and implementing the ways and means of reducing the same through appropriate teaching and learning tactics by means of producing responsible global citizen to attain and spread the peace in the world. In a nut shell, peace education is a goal of education and also is a mechanism for the transformation from a culture of violence to a culture of peace through a process of “conscientisation” (Bernard, 1957).

Peace education deals with resolving, solving conflict of intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup or intercommunity levels without rancour or violence. It involves conflict resolution process, conflict management mechanism at local, national and international levels.

It is a mechanism of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level (Oluwatoyin, 2016; UNESCO, 2015).

Regan (1993) distinguished between peace studies, peace education, and peace campaigning. Regan, shares the view that ‘peace studies’ covers the content areas of peace education, including values underlying peace, violence and war, non-violence, economic and social justice, environmental protection, and participation. Drawing from the above definition, ‘Peace education’ is more concerned with methodology and attitude formation. It also involves presenting differing views of the causes and possible solutions for conflict, enabling debate about controversial issues. ‘Peace campaigning’ has to do with encouraging students to take part in grassroots social change processes, and sees taking action as essential to the learning process. These three approaches, taken together, integrate the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes with an orientation towards active participation.

The potential aspect of peace education has always been regarded as a tool that empower human sustainability in terms of socio-economic, socio-cultural and to some large extent socio-political developments of the state. For a state like Nigeria to achieve human sustainability coupled with economic security and technological development unless there is effective and sustenance of peace education in all ramifications.

### **The Relevance of Peace Education Towards Economic Security**

#### **The Conceptual Framework of Economy**

For better conception, the economy of any state whether small or large no doubt involves economic process which has to do with monetary system, growth of commerce and industries coupled with harnessing of resources and nature endowments utilized by the state. A viable economy comprises the smoothness of the existence of manufacturing sectors, assure supply of raw material to feed the demand of the industries. Agriculture is the backbone of any state



economy because it serves as the supply chain of production and distribution of raw material for the manufacturing sectors. It is an instrument for jobs creation and for economic growth. Economic growth involves trade policy, equality of human capital, physical accumulation and notwithstanding, economic freedom to choose and supply resources, competition in business, free trade with others and secure property rights as representing important ingredients needed for achieving peaceful economic growth for sustainable security development (Kezeem, 2014). For effective and speedy economic development of any country there must be new changes in production structure and introduction of new products, new techniques, new processes of production, raw materials, new energy sources. Apart from that, changes also have to take place in chain of distribution and factors of production.

In realistic term, the contemporary economy deals with translation of physical changes on socio-economic setting of a common man not digits on paper. That is to say changes on curbing state of poverty to a more human productive stage where everyone utilizes and harness enabling environment to earn a living.

### **The Idea behind state of Security**

No one wishes to fight with elements of security or dare its core significance as a whole. The fact is that, security provide sense of belonging, of stability and by and large a sense of new direction for effectiveness. People who lack basic security in themselves, in their family, in their working places and in their community tend to become socially irresponsible. The argument here is that they tend to lose a sense of moderation and behave opportunistically, therefore, when people confronted with mass insecurity, ironically, always bred intolerance, extremism and violence (Organization, 2005).

The issue of security is everyone concern not only by the security agencies' mandate to impose it, but, also at group, local and state levels in general. Everybody must be security vigilant whether direct or indirect for greater safety. Security alone cannot be solidifying unless insecurity is checked and tackled with viable strategic planning. Security is often linked to three overlapping ideas — participation, agency and empowerment. Participation is seen as

the opposite of passivity and social exclusion, agency is seen as the opportunity to make choices on life events, including participation, and empowerment is seen in much the same way (Case, 2014).

### **What is insecurity?**

This is a question that needs a long breath for one to attempt to explain in its broader sense. There are notions attached to the answer of human insecurity which overlap and are relatively important, that is, 'poverty' and 'inequality', one could have one without the other. On the other side there is overlapping between 'inequality' and 'insecurity' because the two variables are integral to one another. In essence, some community might have been confronted with either social, economic or political inequality in their remote environs, but they are not actually poor. Others may feel relatively secure in themselves even if they are poor in an income or property sense. But it is beyond reasonable doubt that income, poverty and inequality are major actors of the incidence of insecurity (Organization, 2005).

Ironically, insecurity is instrumentally a bad omen. It induces people to be less innovative, more inactive, unproductive than expected, and to some large extent people decided to take productive risk-taking options. However, it shortens people's time horizons, makes them more opportunistic and narrows their choices. It led to destruction of peoples' lives and properties worth billions of Naira not only in Nigeria but in some other parts of Africa. Insecurity led to the establishment of numerous camps of internally displaced persons in many parts of Northern Nigeria. This indicates that Boko Haram insurgents caused a lot of havoc on the state 'such that it harvested a total of 54,311 widows and 52,311 Orphans (World Bank, 2018). It induces temptation, desperation, prostrations leading to recruiting many people into all sorts of crimes because of uncertainty of the secured future. It equally developed uncertainty and accentuates vulnerability.

### **The Perspective of Economic Security**

There is this notion that basic security is necessary, because without it, motivation to work, to learn and develop capacity can fade away, and self-confidence will be negated. In an ideal

situation without it, people lose control over their lives and lastly become more dependent than ever. From the perspective point of view of international labour organization affirmed that economic security has to do with other indices or apparatus of economic growth because human freedom and dignity matters to every human being. Equally to that economic security is compose of basic social security which include access to basic needs, infrastructure, pertaining to health, quality education, access to free information, social protection of job security as well as work-related security. Can basic social security become realistic if provision of elements of peace is eroded? The answer is no. When government cannot afford to provides social security and human freedom certainly there is bound to be relatively absence of peace on human growth and national development.

### **The Components of Economic Security**

**Income Security** which has to do with constant, perceive and expected income, either through earned one or in the form of social security and other benefits.

**Representation Security** refers to both individual representations which is about one rights enshrine in the law as well as individual access to institutions while collective representation means right of any group to be represented by a body that can bargain on their behalf and which is independent sufficiently competent to do so.

**Labour Market Security** is concern with the available and adequate income-earning activities. The aims of the policies behind this kind of security have included full-employment oriented macro-economic policies, the creation of employment agencies and related services.

**Employment Security** means absolute protection against loss of income-earning work. In case there are unfair treatment, arbitration dismissal, the organization and countries should protect wage and salary for workers. For the self-employed, it means protection against sudden loss of independent work, and or business failure.

**Job Security** entails the presence of niches in organizations and across labour markets allowing the workers some control over the content of jobs and the opportunity to build a career.

**Skill Reproduction Security** includes workers access to basic education as well as vocational training to develop capacities and acquire the qualifications needed for socially and economically valuable occupation (Organization, 2005).

### **The Role of Peace Education Toward Economic Security**

Peace is eminent for meaningful progress, cohesion and co-existence to any state in general. When people learn on how to live in peace with one another, the interaction will be cordial, yielding positive result because no tangible achievement can have produced if the enabling environment is not conducive for smoothness of business activities, for entrepreneurship development and social activities to take place. Violence and conflicts negate economic growth because the provision of human security has been altered or destroyed partially. In essence, the actual cost of peace is highly valued and precious such that one cannot afford to lose the chance of being peace. It is considering precious and fragile because the worst of peace is per better than the best war. In essence the occurrences of turmoil and structural conflict in the North-East, North-Central and North-West of Nigeria are typical example of violence tore zones. In clear term, the economics of above mention zones during the violence devastated if not standstill for some time before it recovery.

Peace education is paramount in the sense that it creates conducive environment where people have freely access to natural resources and other endowments for economic growth. People go about their farming activities to supplement food production to ever increase population. Peace provides more assured supplies of food, not just that peace stimulates degree of urbanization, specialization and supports the ever-increasing population. It is clear fact, agriculture is the main stay economic activity in the larger part of Northern Nigeria (Shehu H. a., 2016). When there is peace agriculture contribute immensely toward a national growth with the provisions of large quantity of food production and job creation which addresses restiveness, joblessness among the teaming youth. Thus, it tackles both social and economic insecurity among growing population in the country. Peace education provides resourceful knowledge, skills and ideal to embrace peaceful co-existence. Peace education transformed

economy, create more attraction for foreign investment, established potential manpower through growing manufacturing sector, changes in employment pattern due to guarantee of safety of life and properties. Every successful businessman at the end of the day wants to make a profit when the business is successfully transacted. But whereby his target of making a profit is not foreseen, his interest is automatically discouraged.

War and conflict cause devastation and surely decline economic activity of the state. For instance, the Boko Haram destruction, devastation create a vacuum that will take many years for the nation for economic activities to resuscitate. It creates horrible life, fear and insecurity in the minds of many residents of Maiduguri. It led many people, traders to search for safe place and had to be relocated. Peace has relatively stated evolving in regard to perspectives interventions from all directions. The economic security has state taking a new phase. Another typical example is Jos, Plateau state where communal clashes, political upheavals and religious cleansing created social and economic tensions as a result of frequent violence for many decades.

Providing enabling environment coupled with giant strife of mobilizations, campaigns and advocacy for peace education by government, non-governmental organizations, together with giant effort of religious bodies who made a crusade possible in ensuring embracement of oneness, tolerance with one another, also to imbibe the culture of peace among diverse ethnic groups in Plateau State. The result is yielding fruitiness because peace is restored in the state. Kaduna is another battle ground for constant inter-communal crises, inter-religious enclave and reprisal which affect all facets of life include commercial and religious activities of the area for many decades (Cynado, 2012).

The governments at various level of these states have taken a proactive measure in ensuring peaceful co-existence among various ethnic groups and religious institutions as well. Advocacy campaign is still going on for proper solutions, addressing issues in relation to the need to understand individual differences, feelings, aspirations, philosophy as well as cultural differences with the view to achieve common goal (Cynado, 2012). Taraba, Benue, Katsina

and Zamfara states where all places of conflict tore zone with eroded economic potentials. This is because a lot of communities in the area were deserted with unpredictable future, (as a result of farmer-herders conflict, banditry, TV and Jukun centuries crises).

The community sensitization, awareness towards peace building and national cohesion; gradually peace has relatively started to evolve due to holistic approach of peace process mechanism that involve the states, federal and all relevant stakeholders exclusively. It has been declared by Defence Headquarters (DHQ) that the ethno-religious conflicts, Herders/Farmers clashes, Banditry, Kidnapping, Cultism and tribal militias in violence-prone states of Benue, Taraba and Nasarawa have now been subdued (Headquarters, 2019).

Kano is not exceptional of such crisis in this dimension. Kano is well known as the heart of commerce and industries in the Northern Nigeria. But why is this so? The reason behind might be connected to Kano accommodate everyone in respect of their socio-cultural or religious background. Though during Boko-Haram disturbance, Kano was confronted with challenges holistically which become a history. The past administration and the current one provided a provision of an open-door policy for integration, economic growth not only for the state but also for greater national growth.

### **The Relevance of Peace Education to Quality Education**

#### **The Conceptualization of Quality Education**

From the perspective point of view quality means, perfection, standard and excellence in terms of learners' satisfaction as well as fulfilment of the need of the society. Thus, quality education involves the process that satisfies basic learning needs and enriches the lives of learners and their overall experience of living. Quality education opens up new vista of development of humanism. It transforms human being into noble souls and an asset to the universe. Quality education enhances dignity and self-respect of human beings (Nakhat, 2016). Quality education provides people with the knowledge, skills attitudes and creativity needed to solve problem locally and globally, and actively contributes to the sustainable and democratic development of societies (Susan, 2016).

It is imperative to say that peace and access to quality education are inter-woven, because acquiring learning, resourceful knowledge and useful skills cannot be imparted if wars, violence and conflicts engulfed the immediate environment. Wars and other forms of interpersonal conflict clearly have an impact on the learners' mental health and their ability to learn. A good example is Boko-haram destructed social and economic activities in Borno, frequent attacks by bandits in Katsina, Kaduna, Niger and Zamfara states. Communal reprisal in Taraba and Benue states as well as violent act surely caused harm, obstacle and hindrances towards accessing quality education in the affected communities. The Chibok, Dabchi schools' girls' and other schools' abductions in Kaduna, Katsina and Niger all truncated their chances for accessing not just quality but sole education of itself.

It is when there is peace and security that one can travel far in search of acquiring knowledge and skills. Usually, schools and institutions of learning environs should supposedly remain peaceful for the objectives of education to be achieved. When Boko-Haram attacked University of Maiduguri many students abandoned their studies and for the intending ones have to changed their minds to more peaceful learning environment. The core educational value of the prestigious University eroded. Thanks to the government for taking proactive measures. In historical antecedent Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria at a time remained a chaotic environment. It was bedevilled with consistence crisis of un-necessary strikes and for that social milieu, students were not sure of how many years to spend before graduating from the institution. Now the University and the community around it has remained peaceful, co-existence and the environment is secured. ASUU Strikes over the decades also truncated and destabilized students' studies even though government at all levels share the blame. Peaceful schools and institutions are unequivocally good for education, for learners, students and for peacebuilding (UNESCO, 2015).

For education to lead peace or peace to lead education, it must support transformation processes related to security development. In a nutshell, peace education provides opportunities for continuous reflection and professional development of all educators in

relation to issues of peace, justice and rights. The relevance of peace education is paramount to quality education because it includes among others things the realization of the rights of every child, gender sensitivity, responsiveness to diversity and the promotion of quality learning out comes.

### **Peace Education a Panacea for Economic Growth and Educational Development in Sokoto State**

In historical epoch, the town Sokoto existed even before the advancement of the Jihad as a small settlement, but its position then is less significant until when Muhammadu Bello decided to occupied the settlement in 1809 and converted it as his military and defence headquarter in the execution of the jihad of the nascent Islamic empire. Later, it become one of the largest ever Islamic headquarter in sub-Saharan West Africa (Sale, 2013; Shehu H. , 20119). By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Sokoto became the focus of interregional trade in agricultural products, live-stock and cotton with goods supporting Urban Rural networks conveying into city.

The Caliphate has served as powerful agent for a tremendous and continuous expansion and sophistication of trade routes conveying to central Sudan. Urbanization in the central Sudan was another social development which had also received a big boost as a result of the establishment of Sokoto caliphate. Urbanization was already an established feature of life in the territory and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a tremendous increase in it. This was because very many new towns were established and numerous 18<sup>th</sup> century villages were enlarged all to serve as centres of the new Emirate and district administrations, and also as centres of commerce. Some towns began as frontiers defence posts of the Sokoto Caliphate and later developed in to administrative centre (Shehu, 2019).

At several occasion, Sokoto become a province during the colonial era when the town was finally captured by the British forces on 15<sup>th</sup> March 1903. The imposition of colonial rule no doubt brought about certain developmental changes such as Western Education, Western type of Administration, Judicial policy, financial control together with some changes on socio-economic patterns of the society. As the struggle proceed, the post-independence events led



to the its emergence as the capital of Northern-Western states of Nigeria. The creation of states in Nigeria in 1967 and the changing status of Sokoto town from a provincial headquarters to a state capital have brought about certain changes in the socio-economic life of Sokoto town and its environ. A lot of progress and development emerged as a result of changing status of the state capital and gradually experienced expansion in all ramification. The expansion having to be as a result of enormous wealth by the state and coupled with transforming it institution into urban infrastructures. The huge investment in projects surely aided the dynamic industry that demanded massive semi-skilled and unskilled labour within and outside Sokoto environs (Ibrahim, 2013).

Sokoto State for century is known as the most peaceful state in northern Nigeria if not the whole country. The reason for these remarks is because of consolidation of solid peace inherited from its founder. Peace and economic security had enabled the private small-scale enterprises continue to increase day-by-day in Sokoto town ranging from manufacturing to wholes sale, retailers, warehouses like that of *Dangote, Paterson Plc, Kofar-Kade* Investment among others all situated along Abdullahi Fodiyo road, operating in a conducive atmosphere without any rancour. The city of Sokoto had taken a new dimension due to presence of services which determine the degree of development of any town in modern time.

The reign of peace coupled with economic security pave way for which people from all works of lives flock into the town in order to secure jobs and earn enough income to survive the urban type of life. The Sokoto of 1960s is not the same as contemporary one because so many developments had occurred which change the face-looking of the city especially places like Emir 263ahaya road where modern plazas with digital economic activities conquered the area. *Sahara, Kasuwar Kanawa, Ahmad Bello Way* where also part of the rapid commercial development from different direction. Apart from that there was growing of numerous outlets, Mini-marts and Malls along *Gawon Nama, Bauchi Road, Gusau Road* etc. The relationship is cordial among different ethnic groups irrespective of their religious and cultural background. From historical perspective, Sokoto was handed down a blissful legacy from its founder

because within one hundred years of its survival the caliphate left an exemplary model by creating enabling environment for peaceful co-existence with everyone. This could not be achieved if there is total absence of peace and security in the state.

In the light of peace in Sokoto, it indicates that contact with the Christian European, the level of tolerance and accommodation exhibited during the period by the caliphate leadership is a testimony and worthy of emulation in the contemporary era. In the present events the same spirit of hospitality and generosity has been applied to all ethnic groups who lived without discrimination, going about peacefully as brother's keeper of one another without records of conflict or violence for century (Janaidu, S.A. and M.U. Bunza, 2014).

### **The Contributions of Peace Education Towards Access to Quality Education of Tertiary Institutions in Sokoto State**

Ever since the creation of Sokoto as a state, there had been rapid peaceful development among all strata education is exclusive. Although in recent time, some states experienced horrible menace of Boko-Haram in Borno, banditry in Zamfara, Katsina; ethnic cleansing in Benue and Taraba. The religious bigotry in Kaduna bedevilled their socio-economic and political affairs which require holistic approach to curtail it errantly. The situation in Sokoto State is un-comparable if compare to above states in fragile situations. The past administration and the current one has followed the same patterns of strategy of peace mechanism handed down by the legacy of the Caliphate. Youths in Sokoto State, at any given period, involve in any conflict resolution programme whether at community level, at religious institutions and by and large at educational institution where all calibre of youths are found for better understanding culture of living together (Mustapha, 2018).

In her efforts to strengthen the education to a more qualitative one, the state government mandate all the tertiary institutions in the state ( Umaru Ali Shinkafi Polytechnic, Shehu Shagari College of Education, Schools of Nursing and Midwifery, College of Agriculture, Legal School and Sokoto State University) to include peace education as part of their curriculum content in General studies so as to provide students with extra knowledge, skills, moral values of understanding conflict resolution; peace process and how importantly

they are in fast tracking national cohesion, integration and cooperate existence not only for the state but for country at large. The introduction or inclusion of peace education in the state's tertiary institutions has yielded tangible result because more than three decades now there is no single violence or riot which can trigger unbearable condition. Meaning to say peace education has inculcated self-esteem, discipline, morals on the life of students. The graduating students from those institutions in the state are proud wherever they found themselves because of self-discipline inculcate in them.

It is beyond exaggeration to say the tertiary institutions in the state are free from all sorts of social milieu including Drugs Abuse and Cultism. The managements are trying their best in the maintenance of law and order of their respective institutions. The success will not be achieving if state government did not provide economic security and human security strategically.

## **CONCLUSION**

The peace which Sokoto is enjoying could not be actualized, quantified without the relevant stakeholders' holders involved. In real sense, the government, host community and settler communities are the critical stake holders in synergizing optimal economic security, building cohesion and cooperative society for greater growth and development. The religious institutions are not left behind in this crusade of peaceful co-existence in the state. Sokoto State is fast growing in many perspectives as such the security of the state is uncompromised. The traditional institution played a significance role in cementing ideal culture and tradition for assimilation to take place. This is to say, there are inter-marriages and kinship between host and settler communities which buttress speedy socio-economic activities within and outside the city of Sokoto.

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# **EFFECTIVENESS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DETERRING POTENTIAL ENEMIES IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Countries procure or embark on the development of nuclear weapons because they believe that active deterrence depends on the ability to demonstrate the depth of commitment to national security. There is the wide belief that with enough nuclear power, a country may not need to bargain – i.e. some things it wants it takes and those it already has it keep by sheer strength, without trying to appeal to an enemy's wishes. The big question is can nuclear weapons be seen as instrument of attaining victory when warfare is never worth the cost. Thus, this paper is an assessment of the effectiveness of nuclear weapons as an instrument of deterring potential enemies in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with the view to determining what lessons this phenomenon holds for African countries who may clamour for such weapons. The study finds that both the victimiser and the victims are affected with the effects of nuclear weapons detonation. The paper therefore recommends that countries of the world should show commitment in the fight against nuclear weapon production, testing, transfer, and proliferation by ratifying treaties meant for the purpose, as it will help to avert the horrific consequences of nuclear weapons if used in future wars.

**Keywords:** Potential Enemies, Deterrence, Nuclear Weapons, Peace and Security

## INTRODUCTION

Countries procure or embark on the development of nuclear weapons because they believe that active deterrence depends on the ability to demonstrate the depth of commitment to national security. So, possession of nuclear warheads shows how much a nation is committed to deter potential enemies. Thus, military planners in some countries now talk about winning a nuclear war. This is because the potency of a nuclear weapon is incomparable. According to Schelling (2008), nuclear war heads are incomparably more devastating than anything packaged before. The difference between nuclear weapon and bayonets is not in the number of people they can eventually kill, but in the speed with which it can be done. In effect, deterrence works only where the cost of attack vastly exceeds the expected yields, as is manifestly the case with nuclear weapons (Overy, 2008). That Japan was defenceless by 1945, points to the potency of nuclear power. Thus, deterrence only describes the effect produced by nuclear confrontation (Overy, 2008). In other words, deterrence is the effect, but it is produced by credible and devastating war capability made possible with nuclear weapons.

These qualities of nuclear weapons make them desirable by nations so as to be feared and respected by other nations and possibly take anything with force. As a matter of fact, there is the wide belief that with enough nuclear power, a country may not need to bargain – i.e. some things it wants it takes and those it already has it keep by sheer strength, without trying to appeal to an enemy's wishes. In nuclear weapons states, leaders are convinced that nuclear weapons ensure their safety. Thus, nations acquire and/or develop nuclear power because it has drastically enhanced the importance of war and threat of war as technique of influence, deterrence and intimidation.

The big questions are, does the acquisition of nuclear weapons actually deter potential aggressors? Does a country or group of individuals actually feel deterred or intimidated knowing that another country has enough nuclear war heads? Can nuclear weapons be seen as instrument of attaining victory in warfare? These issues and some others are going to be

addressed in this paper. This study is out to assess the effectiveness of nuclear weapons as instrument of deterrence. In doing this, the study utilised secondary data.

### **Conceptual Clarification**

Here, concepts that will make the comprehension of this paper difficult are explained. Such concepts include:

#### **Capability**

This has to do with the potential ability to act on one's deterrent threats. Some time, hollow gestures or threats that can somehow be circumvented or defeated carry little deterrent value.

#### **Counterforce**

This is a nuclear strike against the enemy's military forces and weapons rather than his cities and civilians.

#### **Credibility**

This is concerned with making the opponent believe that deterrent threats will actually be executed if defined red lines are crossed.

#### **First-Strike**

This means first offensive move or attack in a nuclear war. First-strike has an element of surprise attack designed to eliminate the ability of the enemy to retaliate.

#### **Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI)**

Strategic Defence Initiative SDI seeks to psychologically control fear of nuclear attack by early detection, interception and demobilisation of enemy's missile attack in the space. This is also known as STAR wars (Green, 1985).

#### **Threat**

Threat is any act or behaviour or position capable of raising fear or anxiety of one being in a position to lose life, liberty and core values (Akpuru-Aja, 2009). For the purpose of this study, threat could be defined as any act that constitutes danger to security of lives and properties. Threat could be real or imagined. It is real threat when there is clear evidence that a nation is in danger of possible aggression from an enemy. Threat is imagined when there are no clear



evidence of possible attack from an enemy. As a matter of fact, threat is imagined because the fact is not clear or certain.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The study employed game theory to explain why weak states; including terrorist groups do not yield to nuclear deterrent threats of stronger states. Game theory is a branch of applied mathematics that provides tools for analyzing situations in which parties; called players, make decisions that are interdependent. This interdependence causes each player to consider the other player's possible decisions, or strategies, in formulating his own strategy. A solution to a game describes the optimal decisions of the players, who may have similar, opposed, or mixed interests, and the outcomes that may result from these decisions. Games theory originated with the work of Von Neumann and Morgenstern (1944).

Because game theory arose from the analysis of competitive scenarios, the problems are called *games* and the participants are called *players*. Game theory deals with any problem in which each player's strategy depends on what the other players do.

Game theory is an appropriate tool for examining deterrence for a number of reasons. First, game theory captures the strategic interactions between aggressors and a targeted government, where actions are interdependent and, thus, cannot be analyzed as though one side is passive. Second, strategic interactions among rational actors who are trying to act according to how they think, their counterparts will act and react, characterize the interface among aggressors (e.g., between the weak and the strong) or among alternative targets (e.g., among targeted governments, each of which is taking protective measures). Third, in conflict situations, each side issues threats and promises to gain strategic advantage. Fourth, opponents abide by the underlying rationality assumption of game theory, where a player maximizes a goal subject to constraints. Fifth, uncertainty and learning in a strategic environment are relevant to all aspects of terrorism, in which the weak or the strong or both are not completely informed.

Applying games theory to international politics has given countries the opportunity of weighing other country's actions before reacting. One good area where countries have applied game theory is in the area of nuclear deterrence. One expects to see that with the possession of nuclear weapons, some countries would have become untouchable, but this has not been the case. Nuclear weapons countries have been attacked in the past with conventional weapons because the aggressor thought about the impossibility of retaliation with a nuclear weapon. Hence, America was attacked on their own soil on September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 even with her massive load of nuclear war heads.

For the nuclear weapons countries, it is not an easy task too, because they need to apply game theory to weigh options and possibly predict what the outcome of their action might be should they use nuclear weapons on any country, especially in this era of *Nuclear Taboo*. For instance, had U.S leaders wished to use nuclear weapons in Vietnam, there was neither lack of warheads nor any shortage of suitable targets. Ports, landing places, supply lines; bridges, railways and airfields could all have been hit decisively with relatively low-yield weapons. Many thought that the United States should or would employ nuclear weapons in any subsequent similar war. One popular lesson the US Army (along with some political leaders) learned from the Korean stalemate was 'never again a land war in Asia', whose real meaning, administration insiders with access to military planning understood, was 'never again a land war against China without nuclear weapons' (Ellsberg, 2002). Given this context, one of the remarkable features of the Vietnam War is how little serious consideration US leaders gave to nuclear options. Although they made some veiled nuclear threats, top political leaders did not come close to using nuclear weapons. That United States chose to lose a humiliating and destructive war against a small, non-nuclear adversary while all its nuclear weapons remained on the shelf is a matter of game theory application.

Balance of power paradox is a game pattern which the weaker nation has always used to dare stronger nations even in the face of nuclear threat. Balance of power paradox helps leaders of weak states to believe that strong states will not be able to execute deterrent threats

because of international or domestic constraints that will become highly salient as deterrence begins to fail. Although the leaders in weak states understand their inferior position, that they would lose an all-out war, and that aggression on their part significantly increases the probability of a war (Russett, 1967), however, they believe that because of a variety of more pressing political and strategic reasons, the strong will not be able to bring their full power to bear to interfere with the weak's initiatives. The leaders of weak states actually accentuate the outcome of Waltz's cost-benefit calculation about the merits of Superpowers intervention in the periphery. They often seem to believe that interventional and domestic political constraints will prevent Great Powers from intervening effectively in limited wars or responding forcefully to provocations (Wirtz, 2012). One possible explanation is that the strong states will sometimes fight to manipulate their reputation for toughness. However, there are theoretical reasons to believe that such attempts are likely to prove counterproductive (Jervis, 1984), and empirical results confirm that states that have fought in the past are not better at deterring rivals than those states that have not (Huth and Russett, 1984).

### **Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear Deterrence: An Overview**

Nuclear weapons also known as atomic weapons are instruments of immense military and political power. Nuclear weapons unleash the power of atom – one of the smallest particles of matter – to create a huge explosion. This power was understood for many years before the Second World War but it was only during that war that scientists began to think of using this destructive force to create a weapon. By the middle of the war, American and German scientists engaged in a 'race' to produce the first atomic bomb (Connolly, 2002). Both countries knew that whoever won that race would certainly win the war. Although the scientists knew such a weapon would be extremely powerful, they could not be sure about how powerful it would be. USA managed to develop such a bomb in 1945. It had enough material to make several, including one for a test (Connolly, 2002). Within weeks, USA used two such bombs against Japan and as all world's scientists predicted, the war was over within days.

There is the steady increase in the number of nuclear weapons. More than 50, 000 of them are in the hands of the United States, Russia, Britain, France, China, India, Pakistan, Israel and South Africa. The two superpowers have 95 percent of them, with the United States possessing the majority of these. Currently the United States has about seven thousand deployed strategic nuclear weapons, shown in Table 1, each with a yield equivalent to a hundred thousand tons of TNT or more (Oelrich, 2005). In addition, North Korea has conducted underground tests of nuclear weapons in 2006 and 2009 and is now a nuclear weapon state. Iran is seeking to develop nuclear weapons and to become a nuclear weapon state (Lewin, 2010). As of 2008, there are eight countries that are said to be nuclear powers. Even adding South Africa, which had possessed nuclear weapons but then renounced them, and North Korea, which announced that it had carried out a nuclear test in October 2006, the number is no more than 10. Nuclear weapons are easy to use on the battlefield because, they are tremendous multipliers of the firepower in existing weapons. A single 100-pounds nuclear artillery shells more than equal the destructive effect of the least 8000 conventional shells. This saves 350 tons of conventional shells, plus the wear and tear on the guns, time, transportation, etc. Beyond the equalling blast effect on conventional shell, nuclear explosives also have radiation. Only 7000 nuclear weapons belonging to the Western forces would survive to be used and only two or three nuclear weapons per enemy battalion would be required to assure destruction (Dunnigan, 1988). In addition to the potentials of nuclear weapons, four to five thousand tactical nuclear weapons used in densely populated central Europe would leave more than 50 million dead or dying civilians (Dunnigan, 1988).

Deterrence is defined most economically by Glenn Snyder as “the power to dissuade (Wilson, 2008). Alexander George and Richard Smoke also define it as “simply the persuasion of one’s opponent that the costs and/or risks of a given course of action . . . outweigh its benefits.” Thomas Schelling calls deterrence “a threat . . . intended to keep an adversary from doing something” (Wilson, 2008). It is from this point of view that Oelrich (2005) opined that deterrence is a matter of trying to nudge a potential adversary’s cost/benefit

calculations in such a way to push him away from making an undesired decision. Deterrence also means the credible threat of retaliation in case of an attack. Retaliation aims to impose costs that are greater than any gain, thereby deterring the initial attack. In recent time it encompasses the threat of pre-emptive self-defence (Bock, 2007). Deterrence comes from having enough weapons to destroy the other's cities.

Nuclear deterrence began its life in 1946, after the bombing of the two cities of Japan (Hiroshima and Nagasaki), as the threat to destroy cities. This is why Brodie (1984) made the expectation of "huge devastation of . . . peoples and territories" one of the central tenets of deterrence. Nuclear deterrence is using the threat of nuclear attack to dissuade potential aggressors. Nuclear deterrence has relied on what today might be called a "shock and awe" strategy: threatening to devastate enemy cities in order to coerce. Certainly, when nuclear war was being discussed between India and Pakistan, for example, there seems to be an emphasis on the possibility of attacks against cities (McKinzie, Mian, Nayyar, and Ramana, 2001). Destroying cities, whether in the early stages or the latter is central to nuclear war. Nuclear deterrence is based, in part, on the threat of nuclear war. Thus, the ultimate nature of nuclear deterrence is based on showing a determination to use nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons guard against the most dangerous threat which a country's citizens could face; that of a nuclear attack. For some nuclear weapons country, nuclear deterrence is the last line of defence against such an attack.

### **Reasons why Stronger States often fails to deter Weaker States or Competitors**

#### ***Strategic Surprise***

Strategic Surprise allows weaker states to achieve objectives that they cannot realistically achieve in a war against a stronger state. According to Handel (1983), weaker states were often attracted to strategic surprise as an option when they contemplated challenging stronger opponents. Strategic Surprise transforms war into an act of administration, allowing the weaker opponent to achieve objectives that are literally impossible to attain when facing a fully prepared and engaged opponent (Luttwak, 1987). Relying on Strategic Surprise to

overcome an opponent, Iraq under the Saddam Hussein administration had the *fait accompli* to reach some sort of compromise peace with the American government. Before occupying Kuwait, Saddam Hussein told the American ambassador to Iraq that the West in general and the U. S. in particular did not have the stomach for a bloody fight to counter Iraqi ambition in Kuwait. Even after the U. S. opposition to the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait was obvious, Saddam Hussein still believed that America casualty aversion would lead America under the leadership of George Bush to reach a compromise settlement (Freedman and Karsh, 1993). That Saddam Hussein undertook actions that were bound to pit against the interest of the West (America) that possessed overwhelming military and financial resources seems to make mockery of the very tenants of deterrence.

Strategic surprise also enables the utilisation of minimal resources to produce an overwhelming strategy and political effect. For instance, Al-Qaeda surprisingly destroyed the World Trade Centre with the aid of box cutter and mace in about two hour at the cost of a few hundred thousand dollars and about twenty personnel (NCTA, 2004). Another point of reference is the surprise attack of Israel by Egypt in the 1973 Yom Kippur war, because Egypt lacked the military capability to defeat Israel in a direct confrontation. For Israel, it made “no sense” for a weaker opponent to launch a surprise attack, thereby starting a war that they were doomed to lose (Uri, 2005).

### ***The cost of Executing deterrent threats***

Although it might make perfect strategic and political sense for a strong nation to issue a deterrent threat against the weak to prevent some unwanted action, would it actually be in the interest of the stronger party to carry out that threat in the face of deterrent failure? To answer this question, one must bear in mind that the cost of executing deterrence threats may outweigh the potential gains. Thus, deterrence can fail because the weak can come to believe that they can alter the incentives faced by the strong in the event of deterrence failure. They can come to believe that incentive to retaliate may lose their salience when politicians focus on the material and political cost of executing a deterrent threat or begin to question the relevance of

existing military options to reverse a deteriorating position on the ground at acceptable cost. Nalebuff (1991) corroborated this fact when he demonstrates that a central component of threat credibility lies in rival perceptions about the hidden costs of action. The lower the hidden costs, the greater the actual strength of a state and the greater its willingness to implement threats. The key to maintaining credibility is the proper manipulation of rival perceptions about hidden costs through the judicious use of threats and aggression. Too much or too little of either can damage a state's reputation and invite aggression.

Although the strong face an immediate trade-off between the cost of deterrence failure and the cost produced by the long-term erosion of the credibility of their deterrent threats, the weak can come to believe that they can alter this calculus in their favour (Wirtz, 2012).

*Sophistication of Conventional Weapons.* Conventional weapons might with repeated attacks destroy hard nuclear targets such as missile silos but the mission requires high confidence of destruction on the first strike. According to Gartzke and Jo (2009) nuclear weapons matter most in deterrence situations where the conventional capabilities of the nuclear state are relatively weak; they matter least when the nuclear power possesses significant conventional forces. In a nutshell, the same revolution in accuracy that has transformed *conventional* warfare has had equally momentous consequences for *nuclear* weapons and deterrence. Very accurate delivery systems, new reconnaissance technologies, and the downsizing of arsenals from Cold War levels have made both conventional and nuclear counterforce strikes against nuclear arsenals much more feasible than ever before. Thus, it was widely held in defence circles that the more successful the conventional defence, the greater the incentive would be for a nuclear-armed power to rely on nuclear weapons (Çetiner, 1998).

#### *Dissatisfaction with the Violation of a Country's Core National Interests*

National interest is the sum total of the values which a nation pursues or projects objectively in its interactions with other nations in the international arena for the common goal of the country. National interest can be used to refer to such concepts as "self-preservation", self-defence", and even "survival". There are two levels of national interest, the secondary and

vital (Morgenthau, 1962). Secondary interests are concerned with those security issues which a country may seek to compromise. Vital interests are concerned with those security issues meant to be preserved, which concerns the very life of the state and there can be no compromise or hesitation about going to war. Thus, a state dissatisfied with the manner in which her vital interest is violated will not hesitate to go to war even though her opponent is militarily more equipped. Dissatisfaction offsets 'perceptions of insufficient capability' thus leading to aggression even in the case where smaller states face more powerful rivals (Zinnes, North and Koch, 1961).

### ***The Spectre of Nuclear Escalation***

Both nuclear Weapon States and non-nuclear Weapon States are all aware of the destructive nature of nuclear weapons i.e. the possibility of escalation to a wide nuclear holocaust. Escalation is easily accomplished nuclear weapons because they are all wide area weapons. The effect of nuclear weapons is not only unpredictable, but also takes a larger toll among local civilians than troops. Nuclear weapons produced enormous quantities of lethal radioactive fallout and hence caused millions of civilian casualties (Keir, & Daryl, 2013). Nuclear weapons have radiation which lingers and attack friend and foe indiscriminately (Dunnigan, 1988). With each side in a battle throwing several thousand nuclear weapons at each other, soon there will be no one left to fight, nor will there be anything left of the battle area (Dunnigan, 1988).

Scientific evidence indicates that a wide scale nuclear war would be followed by a considerable change in the climate of the world for at least several months. The wide range of consequences from blast and shock to thermal and initial radiation, combined with physical injuries and residual nuclear radiation (fallout), are included in the effects of a nuclear explosion (Çetiner, 1998). A series of illnesses like flash-blindness, caused by excessive light, or environmental depreciation, with the devastating effects on people's morale, like black rain or the greenhouse effect are among the outcomes of nuclear explosions. Black rain was observed after the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the Second World War



(Çetiner, 1998). There is a threshold for severe climatic calamities. Approximately two or three hundred nuclear explosions over cities, generating smoke, or about 2,000 to 3,000 high-yield surface bursts at nuclear missile silos send fine particles into the atmosphere. These particles cause only minor effects until this threshold is reached. Beyond this threshold, the effects increase enormously (Carl, 1986). Prolonged effects subsequently emerge. Winds would spread the black cloud of smoke and dust from the areas of conflict, affecting the global atmosphere in many ways. Erno (1984) indicated that “a large-scale nuclear war would introduce huge amounts of soil and soot aerosols into the atmosphere ... these introductions would be certain to have dramatic effects on hemispheric weather conditions for a period of weeks or months.” As for countries that were not targeted by nuclear weapons, they would also be affected in physical terms, as well as having suffering economically with a worldwide cessation of trade (Çetiner, 1998).

The fact that nuclear weapons affect both the victim and the victimiser, make them less desirable to use by countries in conflict. Sechser and Furhmann (2013) found that whatever deterrent benefits nuclear weapons may confer, they are poor tools to bring about changes in international relations. Besides, how can a state credibly threaten to impose a sanction that, if imposed, would subsequently result in its own destruction? Aware of this fact, some weak countries and potential aggressors are less/or not deterred with nuclear weapons.

### ***Nuclear Weapons Taboo***

Today the use of nuclear weapons has continuously been criticised by nations; including nuclear weapon countries. President Barack Obama had declared the desire for a ‘world free of nuclear weapons’ (Obama, 2009). Thus, a number of analysts have advocated a strategy of deterring nuclear terrorism by threatening potential state sponsors (as well as nations that do not effectively secure their nuclear weapons and material) with retaliation if they are identified as the source of a nuclear weapon or material used in an attack (Montgomery, 2010). Besides, series of treaties has been signed banning the production and

use of nuclear weapons. Below are some of the treaties banning the production and use of nuclear weapons:

1. The 1967 Treaty for the prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean.
2. The 1985 South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty.
3. The 1995 Treaty on the South-East Asia Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone.
4. The 1996 African Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone Treaty.
5. The 2006 Treaty on Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone in Central Asia.
6. In 1992, Mongolia declared its Nuclear Weapon free status, which is internationally recognised and prohibits, inter alia, the acquisition, possession, placement, testing and use of nuclear weapons on its territory.
7. The 1995 Antarctic Treaty, inter alia, prohibits any measure of military nature on the continent of Antarctica, including any testing of nuclear weapons.
8. The 1967 Treaty on principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and use of Outer Space including the Moon and other celestial bodies, inter alia, prohibits placing nuclear weapons in Orbit around Earth, installing or testing these weapons on the Moon and other celestial bodies as well as stationing these weapons in Outer Space in any other manner.
9. The 1971 Treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of Nuclear Weapon and other weapons of mass destruction on the sea-bed and the ocean floor and in the sub-soil thereof inter alia, prohibits the emplacement of nuclear weapons on the bottom of the ocean and in the sub-soil thereof (UNODA, 2010).

As of 2007, the above nine treaties were at different stages with regard to their signature, ratification and entry into force, as well as with regard to the signature and ratification of their attached protocols requesting assurances from the nuclear-weapon States.

In addition, in 1961, the United Nations General Assembly approved a Resolution sponsored by Ireland calling on all states to conclude an agreement that would ban the further

acquisition and transfer of nuclear weapons. In 1965, the Geneva disarmament conference began consideration of a draft nuclear nonproliferation treaty. The conference completed its negotiations in 1968, and on July 1, 1968, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) was opened for signature. 187 countries signed the Non-proliferation Treaty which entered into force in March 5, 1970, including three of the five nuclear-weapon states; the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. NPT attempted to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons by restricting the transfer of certain technology and relies on an inspection regime to be carried out by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The Limited Ban Test Treaty (LTBT) was signed in 1963 banning nuclear test in the atmosphere, under water, in outer space.

On December 8, 1987, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S President Ronald Reagan sign the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty in Washington (Drell and Goodby, 2012). Also, a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) that ban all testing of nuclear warheads was opened for signature in 1998. It was originally viewed as crucial for halting development of new weapons and spread of nuclear weapons. On May 24, 2002, the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT), also known as the Moscow Treaty, was signed by Bush and Putin in Moscow on May 24, 2002. The treaty commits the two countries to having no more than 1,700–2,200 operationally deployed strategic nuclear warheads each by December 31, 2012 (Oelrich, 2005) and it was a numerically large reduction. In April 2010, Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev signed the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START). Later that year, a bipartisan majority of the Senate approved the treaty, which requires verifiable reductions in deployed U.S. and Russian strategic warheads to a level of 1,550 each by 2018 (Drell & Goodby, 2012).

Recently, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) together with other NGO's have drafted a model Nuclear weapon Convention (MWC). The MWC is a multi-lateral agreement to prohibit development, testing, production, stockpiling, transfer, use and threat of use of nuclear weapons. MWC outlines 5 phases for the elimination

of nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapon state would be obliged to cover the cost of the elimination of their nuclear arsenal and an international verification regime would be established (Kant, 1990). Besides, Tannenwald (2007) put together rationalist and constructivist explanations to provide a historically rich and well researched argument to explain how it is possible that 'nuclear weapons have remained unused by the US since 1945.

Tannenwald (2007) argues that normative ideas about morality and legitimacy have led to the development of a collectively held, self-reinforcing norm of non-use of nuclear weapons, or a nuclear weapons taboo. The taboo not only constrains the behaviour of nuclear states but also constitutes their identities and interests as civilised nations. As a result, the United States has not detonated a nuclear weapon in war (since 1945) because the resultant indiscriminate and horrific destruction is antithetical to the US national identity as a civilised nation. As a matter of fact, that the leading nuclear powers have little inclination and few real plans to ever use nuclear weapons, tells of how most nuclear arsenals have shrunk. Besides, no exchange is likely between adversaries with nuclear weapons (the argument goes) because a fight in which numerous cities are destroyed is unacceptable. Thus, aware of all these facts, most weak states are not deterred with nuclear weapons, and have remained the major reason why the fears of nuclear dangers have lost much of their political urgency.

## **CONCLUSION**

It is obvious that nuclear weapons do not deter potential aggressors as states leaders have often believed. Instead, state have come to know that the best method of defence against the nuclear weapon is likely to be the deterrent effect that the possession of the means of retaliation would have on a potential aggressor, thus, the major powers have proactively promoted the development of nuclear weapons. Consequently, the Soviet Union succeeded in developing an atomic bomb in 1949, and subsequently the United Kingdom, France, and China one after another came to possess nuclear weapons. They have actually shown that in order to counter the nuclear weapons of other countries, the simplest solution for a country would be to possess its own nuclear weapons. In addition, North Korea is moving forward with the development

of nuclear weapons, and multinational efforts continue to be made to stop North Korea from possessing such weapons, this is because of the possibility that the possession of nuclear weapons by North Korea could lead Japan to go nuclear and this could spread throughout Asia, thereby resulting in chain-reaction-type proliferation. Our best scientists now tell us that nuclear war would mean the end of human history. What political or national goals could possibly justify risking a nuclear war that would likely cause the extinction of the human race?

The notion of “mutual destruction” must be replaced with a system of “mutual security”. As a matter of urgency, governments of nuclear weapons states must get rid of their nuclear weapons, as they may be tempted to use them. Governments of various countries particularly Africa should exert greater efforts needed to deny non-state actors (terrorist) access to fissile material and disrupt terrorist networks.

Existing nuclear powers should give up their nuclear weaponry, as this would help to eliminate a key source of threat that might be experienced by other states. This would also help to arrest the momentum toward proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Nuclear weapons states must adjust their deterrence strategies need to minimise the potentials for death and destruction while still denying their weaker opponents the opportunity to achieve their objectives.

Nuclear weapon countries and other countries that have the material to produce nuclear weapons should divert such material into the production of goods that will improve the living condition of human beings, as well as sustain the human race.

Countries of the world should show commitment in the fight against nuclear weapon production, testing, transfer, and proliferation by ratifying treaties meant for the purpose. This will help to avert the horrific consequences of nuclear weapons if used in future wars.

A strong international verification body should be established to check the violation of all treaties relating to nuclear weapons production and proliferation.

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# **POLITICS OF PARTY DEFECTION AND CROSS-CARPETING: IMPLICATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEMOCRACY IN EDO STATE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The paper examines implication of politics of party defection and cross-carpeting on Edo State sustainable democracy. The quantitative methods were adopted and using systematic sampling technique sixty (60) respondents were selected based on their geographical spread. Data obtained were analysed with both descriptive and inferential statistical method using statistical package for social scientist (SPSS). Findings among others reveal that; the fact is that defections have created more enmity among members of the parties such that they play bad politics with every issue that borders the wellbeing of Edolites such as, security challenges and farmers herdsmen crisis at the expense of credible and objective governance. One of the commonest challenges of defection is the unhealthy rivalry and unconstructive criticism between PDP and APC members which thus affects voting behaviour of the electorates and threatens democratic sustainability in the study area. The study recommends amongst others that; since cross-carpeting is usually triggered by intra or inter party conflict, it is recommended that political parties should be re-engineered from mere institutions for acquiring political power to effective institutions that are capable of mediating and reconciling interests and conflicts.

**KEY WORDS:** Politics, Party defection, Cross-carpeting and implication for sustainable democracy

## INTRODUCTION

Democracy has been adjudged the best form of government because it defines powers responsibility/functions, procedures etc of government, conception of civil rights and individual freedom, among other things. Here, all citizens are assumed to have certain inalienable rights which are usually guaranteed in the constitution, (Avidime and Obi, 2018). Right to freedom of expression/ association/religion, right to life, right to human dignity, right of children and other minority such as women or ethnic group. The philosophical basis of these rights and freedom of course is the value orientation which underpin western society. Indeed, some of these rights are derived from ideological framework of the ideology of the west which promotes individualism, competition, appropriation or property acquisition (Avidime and Obi, 2018).

On the other hand, Party switching or defection which is the second variable of this research has assumed a preposterous dimension since Nigeria returned to democratic governance in 1999. Defection has indeed become a routine and part and parcel of political flesh in Nigeria. The spate of party defection has not only threatened the country's fledgling democracy, but has also rubbished its underlying philosophies. It has further resulted into gross and acute democratic instability in which the country is currently enmeshed. In short, party switching in Nigeria constitutes one of the strong currents of reversal that the country is contending with. The nation's newspapers are always inundated with reports on party switchers and how they are celebrated at the state Houses of Assembly and the National Assemblies. Party switching aptly described as "political prostitution" is fast becoming the hallmark of Nigeria's democracy.

What democracy depicts in Nigeria continues to manifest clearly individual's quest for recognition or self-preservation rather than the greater purpose of service to the people and nation as enshrined in the letters of the definition of democracy. This systemic behaviourism by so called self-styled politicians in Nigeria where Alhaji Atiku Abubakar defected to APC in 2015 for presidential ticket and later cross-carpeted to PDP in 2020, Kwankwanso crossed

to APC in 2015 and returned to PDP in 2020, Orji Uzo Kalu from PDP to APC in 2020, Senator Elijah who was accused of molestation in 2020 from PDP cross carpeted to APC in 2020, the Governor of Ebonyi State who was two times governor from PDP and still the current governor cross carpeted to APC in chase of his presidential ambition and 4 times deputy senate president senator Ike, Ekweremadu defected from PDP to APC in 2020 for his gubernatorial ambition, and Kogi State where in the western senatorial district Senator Dino Melaye of APC defected to PDP and Smart Adeyemi of PDP defected to APC in pursuit of Kogi West Senatorial district from 2015-2020, and recently in Edo State in 2020, Pastor Izeh Iyamu of the then 2015 flag bearer of PDP and his supporters defected to APC, while Godwin Obaseki and his deputy Philip Shaibu and majority of the LGA chairpersons defected from APC to PDP and clinch the party ticket and eventually won over the candidate of the embattled former PDP candidate. This has reduced the quality of opposition and regional balance affecting the capacity and ability for checks and balances which is compromised weakening the process and system of governance for probity (Smith, 2012). Edo State politics has witnessed series of political defections in the last 5 years of power shift from PDP to APC with politicians decamping from one political party to the other.

Our aim is not to come up with an explanatory framework on party defections in Edo State and Nigeria as a whole, but most importantly to analyse a new framework and proffer explanations on why political party defection has become an increasingly permanent feature in Nigerian democratic experience. Then, find an escape root towards a secure future for democratic process in Edo State.

### **Objectives of the paper**

- i. To ascertain the extent of party defection and cross-carpeting in Edo State
- ii. To examine the degree at which party defections and cross-carpeting affects the consolidation of Edo State Democracy
- iii. To find out if party defections and cross-carpeting affect political stability of Edo State.

## **Research Methods**

This research work adopted survey research method and made use of primary and secondary data as the main source of data collection through the instrument of structured and unstructured questionnaire. The study randomly selects 60 respondents using. Data obtained were analysed descriptively using frequency table.

### **Party Defection in the Fourth Republic (1999 to Date)**

Party switching has become a recurring decimal in the fourth Republic when Nigeria returned to democratic rule. The spate of party switching since 1999 has assumed preposterous dimensions. In 1999, Chief Evan Enwerem, having lost the gubernatorial primaries in the All Peoples Party (APP) in Imo State, defected and joined the People's Democratic Party (PDP) on whose ticket he won a senatorial seat. His defection was rewarded as he was elected the Senate President (Odum, 2002). In Plateau State Alhaji Alhassan Shu'aibu defected from the APP and joined the PDP in 1999. In Cross River State, not less than seven prominent All Peoples Party and Alliance for Democracy members have defected to the People's Democratic Party (Ezia, 2015: 6). Evidently, the direction of defection from 1999 to 2011 shows that it is one-sided, and was essentially into the PDP. Only little percentage seemed to be defecting from PDP to other parties to form a new political party. However, there is nothing wrong in people switching if they do not find the programmes of their party in consonance with their ideals. It becomes dubious when politicians begin to mortgage their consciences as well as seek to pursue their private and selfish interest in the name of defection. This may have stemmed from the mere fact that politicians are poor and desperate to hold public office as a means of accumulating wealth.

In advanced democracies, cross carpeting is done on principle, rather than on selfish and personal interest. What we are witnessing today is political prostitution which lacks political morality. In 2003, Wahab, Obanikoro, Senator Ogunlere and Senator Musilieu all from Lagos State were elected on the platform of Alliance for Democracy (AD) but defected to join PDP. Chief Arthur Nzeribe (Imo) Senator Nwanunu (Abia), Dr. Usman Kabir (Kogi),

the trio defected from All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) to join the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP).

Senator Patrick Osakwe representing Delta North defected from PDP to Accord Party (AP). Not long enough, the elected Senator also abandoned AD and defected to PDP alleging division within the party. Alhaji Aminu Bello Masari the former Speaker House of Representative also jettisoned PDP for CPC (Ezia, 2015: 7). A chronicle of defection shows that the most important cases of defection are that of the former Vice President, Atiku Abubakar. He was a founding member of the PDP, and defected to the Action Congress (AC) after a running battle with the former President Olusegun Obasanjo.

In 2007, he contested the presidential elections on the platform of AC, but lost to the late President Umaru Yar'Adua. In 2015, Atiku went back to the PDP where he contested the presidential primaries. Before Atiku's defection, Ondo and Edo States witnessed defection of members of the opposition parties to the party of the incumbent governor. Edo State witnessed a large defection of members of the PDP to the AC, which is the Governor's party (Agina, 2010:3). In that period, Ondo state saw a mass defection of PDP members to the Labour Party (LP) of which the incumbent governor is a member. In both cases, the cross-carpeting were an aftermath of political battles and in-fighting. In Abia State, Comrade Uche Chukwuemerijie elected on the platform of the then ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) defected to the Progressives People Alliance (PPA).

Chief Sergeant Awuse, former Chairman Board of Directors, Federal Airports Authority of Nigeria (FAAN) defected from (PDP) to become the gubernatorial candidate of Democratic People's Party (DPP). Alhaji Attahiru Bafarawa, former governor of Sokoto State elected on the platform of All Peoples Party (APP) abandoned the party to form the Democratic People's Party (DPP) and became its presidential candidate in 2007 general elections. Alhaji Attahiru Bafarawa discarded the party he harboured to establish for the Action Congress of Nigeria (I). Chief Orji Kalu left the PDP to form the Progressives Peoples Alliance (PPA) and became its presidential candidate in 2007 general elections. Chief Orji

Kalu damped membership of PPA for CPC. The former military head of state, Rtd. General Muhammad Buhari who contested against for President Olusegun Obasanjo in 2003 and 2007 elections under the banner of ANPP found his way to Congress for Progressive Change (CPC). He was the presidential flag bearer of the party in 2011 election.

Ahead of the 2015 general elections, the opposition parties namely I, CPC, ANPP and a faction of APGA for the first time in the history of the country's politics formed a strong merger that gave birth to the leading opposition party called All Progressives Congress (APC). At the peak of the merger, some chieftains of the APC such as former governor of Kano State, Mallam Ibrahim Shekarau, his Sokoto and Borno counterparts, Alhaji Attahiru Bafarawa and Senator Ali Modu Sheriff defected to the PDP accusing some APC leaders of overbearing influence (Ezea, 2015: 11). As the 2015 general elections draw nearer, it appears that the country operates a two-party system, as only the PDP and the APC seem to be holding sway nationally (Baiyewu, 2015: 13). At the peak of the intra-party crisis within the PDP that rocked the party under leadership of Alhaji Bamanga Tukur as the national chairman of the party, five governors defected to APC. Just a few days after the PDP lost the presidential election to the APC; there have been mass defections of politicians from the PDP to APC.

From the Southwest to the North, it is hurricane defection of politicians to the APC. It is only in Southeast that such moves have not been witnessed openly. Some of these defectors include former National Legal Advisor PDP, Mr. Olusola Oke, former governor of Edo State, Osarhiemen Osunbor, the former Minister of Justice Mike Aondoakaa, Prof. Tony Ijobor (SAN), Major General Lawrence Onaja (Rtd), former Speaker House of Representatives, Aminu Waziri Tambuwal, former governor of Sokoto State, Alhaji Aliyu Magatarda Wammako, former governor of Kano State, Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso, Rotimi Amaechi among others (Baiyewu, 2015:16). Party switching certainly predates Nigeria's independence.

Before the 2015 general elections and immediately after the victory of the opposition party coalition; the APC over the PDP, many politicians and members from the losing side

henceforth begin to embark on mass defection to the victorious party. As at last count, many former leaders, ex-government appointees, lawmakers, well-known contractors and even some support groups of the former President Jonathan's presidential campaign then have joined the APC. Although, there was no certain proportion of defectors from APC to PDP, but APC had much greater proportion especially after the party had won the presidential seat in the 2015 general elections. From Katsina, the home state of the president General Muhammad Buhari, two former gubernatorial aspirants on the platform of the PDP in the state, Alhaji Kabir Barkiya, and Alhaji Tukur Jikamshi, have defected to the APC.

Also, a former Military Governor of Borno, Col. Abdulmumini Aminu (rtd), eight serving members of the Katsina State House of Assembly and two former commissioners, Nasidi Danladi and Aminu Jamo have also defected from PDP to APC. One of the most significant switching is the defection of the former Speaker House of Representatives, Aminu Waziri Tambuwal which spurred a very serious political upheaval at the National House of Assembly. Tambuwal was denied entrance to the House by some members of the House especially those under the platform of the then ruling party, PDP. Tambuwal had during plenary told his colleagues that he heeded the calls of the members of his constituency to dump the PDP. The Speaker said, "based on the provision of the 1999 constitution, and having regard to the development of the PDP in my own state, Sokoto, I hereby announce my membership of the APC. Let me register my profound application to all of you my colleagues for the unflinching support you have continued to extend to me for the overall national interest and development of our democracy" (Oladimeji, 2015:2). The defection ended the months of speculations over his political future. It also threw up questions on whether he would resign as speaker, be impeached or remain in office

Another important defector is Atiku Abubakar, the former vice president of Nigeria from May 1999 to May 2007, who has been a presidential aspirant since 2007. While pursuing the highest seat in the land, he had moved from PDP to the now-defunct AC, he defected back

to PDP then to APC. After losing the APC's primary election to General Muhammad Buhari (Rtd), he later became an ardent supporter of Buhari (Ezigbo, 2015: 4).

A pioneer member of the PDP and its former National Legal Advisor, Chief Olusola Oke, and a three-time Senator from Ondo Central, Gbenga Oggunniya, led some other leaders and their supporters to defect to the APC. Also, a former Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives and founding member of the PDP, Prince Chibudom Nwuche, has resigned his membership of the party, citing frustrations at the party's non-adherence to internal democratic rules. In Cross River State, a PDP stalwart and former ambassador to Mali, Chief Sonny Abang, has resigned membership of the former party and joined the APC. Owelle Rochas Okorocha, the controversial governor of Imo State, won the hardly-contested governorship election in Imo State in 2011 under the APGA. He has been a member of almost all the political parties in Nigeria. He is also a one-time presidential aspirant. Governor Okorocha surprised everybody in February in 2014 when he took his supporters from the faction of APGA and defected to the newly formed APC. Rotimi Amaechi, the controversial governor who became governor of Rivers State through court ruling in October 2007 after he was controversially substituted before the election also joined the train of politicians that defected to APC late 2014 after irreconcilable differences with the presidency that lasted for months amidst conflicts and tension that almost consumed Rivers State.

Chief Tom Ikimi, the former minister of Foreign Affairs under the late General Abacha, was the founding member and in board of trustees of the now-defunct APP. In September 2001, he defected to the PDP. In 2006, he was among the founding members of the now-defunct AC and led the party to win governorship elections in 2007, and also in 2012 in Edo State. Ikimi was also saddled with the responsibility of heading the Merger Steering Committee of the defunct AC, ANPP, CPC and faction of APGA that coalesced into APC, following his inability to clinch the party's chairmanship position. In August 2014, he defected to the PDP. Another important figure, the pioneer chairman of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Mallam Nuhu Ribadu who was the presidential flag-bearer of

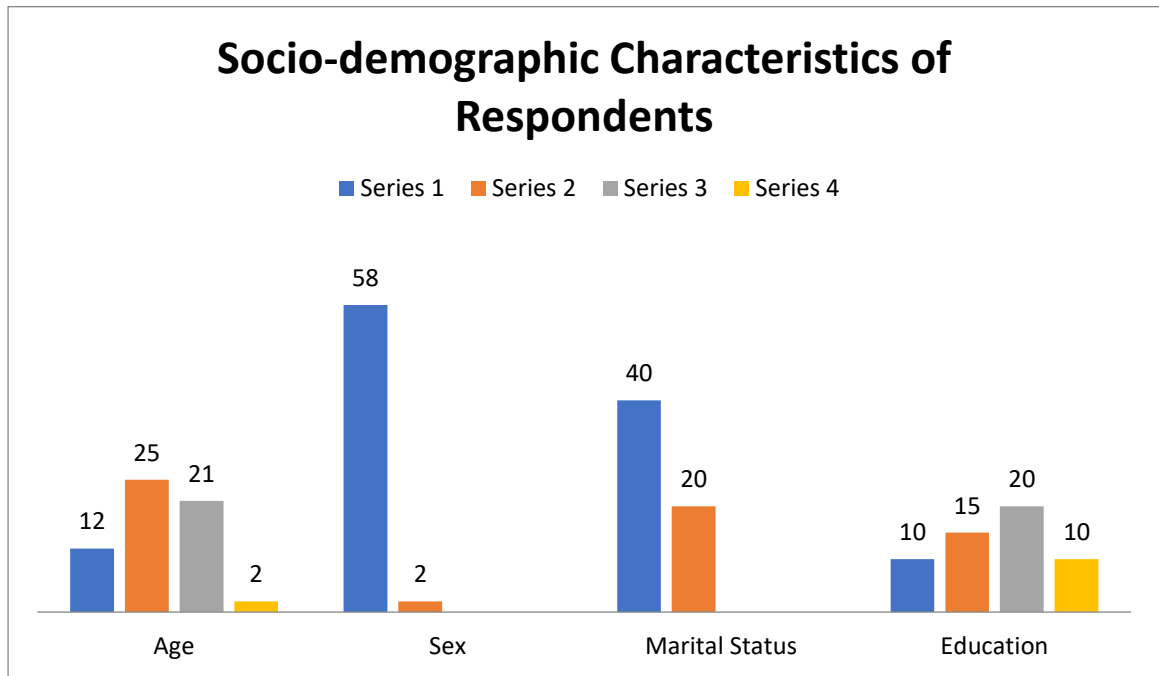


the now-defunct AC in the 2011 presidential election also defected to the PDP in August this year (2015) citing the pursuit of a “good cause” rather than selfish desires as his reason. In Kano State, Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso became governor of the State in 1999, but lost his re-election in 2003. In 2011, he was re-elected for a second term.

Kwankwaso left PDP for the APC arguing that neither the presidency nor the party leadership had shown any respect to him or his office. With more cases of switching from the PDP to the APC in the days ahead, what is now agitating the minds of political analysts is the likely implication of the gale of defections on the quest for a virile democratic environment. The question is how the PDP will and other parties in Nigeria survive in order to continue to play their vital role in acting as checks to possible excesses of the now-ruling party, APC. Because without a strong opposition party, Nigeria can easily move into the realm of one-party system where all the elements of democracy will assume different characters (Ezea, 2015). Some Nigerian politicians attribute political defections to intimidation and lack of internal democracy in their party. Others attribute their political defections to lack of followership of their parties outside the shore of the region.

Yet to some, Nigerian politicians switch parties in order to improve or contribute to the process of democratic consolidation in the country. However, this study comes to terms with the prevailing view that most of the politicians in Nigeria defect to other parties because of their self-interest rather than for the common good which has injuriously affected democratisation in Nigeria.

## Result and Discussion of Findings



**Source:** Field Survey, 2021

Figure 1, presents information on socio-demographic characteristics of respondents in the study areas. Findings shows that 12 respondents (20%) falls within the age of 18-30, 25 respondents (42.%) falls within the age of 31-40, 21 respondents (35%) falls within the age of 41-50, while 2 respondents (3%) within the age of 51 and above. This indicated that majority of the respondents to the questionnaires falls within the age bracket of 31-40 years. Findings further revealed that 58 respondents (97%) were male while 2 respondents (3%) are female. Investigating into marital status of respondents, it was discovered that 40 respondents (67%) were married 20 respondents (33%) were single. On educational attainment of the respondents, findings shows that 10 respondents (17%) are SSCE/GCE holders, 15 respondents (25%) has ND/NCE, 20 respondents (33%) are HND/B.Sc. Holders, 10 respondents (17%) has

MB/M.Sc./MA, while 5 respondents (8%) has Ph.D and above. This indicates that study participants were educated enough to contribute meaningfully to the study.

**Causes of politics of party defection among members of PDP and APC between 2015-2019 elections**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Poor party performance	8	13%
Lack of internal Democracy	15	25%
Prospects of acquiring political office	10	17
Poor ideology and Corruption	17	28
Hijacking of Power by the elder statesmen in the party	10	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** Field Survey, 2021

Table 1, presents identified variables that led to politics of party defection among members of the PDP and APC. Data contained in the table shows that Poor party performance (13%), Lack of internal Democracy (25%), Prospects of acquiring political office (17%), Poor ideology and Corruption (28%) and Hijacking of Power by the elder statesmen in the party (17%). These findings show that, there are different factors that influence defection of politicians to another party in Nigeria. Some politicians switch to another party to get into office/power. Therefore, personal gain and the lure of office motivate some defectors to change parties. Another factor similar to the above-mentioned factor is that politicians switch to parties that maximise their prospect of re-election because they lose hope in their dumped party. This suggests that the motive for defection is mainly to advance the political interests of the defectors and to create access to the wealth of the nation. What is also pertinent is that, defection occurs when the defector could not fulfil or realise his/her political aspiration under his/her original party.

Reason has been that politics in Nigeria is associated with wealth. Therefore, elective post is the major avenue of upward mobility, status, power and wealth (Ogundiya, 2009). Many

politicians in Nigeria are therefore in politics, not because of any high quest to serve for altruistic reasons, but for personal enrichment and self-aggrandisement: political appointments, contracts, and all forms of patronage.

**What is the volume of part defection among members of APC and PDP between 2015 and 2019?**

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Many	60	50%
Few	-	0%
No Idea	-	0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100%</b>
Response	Frequency	Percentage
I agree	15	25%
I strongly agree	20	33%
I disagree	10	17%
I strongly disagree	5	8%
No idea	10	17%
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** Field Survey, 2021

Table 2 above shows that total respondents 60 (100%) indicates that the volume of people defecting among members of the APC and PDP many. Findings further revealed that 15 respondents (25%) agree that these defectors have been able to mobilize their supporters, 20 respondents (33.3%) strongly agreed, 10 respondents (17%) disagree, 5 respondents (8.3%) strongly disagree, 10 respondents (17%) have no idea. These indicate that, these defectors have been able to mobilize their supporters. The table further shows that 30 respondents (50%) believe there are sanction against defectors by the parties, 20 respondent (33%) believes there are no sanction against defectors by the parties, while 10 respondents have no ideas, this

indicates that majority of the respondents to the questionnaires think there are sanctions against defectors by the parties.

**Do you think that defection affected voter's behaviour in the course of the 2015 and 2019 Election?**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
I agree	10	17%
I strongly agree	40	67%
I disagree	5	8%
I strongly disagree	1	1%
No idea	4	7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** Field Survey, 2021

Table 3 above shows that 10 respondents (17%) think that this defection affected voter's behaviour in the course of 2019 State of House of Assembly election, 40 respondents (67%) strongly agreed, 5 respondents (8%) disagreed, 1 respondent (1%) strongly disagreed, while 4 respondents (7%) have no idea. This indicates that, most respondents think this defection affected voter's behaviour in the course of the 2015 and 2019 elections. The table further shows that 4 respondents (6.7%) agree that the parties expected these defection, 2 respondents (3.3%) strongly agreed, 30 respondents (50%) disagree, 19 respondents (31.7%) strongly disagree, while 5 respondents (8.3%) have no idea. This indicated that, the parties were not expecting this defection. Findings show that 20 respondents (33%) think the political parties were able to perform after many people had left, 58% attest no, while 5 respondents (8%) have no idea.

This indicated that majority of the respondents thinks the political parties were unable to perform after many members had left them. Probing into defectors view on party defection, 20 respondents (33%) attest that they would encourage this type of party defection in future election, majority 30 respondents (50%) would not encourage this type of defection, while 10

respondents have no idea. This indicates that majority of the respondents to the questionnaire wouldn't encourage this type of defection in the future election. Investigating into the mechanism put in place to curb defections, findings from table 3 above shows that 5 respondents (8.3%) agreed there are mechanisms put in place to check further defections from party, 4 respondents (6.7%) strongly agreed, 30 respondents (50%) disagree, 19 respondents (31.7%) strongly disagree while 2 respondents (3.3%) have no idea. This indicates that majority of the respondents think that mechanisms have not been put in place to check further defections from the party. On the discipline to defectors, it was discovered that majority 30 respondents (50%) suggest strict discipline for party defectors in the future, 25 respondents (41.6%) do not suggest strict discipline, while 5 respondents (8.3%) have no idea.

### **Discussion of Findings**

The study examined politics of party defection among member of the All Progressive Congress (APC) and Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) in Edo State. Many reasons were adjudged for party defections, but whatever are the reasons for party defections in among member of APC and PDP in Edo State political process, the fact is that defections have created more enmity among members of the parties such that they play bad politics with every issue that borders the wellbeing of Edolites such salary payment, security challenges and farmers herdsmen crisis the expense of credible and objective governance.

One of the commonest challenges of defection is the unhealthy rivalry and unconstructive criticism between PDP and APC members. For example, the parliamentarians from the two leading parties argued and openly abuse themselves at their session. The APC lawmakers do not see anything good in PDP policy and programmes even when some of these policies are credible and commendable, the PDP on the other hand sees the APC as their potential enemy, even when some of their criticism can be helpful in deepening our democracy. Defection has generated unhealthy and hostile relationship between parliamentarians of APC and PDP in the lower legislative house. Sadly, defection has promoted and established a situation where politicians play politics with the sharing of

country's scarce resources among various competing groups. This view was aptly supported by Anifowose (1982) when he averred that: Constitutional controversy and struggle for state power have been the recurring themes in Nigeria's political history. The constitutional crisis in Nigeria between 1962 (Western Nigeria crisis) and 1964 as well as two-third majority of 19 states in 1979 readily comes to mind.

One of the ways defections has adversely affected the Edo politics cum' democracy is that it has made the politicians a political prostitute. Odum (2002) captures this when he argues that: Politicians and prostitutes are two seeming parallel professions. One supposedly displaying constitutional leadership virtue in governance is that the latter revealing social vice-the fabric of a decadent society. Incidentally, one common denominator for both appears to be their loyalty, which stands on quick sand, shifting as mundane attractions glow in their adulterous eyes. The consideration, especially with the modern-day politician is where stakes may be lower and gains higher. It does not matter who is the offer. So, while the prostitutes switch beds, the politicians change camp in this game of defection, (Janada, 2009).

From the above assertion, it can be reasonably deduced that party defection among members who do not resign their first platform for coming to political position, do not add any value to the process of democratic consolidation but rather pose grave danger to it. Countries like Zambia, Pakistan and Bangladesh are clear evidence that party defection is a threat to the stability of political system. Corroborating this view was Hoeane (2008), who contends that in extreme cases of defection or floor-crossing, where a number of representatives at the lower house of legislature who defected has been significantly high, such shifts of allegiance have led to the collapse of democratically elected governments, such as in Lesotho in 1997. Party defection has negative impact in the process of consolidating democracy under unwarranted situations of plethora of defections among legislators, governors, deputy governors, and other party members to the ruling party or opposition party. This tends to make caricature of democracy and belittles the spirit of opposition parties and democratic consolidation in Edo State democracy (Mbah, 2011).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Party defection has negatively affected consolidation of democracy where legislators, governors, deputy governors, and other party members defect to the ruling party. This trend tends to make caricature of democracy and undermines the opposition, the validity of contrary views and undercuts the principle of alternative democratic choice. Findings from the study on party politics have proved that internal activities of political parties; from their organizational standards, institutional capacity democracy and leadership recruitment, socio-political ideologies, manifestoes and programmes, funding and campaign etc structure electoral process and affect the operation of government. The difference identified here is that, in relation to the Nigerian democracy, it has assumed an amusing but dangerous dimension capable of derailing the democratization effort. The bottom line is that party-switching prevents parties, and in turn, party systems, from stabilizing, thus threatening the development of the democratic system. Viewed this way, the topic of party-switching is far from irrelevant in the context of new democracies. Rather, one could argue that it is important precisely because of the problems of developing meaningful, stable political parties in new democracies.

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# **ALMAJIRI SCHOOL SYSTEM AND THE PROPRIETORS OF DEATH: AN ASSESSMENT OF BOKO HARAM'S RECRUITMENT STRATEGY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Ungoverned spaces and unregulated educational system are twin major factors to be considered in the analysis of insecurity in Nigeria. United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (2014) reported that the number of Almajiri in Nigeria is 9.5 million or 72% of the country's 13.2 million out of school children. By this report, experts say Nigeria is sitting on the keg of gunpowder. This submission posits that ideology, access to recruitment and finance are the tripod wheeling the Nigeria security problem. It is the position of this paper that the Almajiri system is the biggest source of recruitment for the apparently infallible insurgency and banditry in the northeast. This study surmises that government, civil society organizations and the private sector must find a way of integrating the Almajiri system to forestall future insurgency, even as the ISWAP-Boko Haram alliance embarks on massive recruitment drive from the graduates of Almajiri semi-formal schools. The study recommends that the education and empowerment of women and children in northern Nigeria should be treated as a matter of urgency.

**Keywords:** Almajiri, Boko Haram, ISWAP, Terrorism, Recruitment

## INTRODUCTION

Nigerian Governors Forum's Peace and Inclusive Security Initiative (PISI) noted that between May 2011 and February 2021, over 76,000 fatalities were said to have been reported in Nigeria. This dreadful statistic is attributable to intra state and internal conflict perpetrated by mostly armed non-state actors (Leadership: 2021). Chief amongst them is Nigeria's most dreaded terrorist group, Boko Haram. The meaning and philosophy of the group is not new to the academia, security sector and even the general populace. The Governors also linked the spike to the 40 per cent poverty rate and the marauding activities of Boko Haram, bandits, Farmers-Herders clash, IPOB secession bid, ethnic mistrust, climate change, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, the weaponisation of social media and the instrumentalization of violence, among others (Daily Trust: 2021).

In corollary to the above, the United Nations reports that the Boko Haram insurgency which broke out 12 years ago has claimed no fewer than 40,000 lives (BBC June 6, 2021), while about 2.4 million people have been displaced around Lake Chad, an impoverished region divided between Nigeria, Niger and Cameroon (UNHCR, 2019). Indeed, "The violent activities of the Jama'atu Ahlissunnah Lidda'awati wal Jihad, otherwise known as Boko Haram, have become a serious national, regional, and international concern" (Onuoha, 2014: 2). These concerns, if for anything, are getting worse as the activities of Boko Haram has increased exponentially. According to the Global Terrorism Index for 2020, Nigeria is the third most terrorized country in the world. It is only being outstripped by Afghanistan's Taliban and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL). This means that Nigeria is classified as a country in war ([www.economicsandpeace.org](http://www.economicsandpeace.org)). The ideologically motivated insurgence group has adopted a strategy of violence against the mainstream Islam and moderate Muslims, describing them as infidels, other religious adherents, as well as traditional leaders, the civilian population, and the Nigerian state, which they hitherto referred to as corrupted and unlawful (Matfess 2017). Boko Haram's goal is to oust secular governments and institutions.

For the insurgency to grow even stronger with passing time, a number of factors must be involved. However, attention has been paid mostly to the sponsors and propaganda of the insurgency. One aspect that has been neglected is the recruitment strategy of the group and the source from which they get new membership. There is a consensus among peace scholars that ideology, recruitment and funding are the tripod of the Boko Haram insurgency (SPSP: 2021). Thus, little attention has been given to the Almajiri exponential educational demography which is about some 10 million children. The security threat by these beggarly and semi-formal pupils numbering about 10million is real, and they might provide yet a stream of reserved recruits for the armed non state actors in northern part of Nigeria (Soyinka, 2014).

With all the all-out war on Boko Haram in the North East, the carnage from the ungodly sect continues unabated. In fact, the debacle of the Boko Haram menace, from all intent and purpose, appear to be on the increase. The war on insurgency is further complicated by the equally devastating phenomenon notoriously referred to as *bandits*. Stemming from this, it becomes cogent to investigate the recruitment strategies of these harbingers of death, with a view to mitigating the menace.

### **Conceptualization of Key Terms**

#### **Terrorism**

Terrorism is perhaps the most difficult term to give a universally acceptable term in contemporary political discourse. It has been therefore defined variously by different scholars and institutions to suit their usage and intent. This difficulty stem from the political problem of differentiating the ‘terrorist’ from ‘freedom fighter’ (Jenkins, 1982 and Hess, 2003) and such other situation as differentiating ‘terrorism’ and ‘war of liberation’ (Dugard, 1974: 77)

According to the US Federal Law:

The term ‘terrorism’ means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. (y) The term ‘international terrorism’ means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country. (y) The term ‘terrorist group’ means any group

practicing, or that has significant subgroups that practice, international terrorism (US Code, Title 22, y 2656f(d)).

The US Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms defines terrorism as: The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological. Professor Boaz Ganor defines terrorism as the deliberate use of violence aimed against civilian targets in order to achieve political ends; nationalistic, socio-economic, ideological, religious-political.

### **The Meaning of Almajiri**

Contrary to erroneous popular believes, the Almajiri phenomenon is neither new nor exclusive to the Nigerian society. The practice itself dates back to sometime around the 11th century when Muslim parents gave their children and wards to Qur'anic teachers to expand their knowledge of Islam. It however was the changes brought by the Usman Dan Fodio jihad (1804-1808) and the 1914 Amalgamation of Southern and Northern Nigeria (with its consequent urbanisation), that popularised the creation of Qur'anic learning centres across most of the northern cities (Baba, 2012).

The Hausa word for Almajiri (plural, Almajirai) emanates from Al-Muhajir (singular) which is an Arabic word that literally means emigrant. Its origin can be traced back to the migration of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) from Makkah to Madina. Those who followed the Prophet (SAW) on this journey were called Al-Muhajirun (plural). These pupils migrate from their home town in pursuit of Islamic knowledge. Nowadays, the word Almajiri refers to an unkempt, hungry-looking child that roams the streets in tattered clothes carrying a bowl and begging for money, food, or anything you can offer to them (Christian, 2017). The boys are usually enrolled in an informal Islamic school headed by a Mallam (teacher) in a different state. The parents of these children send them to the Mallam so that they can obtain Islamic education and memorize the Holy Qur'an. The Almajiris sleep in uncompleted or dilapidated buildings where they also have their classes during the day. They are between the ages of five and eighteen years (Magashi, 2015).

Recently, there has been increased effort to integrate the almajiri educational system into secular Nigerian school system (Nextier SPD, (2020).

### **Boko Haram's Recruitment Strategies**

From the foregoing, it can be seen that one of the areas of strength of Boko Haram is in their number or membership and this comes from regular recruitment. Below is an overtly simplistic analysis by Jacob Zenn, who is an analyst of African Affairs for the Washington D.C. based think tank, at the Jamestown Foundation. He opined that Boko Haram's recruitment strategy is hinged on. Financial Incentives. His argument is that members join because Boko Haram pays them to kill Nigerian government officials. They also steal cars in Boko Haram's name and sell them to businessman or government officials, or to rob banks. He also posited that some immigrants from neighbouring countries may also join for economic purposes (Campbell, 2013). Similar arguments were put forward for i. Kinship; ii. Inter-religious and government violence and iii. Radicalization. While some tangibles can be extracted from his whole discuss, a number of them are just too base. In under to geta better understanding of Boko Haram's recruitment strategies, a number of key trajectories must be followed. These include the Almajiri system, links with the newer and equally deadly banditry in the north east.

### **Almajiri School System**

In the Qur'anic school system Almajiranci are usually entrusted in the care of learned person "Mallam" where it is hoped that they would have the necessary concentration and learning atmosphere. The Qur'anic school are usually found in or outside mosques or any other convenient place especially built for that purpose. Allamin (2013) emphasis that Islamic learning in the "Mallam" settlement were the student and their teachers gathered to take Qur'anic lessons.

The intellectual objective is restricted to exposing them to reading and writing of the Qur'an. As for the boarding students their enrollment is mostly aimed at producing future Mallams and professional in various fields such as Hadith, Fiqh, and Sirah. The second objective of the Almajiri system of education is the provision of moral development of the

pupils which include the teaching of good manners. The weekly academic routine is five days: Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday are been used for concentration by the pupils on the contents of their slate (Allo) so that they can understand it properly. Thursday and Friday are used for break. While the students are on break lecture are conducted in some cases for the adults by the Mallams. The syllabus comprises of the lower and the advanced level studies. It involves five stages and every newly admitted students must initiate his studies from the beginning and may stop at the end of the elementary state (Abdul-Qadir. 2013). These stages comprise of the following:

1. Babbaku stage: Pupils are taught about Arabic alphabets and their identification. These are written on wooden slate (Allo) and the pupils are expected to differentiate the alphabets within few numbers of weeks or months.
2. Farfaru stage: In this stage, the pupils are trained on the Arabic vowels. It is more difficult than the first stage and requires longer time for their mastery.
3. Zube stage: This is the stage where reading and writing of the glorious Qur'an is taught. The Qur'an is written by the pupils until they master the art of writing and recitation without mistake. This marks the end of the elementary level.
4. Haddatu stage: The boarding students continue with advanced syllabus. At this stage the student memorizes the Qur'an gradually until he finally commits all to memory.
5. Satu stage: In this stage the students learn how to write the portions of the Qur'an from memory. Until he writes out a complete Qur'an from his memory on the sheets of papers before he can be recognized as Hafiz (Memorizer of Qur'an).

Payment of fees in Almajiri Schools as pointed out by Fafunwa cited in Bukar, (2014) is either in cash or in kind. There is no fixed amount in the schools and it varies from teacher to teacher. In some part of Northern Nigeria, the fees are paid to the teachers on weekly basis some collect some amount of money such as N500 or even more. During one of Muslim festivals some teachers may also receive gifts such as meet, grains cooked foodstuffs, piece of cloth among others. It is to note that the changing concepts of Almajiranci is in accordance with the

ideology of the writers. In the Islamic concept, Muslims are obliged to seek for knowledge as mentioned earlier with evidence from both the Qur'an and the prophetic Sunnah (Tradition). The prophet (S.A.W) himself used to teach his followers and used to send teachers to the new converts. The Muslims Armies used to have teachers among them solves and whenever the Muslims conquer a place, they established mosques and schools as Islam could not be practice without knowledge.

### **Historical Development of Almajiri System of Education**

There are two schools of thoughts on the historical development of Almajiri system of education in Nigeria: the Bebeji and the Medina versions

#### **Bebeji Version**

According to the Bebeji school of thought the history of Almajiri could be traced to the advent of Alhassan in 18th century. Alhassan was born in 1877 to the family of Addullahi and Amarya in Bebeji, Kano Emirate. Abdullahi, his father died when he was eight years and Amarya his mother left for Ghana, and left him to a slave girl Tata. Tata sent young Alhassan to Almajiri School in Bebeji, Kano State to learn from a Tijaniyya Mallam. At 17 Alhassan travelled to Accra, Ghana to see his mother. Thereafter, his mother took him to another Mallam. He later returned back to Bebeji to his foster mother Tata. He was taught thrift and hard work. This knowledge helps him to work through trade routes that opened up several business opportunities during the British imperialism. Alhassan by 1906 was already demonstrating his power and bravery for merchandise between Accra, Sekondi and Lagos. This made him the wealthiest man in West Africa prior to his death. Alhassan Dantata was the great grandfather of the current Africa's wealthiest person, Aliko Dangote, and had been an Almajiri.

After colonization, the Almajiri students were recruited by the British as miners in Jos, Plateau State. The British also recruited teachers, judges, and clerks who provide the colonial administration with the needed manpower. The Almajiri schools provided the first set of colonial staff in the Northern part of Nigeria. The advent of the British rule led to the capture of Emir Aliyu of Kano and the death of Muhammadu Attahiru of Sokoto and many others.



The Emir lost control of their indigenous system of education (Almajiri) and forcefully accepted the roles as vessels to the British. The British rule obliterated the state funding of Tsangaya curriculum, arguing that they were religious schools and introduced western education which the Almajiri saw it as “Karatun Boko” and was funded instead. They lost of support to Almajiri system led to its collapse.

### **The Madina Version**

The Madina version holds that the Almajiri concept came as a result of Prophet Muhammad's migration from Makkah to Madina (Yusha’u et al, 2015). This version contradicts other versions in that it forbids its learners from begging instead they preferred Almajiri to go to the bush and cut firewood and sell. It is however said to have been started in a town called Kanem-Borno in Nigeria which had majority of its rulers widely involved in Qur’anic literacy. More than 700 years later, the Sokoto caliphate was founded by the revolution based on the Qur’anic teachings. Sokoto and Borno caliphates started running the Almajiri system of education together with its curriculum derived from Islamic religion, during this pre-colonial era, learners used to stay with parents for proper morals and upbringing in the schools were in close proximity with their immediate environment. The inspectorates of education were introduced. They go around schools to report directly to the Emirs of the province. The Almajiri system were majorly funded by parents, Zakkah, Sadaqah, the community and sometimes through the farm output of the students.

### **Challenges facing Almajiri System of Education**

More than before, the role of Almajiri education system is being transmogrified and challenged. It has moved from a system cherished to that of the epicenter of social menace and dislocation Muhammad (2015). According to Khalid (2014), the Almajiri educational system has been seriously criticized over the years for severely subjecting its students/clients to a life of begging. Children between the ages of 5-10 years under the Almajiri system barely can fend for themselves or have any virtual or visible support or means of livelihood; rather they survive only at the mercy of the charity they receive from begging; showing the agonizing

and pitiable state of these children. This however shows that there are several factors contributing to the Almajiri problem over the years. Apart from wondering about and street begging, other factors include:

- a) Societal values and norms instigating the enrolment of children between 3-5 years in Qur'anic schools.
- b) Poverty and parental ignorance as majority of these children came from peasant families.
- c) Government inconsistency and commitment on policy formulation and implementation.
- d) Distance between centre of learning and students' residence.
- e) Non-specific year of graduation in the traditional Qur'anic boarding schools which make the learners to lack the opportunities to access Western education.

Other problems include: unfriendly environment, over crowdedness/overpopulation, inadequate instructional materials, insufficient teachers (Mallams) who are semi-literate, and inadequate commitment/support. As explained by Muhammed (2015), people naturally develop disdain about the practices of the Almajiri educational system and therefore condemn and criticize the system on the following grounds: Inadequate provision of feeding which expose the learners to juvenile delinquencies, over population, lack of payment of salary, age factor, and methods of discipline Accordingly, Suleiman (2012) bewailed that the problems of the Almajiri system in the northern parts of Nigeria, manifests in various forms of social explosives, such as:

- i Mai-Tatsine crisis; ii. Yan-Daba phenomenon; iii Area boys; v. Yan-Daular Amaraya incidences and iv. Boko Haram

Despite all the factors mentioned by various scholars, it is worthy to note that Almajiri system of education is seriously under contention due to the following characteristics: the system is not integrative with other disciplines but purely religious, traditional and Qur'anic education. The means of acquiring knowledge is derived mainly from the Quran; the system is migrative;

the teachers (Mallams) are unemployed without any financial support except from the learners who are subjected to begging; it subjects learners to menial labour; the means of learning is through ideological indoctrination; it is anti-Western education “Boko”; it is a wandering or vagabond education; it is iniquitous, sinful, obsolete and need a concerted effort and it is orphanage in nature.

The problem is not with the system, but the process, the traditional Qur’anic schools still remained mostly one classroom outside the Mosque, private house or under the tree. The negative impact of the system are numerous ranging from child labour, child abuse, crimes, terrorism, banditry, herdsmen, Boko Haram and other social vices. As observed by Bako and Sule (2012), in the Northern part of Nigeria, the Qur’anic system preceded the Western education system but majority of the population in the north preferred the Qur’anic system to provide training for their children. An attempt to westernize the Almajiri system has been resisted as it has led to the formation of various religious ideological strands, with some supporting reforms while others against it.

Pupils from Qur’anic schools find it difficult to get employment after leaving school since the country favoured western type of education. The teachers have no job and security since they have no salary and only depend on charity from the parents of their pupils.

Abdulqadir and Idris, (2013) stressed that the Almajiri system of education as practice today in Nigeria is a complexly bastardized system compared to the form and condition under which the system was operating, and its output during the pre-colonial period. The system has been face, especially with the coming of the British, its present pitiful state; during the pre-colonial era, begging was never attached and also the pupils were not involved in doing menial jobs before they could eat.

### **Security Threats Posed by Almajiris**

The Almajiri educational system is thought to have certain implications in the society. As noted earlier, the Almajiri pupils are considered one of the most vulnerable members of the society because of their easy susceptibility to abuses.

Experts say they are easy prey for conflict entrepreneurs-especially do-or-die politicians—desperate business persons, and clerics preaching religious intolerance and indoctrination (Imobighe et.al, 2016), and those seem to promise better life opportunities. The system has over time become a breeding ground for criminality and insecurity (Loimeier, 2012), spawning youths who are significantly inclined to violence as a means of survival or making their voices heard. Almajiri training provides one of the easiest avenues for indoctrination and radicalization. For example, the Almajirai are made to chant songs of protest and radicalization that criticize “makarantan boko” (schools providing western education) and praise “makarantan addini or makarantan allo” (schools for Islamic instruction):

Yan makarantan boko

Ba karatu, ba sallah

Sai yawan zagin mallam

The song translates as:

Pupils of Western schools,

You do not learn or pray

But only abuse your teacher.

### **Linking the Almajiri System to Boko Haram**

According to one of the greatest advocates of the Almajiri system Iman Shafi'i, “seeking knowledge away from home is vital for relief from sorrow and earning a livelihood, then knowledge, good manners, and friendship.” Shafi's assertions corroborate Professor Idris Abdulqadir representation earlier that the Almajiri system was the perfect system in the pre-colonial era before its eventual degradation by British incursion (AbdulQadir, Idris, 2013).

Historically, the Almajiri schools in Northern Nigeria were supported and maintained by the state, parents, communities, Zakat (almsgiving), Waqf (endowments) and supplemented by the teachers and students through farming (Khalid, 2014). There was a drastic change in this structure in course of the colonial period. Not until the British invaded the region and

killed many of the emirs and deposed some. Consequently, the Emirs lost control of their territories and the Almajiri system. The British intentionally terminated state funding of the Almajiri system because to them the Almajiri schools were just mere religious schools (Copsey, 2016).

With the loss of support from the government, its direct community and the helpless Emirs, the Almajiri system fell apart. Boko, (western education) was introduced and funded instead. Having no form of financial support, the Mallamai (Almajiri teachers) could neither sustain themselves nor the Almajiri. They were left with no choice but to send these boys out to beg and partake in menial jobs for their survival. AbdulQadir (2013) in his article “The Almajiri System of Education in Nigeria Today” posited that the governmental neglect, especially with respect to funding, became the genesis of the predicament of the Almajiri security threat in Northern Nigeria system today.

The Almajiris are left by their parents early in life to fend for themselves, so they lack the proper moral upbringing, support and guidance every child need. This makes them highly vulnerable and, in turn, they are easily persuaded and influenced into all sorts of negative practices. The Almajiri pupils are found in all nooks and crannies of every state in the Northern parts of the country. As they roam the streets, they get exposed to social ills such as drug use and distribution, prostitution, cultism, armed robbery, gang wars, child abuse and religious fanaticism (Omeni, 2015).

Terrorist groups such as Boko Haram take advantage of their vulnerability to recruit them. Such groups feed the Almajiri with radical, extreme views to the extent that the Almajiri see anyone that is not part of them as an enemy, and if needs be, should be eliminated. The gullible Almajiri would go to any extent to do the bidding of any person who shows them kindness, love, and provides for them. They are at the mercy of corrupt politicians who deploy them to perpetrate election malpractice and political violence (Nigeria Research Network, 2014).

### **Recruitment Method: Recent Development**

There have been reports of collaboration between bandits in the North West and ISWAP-Boko Haram in the North East. This partnership is coming in line with several abductions of pupils from Islamiya schools in some parts of the North. In an investigative report in the *Daily Trust* Newspapers recently the Insurgent groups: Jama'atu Ahlul Sunnah lid Da'awatu wal Jihad (JAS, better known as Boko Haram), Islamic State in West Africa Province (ISWAP) and Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina fii Biladis Sudan (Vanguard for the Protection of Muslims in Black Africa, also known as Ansaru) are competing with one another in a mass membership drive among the ranks of bandits terrorising most of the North West and part of North Central states, Daily Trust reliably gathered (AbdulAziz: 2021).

A recent report by the International Crisis Group (ICG) posits that since late 2019, ISWAP and Ansaru have started taking credit for attacks in the North West. For instance, in October last year, ISWAP claimed responsibility for an attack on Nigerian troops in Sokoto. The paper which quoted Crisis Group said ISWAP, which has been developing cells in much of northern Nigeria is also in recruitment drive in several smaller radical groups in the North West, particularly by offering livelihood support, including monthly stipends, to some of their members. Sources on ground in Niger, Kaduna and Zamfara, said the insurgents infiltrated the ranks of the bandits through offers for logistics and intelligence support, as well as Islamic messaging. At various times, the terror groups also sent out special emissaries to woo the bandits into their fold. They reportedly make use of preachers who emphasise fault lines of injustice and unfair treatment allegedly meted on herders.

Boko Haram elements, Daily Trust authoritatively gathered, have taken camps in Wawa Forest in Niger State, converting a lot of wallowing bandits from nearby Zamfara into their own fold" (Daily Trust: 2021). In Sokoto and Zamfara states, it said, the insurgents are said to have enticed some of the bandits through the supply of arms and ammunitions from nearby Niger Republic, thereby endearing themselves to the bandits' terrorising places like Sabon Birni and Isa in Sokoto and Zurmi in Zamfara, and parts of Katsina State.

However, some of the bandits were said to have rebuffed entreaties by Boko Haram emissaries to the area. It said some of the bandits' leaders who are said to have accepted the evangelical missions of the insurgents are said to have started enforcement of strict Islamic codes in their domains.

A link with the bandits in the North West is a success of Boko Haram's recruitment drive. The relationship can also give Boko Haram access to the kidnapping which has become an industry in the North West as well cattle rustling and mining. Apart from manpower, it will buoy the group's funding.

### **Kidnapping and Selling off Islamiya Pupils**

There are also fears that having kidnapped about 150 Islamiya pupils in Niger State (premium Times: 2021), the bandit who have since changed their modus operandi to that of Boko Haram, may be playing out a script of a new union. There are concerns that the bandits may have sold them out to ISWAP and Boko Haram who may in turn indoctrinate and convert them into their recruits.

In the same token, last December, armed men ambushed students of an Islamic school (Islamiyya) in Katsina during a celebration and abducted 80 of them. The kidnap occurred in Dandume Local Government Area of Katsina. The pupils were later rescued. (BBC: 2020).

Ample evidences have emerged that the immediate past leader of Boko Haram started as an Almajiri pupil. In an interview with the Voice of America (VOA: 2018), the mother of Abubakar Shekau, Mrs Falmata Abubakar said her son started as an Almajiri and that he became radicalized as an Almajiri pupil (Pulse.ng:2018). She made this disclosure during an interview with Voice of America in her village named Shekau in Yobe State. According to Falmata, Shekau left his hometown as a young boy to continue his Islamic education in Maiduguri where he eventually met the founder of Boko Haram, Mohammed Yusuf.

According to VOA, Shekau himself begged on the streets of Maiduguri before he joined Yusuf's group who was a vocal advocate against western education. She said, "I don't know if he's alive or dead. I don't know. It's only God who knows. For 15 years I haven't seen him."

(Premium Times: 2018). A report by Sahara Reporters had confirmed that bandits were selling off their kidnapped victims to Boko Haram (Sahara Reporters: 2021). The newspaper report further quoted Professor Johnson Fatokun, Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Anchor University, Lagos who was kidnapped in Keffi, Nasarawa State as saying that his abductors threatened to transfer him to Boko Haram terrorists.

## **CONCLUSION**

Graduates from the Almajiri educational system are disconnected from the labour market. Both private and government institutions won't hire them. Another problem is that of indoctrination and the fact that they are rarely regulated by the government. As evidenced from the foregoing, the Boko Haram leaders were products of the Almajiri schools, and unfortunately fell into the hands of extremists.

The graduates from the Almajiri educational system are now: herdsmen, mobile tailors, mobile shoe shiners, gatemen, barrow pushers among others, while others who are unemployed can embrace whatever life offers just to make a living. The aversive effects is that some are lost through crimes, being indoctrinated and recruited into terrorist groups such as Boko Haram, and violence in the streets while others are lost through hunger and diseases. Lack of parental care in raising number of children they cannot adequately carter for is one of the major setbacks to the Almajiri system of education with increasing population of abandoned children with the Mallams who are unable to travel and carter for them all (Shittu. and Olaofe, 2015). It is recommended that efforts should be made to ensure the socio-economic wellbeing of women and children through improved effective empowerment interventions. The education of the same group should also be made a priority.



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# **THE IMPACT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON THE RISE OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY IN THE NORTHEAST OF NIGERIA.**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Climate change has become an area of concern in the entire world. Every part of the world is bedevilled with one aspect of climate change abuse or the other. It could be Drought, Desertification, Ocean encroachment, Erosion, Flood, Earthquake, Landslide, Pollution and others. The case of Lake Chad is that of Drought and Desertification which has led to the drastic decrease and shrinking of the lake over time. This has affected economic activities such as fishing, farming, herding; brought about unemployment, unbridled migration coupled with lack of committed leadership to resuscitate and manage the lake which is critical for promoting employment for the teeming population around the North-East, Borno state in particular. The objective of this research however, is to determine the impact of climate change on Lake Chad Basin and how it contributes to the recent Boko Haram crisis in the North-East of Nigeria. Findings include that the condition of Lake Chad has affected agricultural activities given rise to hunger, poverty, loss of jobs, and reduction of economic power of the citizens as well as uncontrolled migration which has fuelled Boko Haram conflict. Primary data were sourced from questionnaire and interview with the internally Displaced Persons in FCT, Abuja (IDPs) with findings that the condition of Lake Chad has affected agricultural activities given rise to hunger, poverty, loss of jobs, and reduction of economic power of the citizens as well as uncontrolled migration which has fuelled Boko Haram conflict. Based on these findings, the research however concludes that Climate Change has great impact on Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast of Nigeria. It therefore recommends amongst others, the effective and efficient collaboration of the affected state governments with federal government in providing adequate infrastructures in the northeast to help solve the problem of unemployment since Boko Haram had been taking advantage of high rate of unemployment within the zone to increase their capacity by day.

**Keywords:** Crisis, Crisis Management, Insurgency, Terrorism, Peace Building

## INTRODUCTION

Over the years in most part of the world such as China, natural disasters were seen as “divine messages” however of recent, abrupt atmospheric changes have captured public attention, influenced human affairs and reshaped global politics of the environment (Leonard and Mintzer, 1994). Climate change is a global issue that attracts a lot of international attention. It was first discussed in the World’s political forum in 1988 when the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) set up the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), an expert body that would assess scientific information on climate change (World Nuclear Association, 2015)

The link between climate change and conflict world over could be traced to its impact on the ecosystem. Desertification, Drought, Flood, land and coastal Erosion, Pollution of all sorts (air, land and sea) are all climate change affects which one way or the other are detrimental to human and to the entire ecosystem. Experts predicted that the Nigeria’s climate is likely to see growing shifts in temperature, rainfall, storms, and sea levels throughout the twenty-first century and that poor adaptive responses to these shifts could help fuel violent conflict in some areas of the country (Sayne, 2011).

The Lake Chad’s current situation is the effect of climate change. It has brought massive famine as a result of low agricultural activities, unbridled migration and even unemployment which to a large extent have contributed to conflict in the North East region of the country including that of Boko Haram that is currently ravaging Nigeria as a nation. The water level of Lake Chad was considered normal at 40.3km<sup>3</sup> before 1970 however, between 1970 and 1975, the lake started experiencing untold drought that led to its reduction in size (27.3km<sup>3</sup>). Subsequently from 1980s through 1990s the size of the lake took another dramatic decrease to 17.7km<sup>3</sup> and 12.7km<sup>3</sup> respectively.

According to Olojo (2013), Adebayo (2014), Umar (2011) and Liolio (2013) in their research findings, unemployment, social deprivation, poverty and lack of equitable distribution of wealth were the major causes of Boko Haram conflict in the northeast of

Nigeria. This study however went further to investigate the relationship of those challenges to the Lake Chad climate change and the increase in the Boko Haram crisis. Being that the two variables of discourse namely Climate Change (Lake Chad) and Conflict (Boko Haram) are situated in the same location, this study noticed that as the climate change bites harder on Lake Chad through drought and desertification resulting to dramatic reduction of the lake, the capacity of the insurgent group increases day by day. The irony of the entire situation is that the lake which normally should have been a source of succour to the indigenes has become a frustrating agent to them and Boko Haram group turned to be beneficiary of the inability of the lake by serving as alternative to the helpless, motivating them with cash, loans and accommodating their interest thereby increasing its capacity.

As far as the northeast of Nigeria is concerned, Lake Chad has been the main source of livelihood to its large and growing population. This however means that the maintenance and sustenance of this great lake is of great importance to the inhabitants. Having been affected by the scourge of climate change over time, it therefore became a cause for concern as the region no doubt is experiencing the ripple effect of this dramatic change.

50 years ago, Lake Chad covered 20,000km<sup>2</sup> – almost a fresh water sea. With the drought of the 1970s and 80s, it shrank very rapidly to approximately 2000km<sup>2</sup>. This had considerable human consequences, many living by the lake had to move away, and many had to find new work” (Institut de Recherche pour le Development-IRD, 2016)

Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) and UNEP have attributed the reduction in size to be greatly caused by; Climate patterns attributed to the European air pollution having shifted rainfall pattern further south. This makes the region dryer and not allowing the lake to replenish. Water usage such as damming and irrigation method is inefficient. Based on the climate pattern, United Nations and even the Nigeria government have declared the condition of this lake an ecological catastrophe. Nigerian government has equally linked this to the incessant conflict of Boko Haram in the North Eastern part of the country. As Shehu (2015) pointed out:

with the prolonged drought and desertification, lake Chad is now one tenth of its original size, leading to poverty due to the failure of agriculture and fishing causing instability in the region that the insurgency of the Boko Haram has been able to cash in upon (Shehu, 2015).

Report of the LCBC has it that in 2012, the population of Lake Chad inhabitants was estimated at 45 million with the Nigerian part of the basin harbouring about 22million (Lake Chad Basin Commission) This is against the figure of about 10million inhabitants of the three north eastern states all together that was declared during the 2006 national census (NPC, 2006 census). This is an indicator of rapid population growth of a little above 100% chasing a limited source of living. For some years now, North Eastern part of the country and in translation the entire country has been experiencing high and constant rate of conflict from the insurgent group popularly known as Boko Haram. This group's activities are concentrated in the state of Borno where the historic lake Chad Basin is located at the western axis of Chad.

The persistent shrinking in size of Lake Chad which has been identified as an important means of livelihood for the people of this area has reduced the agricultural activities (farming, fishing and animal husbandry), increased migration coupled with government neglect, have contributed to the recent conflict of Boko Haram in the region. This has called for concern as this conflict is not only affecting the northeast but the entire nation, Africa and the globe. Lake Chad Basin Commission which was set up in 1964 for the management of this lake has not been able to bring lasting solution to its tragic disappearance. The broad objective of the study is to determine the political and economic impacts of climate change on Lake Chad Basin which to a large extent have contributed to the recent crisis of Boko Haram in the north eastern part of Nigeria;

The study also tried to determine the significance level of impact between Lake Chad-induced low agricultural activities and conflicts in the northeastern part of Nigeria; between Lake Chad-induced migration of citizens and the conflicts in the North Eastern part of Nigeria and roles of the government and the conflicts in the North eastern part of Nigeria. The main

objective of this study is to determine how climate change has contributed to the rising insurgent activities in the northeast and determine ways and means of assuaging this issue in order to return peace and development in the region.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study adopts the theory of Structural Functionalism. This is a sociological theory that attempts to explain why society functions the way it does by focusing on the relationships between the various social institutions that makes up society (e.g., government, law, education, religion, etc). Conflict is built into the particular way societies are structured and organized (Enwere, 2015). This theory posits that social systems are collective means to fill social needs. In a normal social set-up, each individual is to contribute for the development of such society. There has to be division of labour which shows the indispensability and interdependence of persons and institutions for proper functioning of an ideal society. This is the view of Emile Durkheim (Durkheim, 1982: 70-81) who saw society as a functioning organism.

This can also be related with Conflict theory (commonly associated with Karl Marx (1818–1883). Based on the dialectical and materialists (Malia, 1998: 35) accounts of history, Marx opposed the myth that the rich earned their wealth through hard work and education, while the poor are lacking in skill and initiative. This myth sees the social problems as the shortcomings of individuals rather than the flaws of society. Marx however in his class theory wanted to correct this kind of idea positing that the rich rather get richer by enslaving the poor. It was based on this class struggle that Marx supported the proletariat to rise up against the capitalist and overthrow the capitalist system. Marxism posited that capitalism, like socioeconomic systems, would inevitably produce internal tensions leading to its own destruction. Marx advocated a radical change, where proletarian revolution would bring about equality and freedom from the ruling class. In Structural conflict theory, conflict is built into the particular ways societies are structured and organized. The theory looks at the social problems like political and economic exclusions, injustice, poverty, disease, exploitation,



inequality as sources of conflict (Enwere, 2015). From this we notice that where equity and justice are lacking in any society there is bound to be conflict.

The "survival of the fittest" syndrome, explained by an English sociologist, Herbert Spencer, in his book *Principles of Sociology* occurs when there is an alteration in the condition of a society. Spencer's intention was to support a societal form of natural selection. Spencer argued that there is a natural tendency in society towards equilibrium. Thus, even when the conditions of the society are altered, the resulting changes to the social structure will balance out, returning the society to equilibrium (Spencer, 1896). The higher the level of integration between these intermediate groups, the more cohesive society will be as a whole. The absence of social cohesion can result in greater violence toward others. With Maslow's positive characterization of self-actualized personality as follows:

They perceive reality efficiently and can tolerate uncertainty; Accept themselves and others for what they are; Spontaneous in thought and action; Problem-centred (not self-centred); Unusual sense of humour; Able to look at life objectively; Highly creative; Resistant to enculturation, but not purposely unconventional; Concerned for the welfare of humanity; Capable of deep appreciation of basic life-experience; Establish deep satisfying interpersonal relationships with a few people; Peak experiences; Need for privacy; Democratic attitudes and Strong moral/ethical standards, there is hope for progress in societies if people are able to attain the self-actualization stage of their needs (Maslow, 1970).

However, the inability to meet needs throws one off balance and at this stage anything could happen. Anger and frustration set in. The distortion experienced in the acquisition of these basic and necessary human needs by the Indigenes of Lake Chad and the environs provoke what Maslow termed as "behavioural Responses". Lake Chad region, the people of Borno state and the entire northeast suffer neglect and social deprivation of basic amenities of life. The citizens were not able to help themselves from the daunting climate change ravaging the lake which they depend on for livelihood neither did the authorities show concern. The means of livelihood of the people living around the Lake Chad region drastically reduced.

Their socio-economic status changed to negative. The quantum of fish from the river from which they make a lot of money after selling was no longer as it was before. Farming activities also reduced due to drought, desertification and lack of technological improvement on irrigation. Their stream of income reduced. Life became bizarre and so frustrating. Having waited for years without intervention from the concerned authorities, many abandoned fishing, and farming searching for other means of livelihood. In the process many fell into the hands of the insurgents knowingly or unknowingly by accepting any offer that looks “handsome” especially that of Boko Haram.

Insurgent groups entice unemployed youths with cash and loans schemes. In a situation of lack many would certainly rush for such offer (Daily Trust, 29 April 2021). People tend to take their destinies into their own hands by any means. The protection they could not get, they provide themselves. The government loans that were not accessible to them were easily made available to them by insurgents. The poor see powerlessness, voicelessness as essential part of their poverty (Narayan, 2000). This group of people can only but resort to self-help in the best way they know assuming any name and form. Many migrate outside the country with frustration. Guess what could be in their minds- to equip themselves and return to their country to demand for their rights from the authority concerned certainly with force hence the strengthening of the capacity of the insurgent group. The same neglect has led the herdsmen to migrate down to the south and the resultant effect is everyday conflict with farmers whose farms are being destroyed by their animals. The farmer-herders crisis has become a frequent event in parts of the southern states especially in Benue (Agatu), Enugu, Delta, Abia, Ogun and others.

This shows that protection, provision or attention given to single individual or entity is actually for all. This explains the theory of needs of Abraham Maslow and the resultant effect was what Karl Marx advocated for in his class theory. In order not to “replace peace with conflict” (Enwere, 2015), government should ensure that basic needs of citizens are adequately provided for. Through the actions of the Boko Haram in the northeast, it is quite

obvious that the said militant group is against the Nigerian authority. This is actually the class struggle. This struggle indirectly occurs when we look at it from the perspective of how and what led the proletariats to abandon their peasant jobs and joined in fuelling the Boko Haram insurgency against the instituted authorities. One could interpret this action as a way of exhibiting their anger on the authority for an unjust treatment and neglect for years. For them it might mean a way to get the attention of the authority in the zone or totally to dethrone and enthrone their own government. Marx class struggle is brought to bear.

Before the present administration rescued the situation of captured towns of Borno, a report had it that by January 2015, the group had pushed out government forces and controlled four towns in Borno and Yobe states – Gwoza, Bama, Baga, and Gulani – an area spanning about 51,800 km<sup>2</sup> (Premium Times Nigeria, 24 July 2015). Many things could be attributed to the gut of the militants. Whatever be the reason, it could not be anything less than collapse in the social structure.

### **Overview of Climate Induced Variables and Conflict**

The significance level between: Lake Chad-induced low agricultural activities and conflicts in the north-eastern part of Nigeria; Lake Chad –induced Poverty vis-à-vis Boko Haram Conflict; Lake Chad-induced migration of citizens and the conflicts in the north-eastern part of Nigeria and roles of the government and the conflicts in the north-eastern part of Nigeria has been dealt with in this study.

Lake Chad –induced Low Agricultural Activities vis-à-vis the Boko Haram Conflict in the North-East:

Sustainable social and economic development in Africa is necessarily based on development of its agricultural sector, which is major source of livelihoods for 70 percent of its population and 80 percent of its poor of the world - Africa, the north East and small island developing states - where agricultural water control has been critical and considered their future prospects (FAO, 2005).

Agricultural activities can be classified as man's activities on crops, livestock, animals (wild and aquatic) and others. Aside desert encroachment and increase in population which

have reduced the farm land, farmers generally in the northeast are feeling seriously the adverse effect of climate change on Lake Chad. Due to persistent drought and irregular rainfall, irrigation technology becomes very pertinent. Agricultural activities depend on water for survival. The challenges confronting water control in agriculture vary among regions depending on their socio-economic and climatic conditions. Lake Chad region is known for its agricultural activities like fishing, herding, farming which attracts economic development, however as the lake shrinks most of these activities reduced and in the absence of other meaningful things to do to sustain livelihood, most families indulge in nefarious acts. With this, socio-economic development of the region is also reduced as there could be no significant development in any society without a peaceful atmosphere.

With water scarcity agriculture faces the challenge of producing more food for the world's growing population. More people chase little food. Demand for food becomes more than the supply leading to high cost in food price, hunger and starvation. Lake Chad inhabitants and in fact the North Eastern states that were booming in trade and agriculture are currently living on aids from individuals and donor agencies. As was reported by Guardian (2016):

Lake Chad - which suffers from cyclical droughts and floods - was once one of the world's largest lakes but has shrunk by 90 percent in the last 50 years. This, coupled with rising insecurity, has destroyed people's livelihoods including fishing and farming, reduced cross-border trade and left communities increasingly dependent on humanitarian aid (Guardian, 2016: 5).

The dearth of improved agricultural activities due to effects of climate change (drought and desertification) in Lake Chad has led to increased famine and poverty in the area and the rate of unemployment also increased making those affected vulnerable to the conflict agents. Herders have lost their animals due to drought. Wild animals, birds and many various species of fish have been lost.

### **Unemployment in Lake Chad and its Linkages to Boko Haram Insurgency**

Unemployment is the absence of jobs for all who want them while the unemployed according to Jahoda is defined as all who have not gotten jobs but would like to have one or who when

they have no job are dependent on some financial support from whatever source for their livelihood (Jahoda, 1982: 13). Women and Youths are the worst hit of unemployment occasioned by the unfavourable condition of Lake Chad. Many women quit farming; youths quit fishing searching for what next to do to improve their standard of living. Most of them willingly or by enticement give themselves to Boko haram in exchange for money to keep their families' hopes alive.

Seeing the frustration and the increase hardship on inhabitants of the Northeast, Boko Haram recently was reported to have adopted the strategy of recruiting unsuspecting youths into their fold with loans. (Guardian, 2016: 4). The 2016 Abuja security summit has also blamed the impact of climate change for the unemployment and crime in the region urging LCDB to pursue goal of inter-basin water transfer project with the view of mitigating drought, re-establishing fishery, irrigation, navigation and above all restoring the lake's normal level (Shehu, 2019).

### **Lake Chad –induced Migration vis-à-vis Boko Haram Conflict**

The smartest way to safeguard national sovereignty is to minimize the risks migrants face when trying to reach safety, and to maximize the means at their disposal to build productive lives – Peter Sutherland, UN SRSG for International Migration and Development. As Lake Chad shrinks leaving more islands, these Islands are being filled up by increase Population. Migration is a two-way activity. Immigration - Emigration. In the case of climate change in Lake Chad, immigrants from all over have come to settle down for different purposes namely trading, herding, fishing and other agricultural activities. Unfortunately, with harsh climate conditions and changes, these migrants are no longer meeting up with their basic needs, many got enticed with the Boko Haram's offer of fat bank accounts. Some migrated out of the country with grief of neglect in one's own country, also got attracted with the offer of some Islamic sects of Maghreb, got trained and indoctrinated to be against constituted authorities. As Kieran (2015) noted:

Lives have been wrecked, the economy is in tatters and terms of trade have been severely disrupted. Around 2.1 million of the 2.5 million displaced are living in Nigeria, while 400,000 have been forced across borders to seek refuge in or been uprooted within Cameroon, Chad and Nigeria, most are living with local communities, piling pressure on families already struggling to survive (Kieran, 2015).

International community has raised alarm on the plight of African migrants to Europe saying that the vast number of people displaced could fuel migration across the Mediterranean. Excerpts from UN humanitarian Coordinator for Sahel region, Toby Lanzer in Malta conference in 2015:

There is every chance that some of these people will seek refuge further afield," ... "The combination of abject poverty, environmental degradation and lack of opportunities for young people could also fuel further violence and insecurity in the region..." Given the vast numbers of youths in the Lake Chad Basin, the ground is ripe for extremist groups to go in and recruit..."..."Migration will become far more serious if we don't address underlying causes of poverty, climate change and violence (Kieran G, 2015).

In order to forestall the escalating stage, European Union announced a 1.8 billion-euro (\$1.94 billion) trust fund to tackle the root causes of irregular migration and forced displacement in Africa (Arab Times, 2015: 9). The Role of Government in Curbing the Boko Haram Conflict vis-à-vis the Lake Chad Climate Change Situation. The UN assistant Secretary-General, Loby Lanzer in a Geneva Conference reiterated: "There's need to be a strategy for the Lake Chad region ... drawn up by the four governments, and it needs to address the development issues, how to resolve abject poverty, how to provide opportunities for members of the youth" (Miles, 2015).

Generally, North-Eastern part of Nigeria is so backward in terms of development. Economic growth and human development are indicators of development in any society. Each cannot be in isolation. "In the absence of substantial investment in the development of human capital in any country, sustained economic growth and development would only be a mere wish, never a reality" (Eigbiremolun, 2014). That is to say that such society should be able to produce goods and services such as education, health, employment, security both in quality

and quantity for poverty reduction. Every nation needs peace and stability in order to achieve development. According to UNDP report, economic growth must be constantly nourished by the fruits of human development, such as higher qualified workers capable of technological and managerial innovations along with opportunities for their efficient use; more and better jobs, better conditions for new businesses to grow, and greater democracy at all levels of decision making. Conversely, the report maintained, slow human development can put an end to fast economic growth (United Nations Development Program UNDP, 1996).

This is the case with Lake Chad and its environs, whose inhabitants are predominantly pastoral farmers and fishermen are suffering from climate change disorder due to lack of technological and managerial innovations on the lake and lack of efficient and effective usage of the water. In 1964, the four riparian Governments championed by the Nigerian leadership being privy of this circumstance surrounding the lake, established Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC) whose primary mandate was to maintain the lake to its original status of 1960s (LCBC).

The LCBC budget is provided by member countries with the following participation rates: Nigeria 52%, Cameroon 20%, Chad 11%, Niger 7% and CAR 4%. However, not all countries pay their entire duty so LCBC has to cope with constantly lowering funds (Bontemps, 2013).

President Obasanjo during his democratic era of 1999 awarded contract for the assessment and revitalization of same lake (Vanguard Newspaper, 13 October, 2015). President Mohamadu Buhari in 2015 on his assumption to duty has also called for the audit report from the Auditor-General of the Federation, Mr Ukuru on the awarded contract which was said to have been submitted to the LCBC (*Thisday*, 2015). Despite other challenges facing the nation, President Buhari among other world leaders has declared the Lake's situation an ecological disaster (COP21, 2015).

Recently, some northern state governors namely Bauchi, Borno, Kano, Jigawa, Kano and Plateau states have teamed up to fund the Hadeja Jama'are, Kumadugu Yobe Basin Trust Fund, as part of efforts to boost agricultural and economic activities in the areas around the

Lake Chad Basin. Under the initiative, the affected states are to contribute an initial take-off grant of N100 million (Adamu, 2015) while African Development Bank (ADP) announced its 2million Euro to the Trust Fund (African Development Bank, 2014). This is also in addition to the N850 million grants provided by the Federal Government. Though it is always better late than never, one would have imagined such intervention coming up in practical terms decades ago why wait till now? It is so worrisome. The entire nation is almost thrown in disarray because of the prolonged intervention of Lake Chad's climate change.

Abraham Maslow and McClelland's views on human needs were brought to bear in this paper. Needs are psychological or physiological insufficiencies that provoke some type of behavioural response (Enwere, 2015). Individual needs can range from weak to strong and can vary based on environmental factors, time and place. In practice, it is evident that as peoples' needs are met there is harmony, progress and development. Meeting the highest human needs would also mean building a strong and peaceful society.

## **CONCLUSION**

Summarily, insecurity surrounding the condition Lake Chad has adversely affected the entire country and Africa. From the above, it can be seen that climate change issue in an area is issue all over. Climate change if unchecked can lead conflict as we have seen in the case of Lake Chad and Boko Haram. Insurgents take advantage of gaps that exist in the socio-ecological structure to inhabit such spaces.

It is recommended that government should encourage and support farmers through provision of credit facilities as well as soft loans to enable them concentrate on their farming activities since reduction in farming, fishing, livestock rearing and other agricultural activities have fuelled Unemployment in the northeast. There should an interface between military and civilian security forces to check the spread of insurgency in such environment. Additionally, there should be attempts to improve the environment through ecological activities and general infrastructural development.



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